THE NORMAN FRONTIER IN THE TWELFTH AND EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

The twelfth-century borderlands of the duchy of Normandy formed the cockpit for dynastic rivalries between the kings of England and France. This book examines how the political divisions between Normandy and its neighbours shaped the communities of the Norman frontier. It traces the region's history from the conquest of Normandy in 1106 by Henry I of England, to the duchy's annexation in 1204 by the king of France, Philip Augustus, and its incorporation into the Capetian kingdom. It explores the impact of the frontier upon princely and ecclesiastical power structures, customary laws, and noble strategies such as marriage, patronage, and suretyship. Particular attention is paid to the lesser aristocracy as well as the better-known magnates, and an extended appendix reconstructs the genealogies of thirty-three prominent frontier lineages. The book sheds new light upon the twelfth-century French aristocracy, and makes a significant contribution to our understanding of medieval political frontiers.

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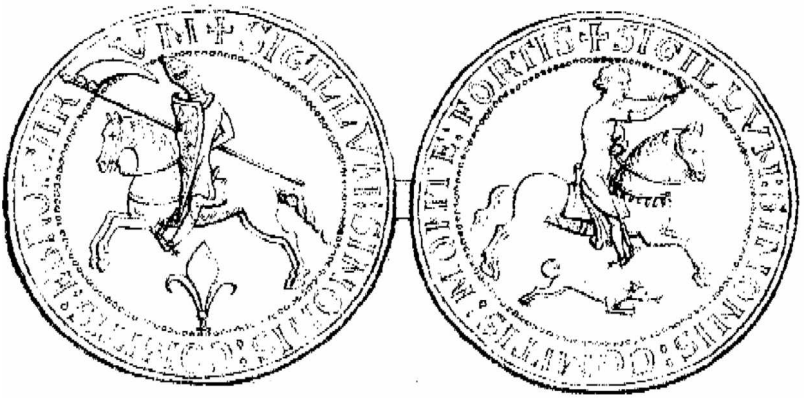
The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries



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THE NORMAN FRONTIER IN THE TWELFTH AND EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

DANIEL POWER

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For Clare

'They always keep true faith towards their lord, though dwelling in evil borderlands . . .'

Charter of Louis VII (1153), referring to the inhabitants of Mantes

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PREFACE

In the course of producing a work of this type an author will happily incur many debts which it is a pleasure to acknowledge. My first words of gratitude are for Sir James Holt, who supervised the doctoral thesis that forms the basis of the present work. His influence upon my understanding of the dynamics of the Angevin 'empire' will be apparent throughout the chapters below. David Luscombe, as series editor, and Edmund King both kindly read the entire manuscript as it was prepared for publication, and their comments and encouragement have been of immense value. I am similarly grateful to Catherine Holmes for her comments upon the introduction. Three other people deserve my particular thanks. Nicholas Vincent drew my attention to countless manuscripts which he had discovered in French and British archives. Kathleen Thompson and Judith Everard generously shared their knowledge of Anglo-French and Breton history respectively with me. I also wish to thank the following historians for sending me offprints or unpublished research, or for their guidance, suggestions, or support: Martin Aurell, David Bates, Pierre Bauduin, Maïté Billoré, Christine Carpenter, David Crouch, Marc-Antoine Dor, John Gillingham, Judith Green, Julian Haseldine, Matthew Innes, the late Tom Keefe, Rosamond McKitterick, Vincent Moss, John Morrill, Béatrice Poulle, Sandra Raban, Jonathan Steinberg and Elisabeth Van Houts. I am much obliged to William Davies of Cambridge University Press for his patience while awaiting the arrival of a much-delayed text.

By electing me to a research fellowship the Master and Fellows of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, provided me with a congenial atmosphere for the completion of the doctoral thesis and enabled me to carry out much of the necessary further research for the present work, especially concerning north-eastern and south-western Normandy. The Department of History at the University of Sheffield has provided an equally agreeable environment since 1996 and I owe a great deal to my colleagues there for their stimulating and probing discussions, especially Tim Baycroft, Sarah Foot, Mark Greengrass, Simon Loseby and Simon Walker. The maps were prepared with the aid of the Department of History and of

Paul Coles of the University's Cartography Unit. The generosity of the British Academy enabled me to complete the necessary research for this project. For permission to consult manuscripts I am indebted to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the Archives Nationales, the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, the Archives Départementales of Calvados, Côtes d'Armor, Eure, Eure-et-Loir, Ille-et-Vilaine, Loir-et-Cher, Maine-et-Loire, Mayenne, Nord, Oise, Orne, Sarthe, Seine-Maritime, Somme, Val d'Oise and Yvelines; the Bibliothèques Municipales of Alençon, Avranches, Le Mans and Rouen, and the Bibliothèque de l'Evêché de Sées; in England, the British Library, the Public Record Office, the Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library, Derbyshire and Hertfordshire County Record Offices and Birmingham City Archives. My work in France has been especially assisted by the hospitality of Marie-Elisabeth and Didier Bougeard, Angela and Francis Chronnell, Claire Graffeuille and Tony Gheeraert, and Bernard and Thérèse Dubust.

The greatest debts of all are always the hardest to convey in mere words. For many years my parents and siblings have shared the history of the Norman frontier with me with a mixture of enthusiasm and bemusement. Towards the end of the project my children Susanna and Richard helped me along in their own inimitable ways. Most important of all, my wife Clare knows how much the completion of this work was made possible by her love, and I dedicate it to her with my own love in return.

NOTES ON NAMES, DATES, MANUSCRIPTS AND COINAGE

In surnames, I have followed the Anglo-Normanist conventions of using 'de' with identifiable French placenames and 'of' for English placenames, and of using English first names but French surnames, even after 1204 (with one or two familiar exceptions, e.g. Philippe de Beaumanoir). Where possible I have used the modern placename as represented on IGN maps (e.g. Fontevraud, La Roche-Mabile, Aumale and Torigni rather than Fontevrault, La Roche-Mabille, Aumâle or Torigny). A few familiar but non-standard forms have been retained (e.g. 'de Clare' rather than 'of Clare', and 'de Quency', 'de Warenne', 'de Lacy' and 'de Montgomery' rather than 'de Cuinchy', 'de Varenne', 'de Lassy' or 'de Montgommery'), but in some cases the modern placename has been given on the map. Surnames for which identification is uncertain (e.g. Geoffrey *de Bosco*), or where no modern form exists (e.g. Hugh *de Caigni*), have been left in Latin. For Christian names, the more familiar form has generally been used, but sometimes a modern French form has seemed more appropriate: hence Guérin has been preferred to Warin and Renaud to Reginald, but Hasculf (closer to the Latin form) has been adopted in preference to the obsolete French forms Harcoit or Harscoët. In a few cases, the sources' preference for differing forms suggest that standardisation would be misplaced (e.g. Gasco, Gazo and Gado).

Dates are given as they appear in acts, indicating 'o.s.' (old style) for dates where the method of calculating the New Year is uncertain; 'n.s.' (new style) is reserved for those where this can be ascertained, and 's.d.' indicates undated acts.

In quotations from unpublished manuscripts the punctuation has been retained as far as possible, but capitalisation has been modernised.

For coinage, the mint is named where known; for French coinages this is specified in its modern French form (e.g. *livres angevins*).

NOTE ON MAPS

The diocesan boundaries are based primarily upon the late medieval *pouillés*, supplemented where possible by earlier episcopal confirmations (see chapter 3). These sources indicate the centres rather than the boundaries of parishes, and it is probable that some boundaries which did not follow watercourses, particularly those which crossed forests, were not defined exactly in the twelfth century; probable examples include the diocesan border between Avranches and Le Mans west of Domfront, the boundaries of the deaneries of Passais and La Roche-Mabile in the Forest of Andaine, and the district of La Montagne near the lands of the lords of Gournay.

In general, fortresses and religious houses are shown only if mentioned in the text.

In Maps I and VIII the French coastline is based upon *Atlas de l'an mil*, 35, 19.

ABBREVIATIONS

For abbreviated titles of published primary sources, see bibliography.

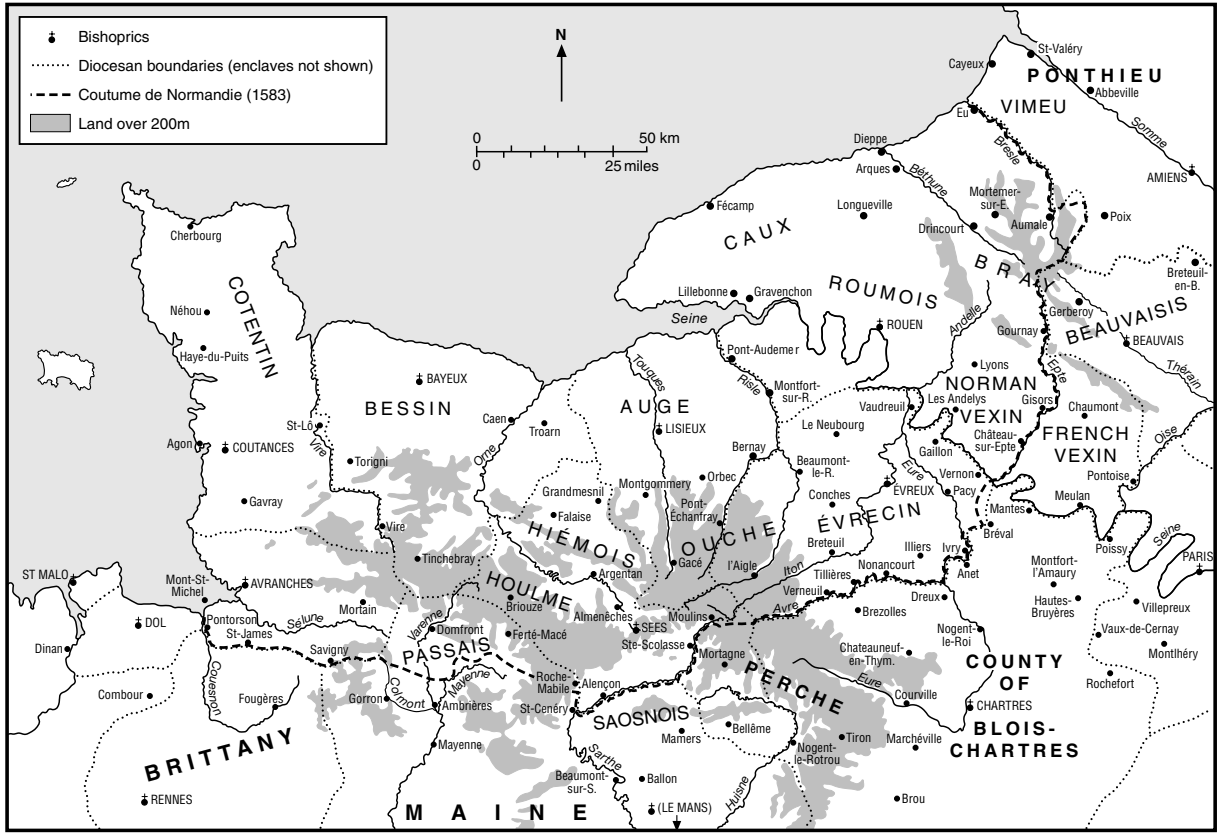
ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

ADC	Archives Départementales du Calvados (Caen)
ADCA	Archives Départementales des Côtes d'Armor (St-Brieuc)
ADE	Archives Départementales de l'Eure (Evreux)
ADEL	Archives Départementales de l'Eure-et-Loir (Chartres)
ADIV	Archives Départementales de l'Ille-et-Vilaine (Rennes)
ADLC	Archives Départementales du Loir-et-Cher (Blois)
ADM	Archives Départementales de la Mayenne (Laval)
ADML	Archives Départementales de la Maine-et-Loire (Angers)
ADN	Archives Départementales du Nord (Lille)
ADOI	Archives Départementales de l'Oise (Beauvais)
ADOR	Archives Départementales de l'Orne (Alençon)
ADSA	Archives Départementales de la Sarthe (Le Mans)
ADSM	Archives Départementales de la Seine-Maritime (Rouen)
ADSO	Archives Départementales de la Somme (Amiens)
ADVO	Archives Départementales du Val d'Oise (Cergy-Pontoise)
ADY	Archives Départementales des Yvelines (Versailles)
AN	Archives Nationales de France (Paris)
BCA	Birmingham City Archives
BES	Bibliothèque de l'Evêché de Sées (Orne)
BL	British Library (London)
BMAL	Bibliothèque Municipale d'Alençon (Orne)
BMAV	Bibliothèque Municipale d'Avranches (Manche)
BMF	Bibliothèque Municipale de Flers (Orne)
BMM	Bibliothèque Municipale du Mans (Sarthe)
BMRO	Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen (Seine-Maritime)
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris)
CUL	Cambridge University Library
HRO	Hertfordshire Record Office (Hertford)

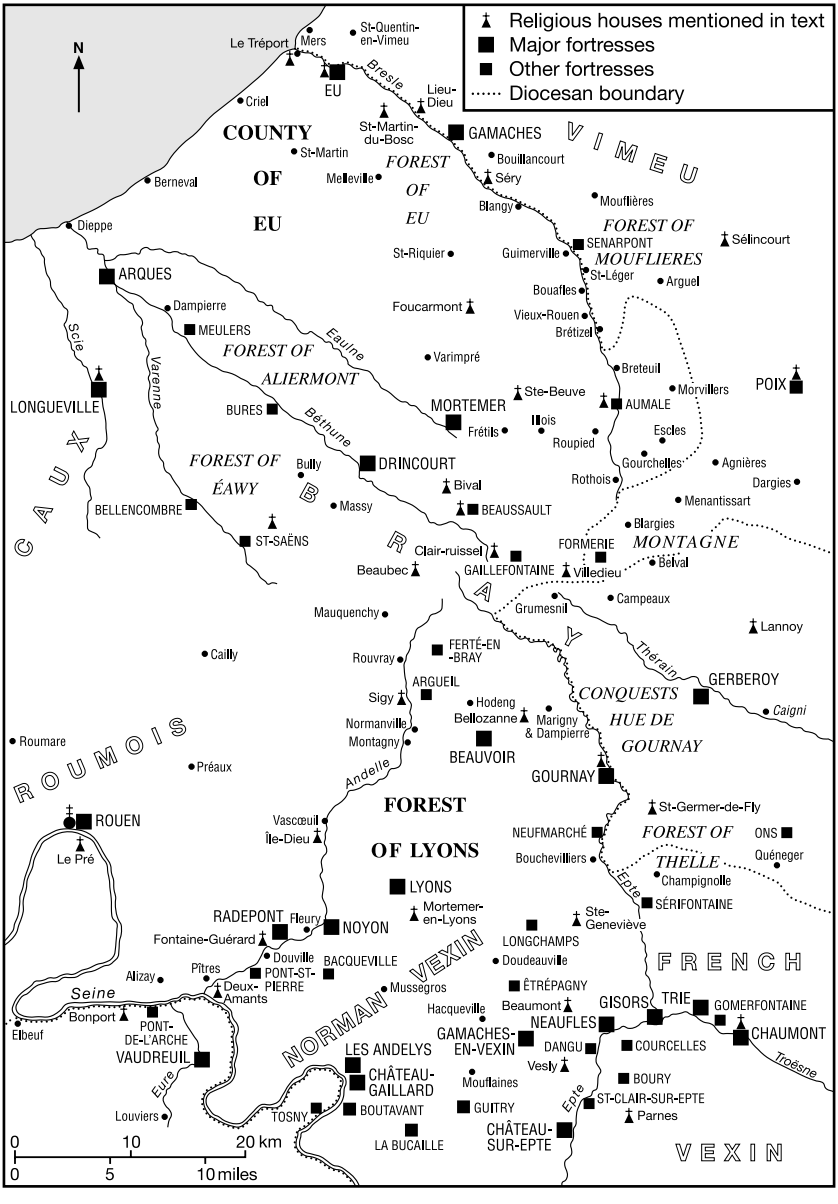
OBL	Bodleian Library (Oxford)
PBSG	Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (Paris)
PRO	Public Record Office (London)

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

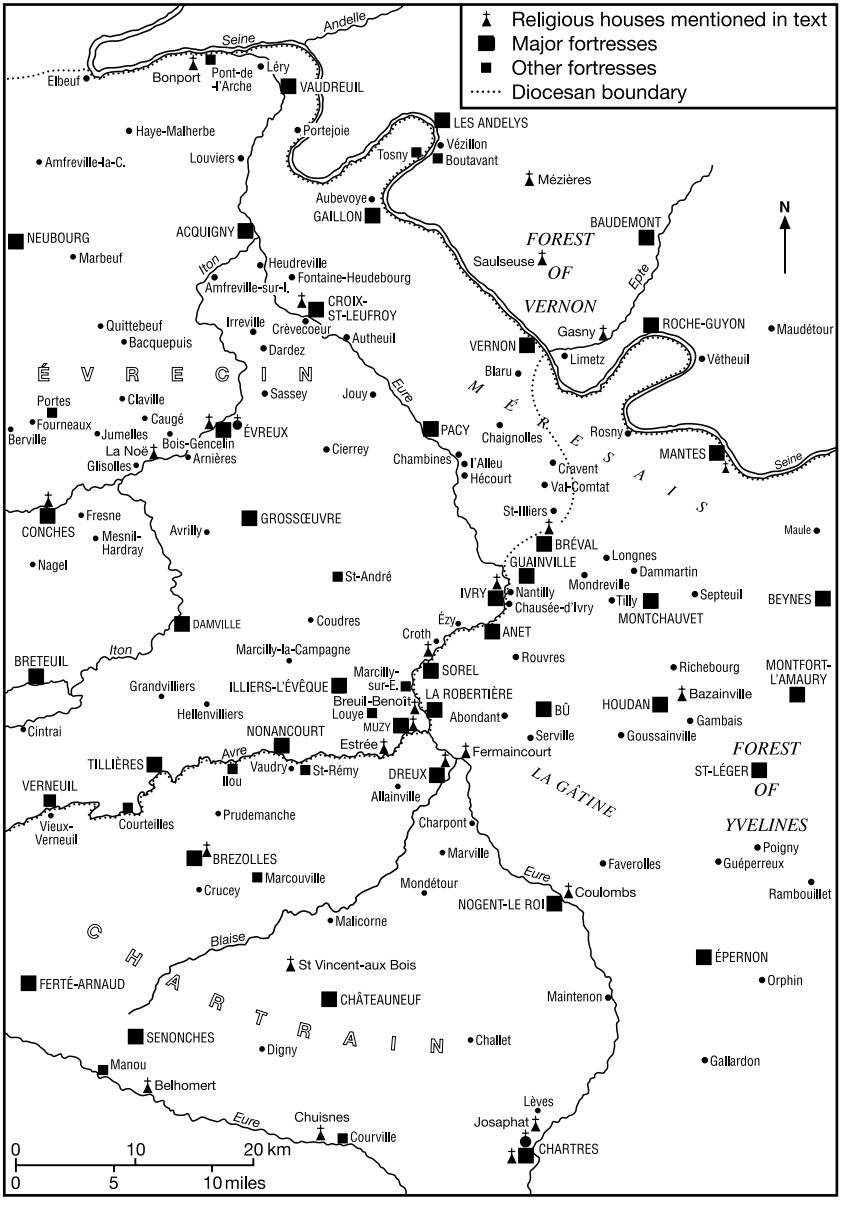
ANS	*Anglo-Norman Studies* (cited by date of publication; early volumes were called *Proceedings of the Battle Conference*)
ar.	arrondissement
BEC	*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*
BSAN	*Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*
cant.	canton
CCM	*Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*
ch.-l. du cant.	chef-lieu du canton
cne.	commune
dépt.	département
EHR	*English Historical Review*
HR	*Historical Research*
IGN	Institut Géographique National (maps in 1:25000 and 1:50000 series)
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
MGH, SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*
MGH, SRG	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*
MSAN	*Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*
MSAP	*Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*
NMS	*Nottingham Medieval Studies*
NRHDFE	*Nouvelle Revue Historique du Droit Français et Etranger*
RHDFE	*Revue Historique du Droit Français et Etranger*
SHF	Société de l'Histoire de France
SHN	Société de l'Histoire de Normandie
VCH	*The Victoria County History*



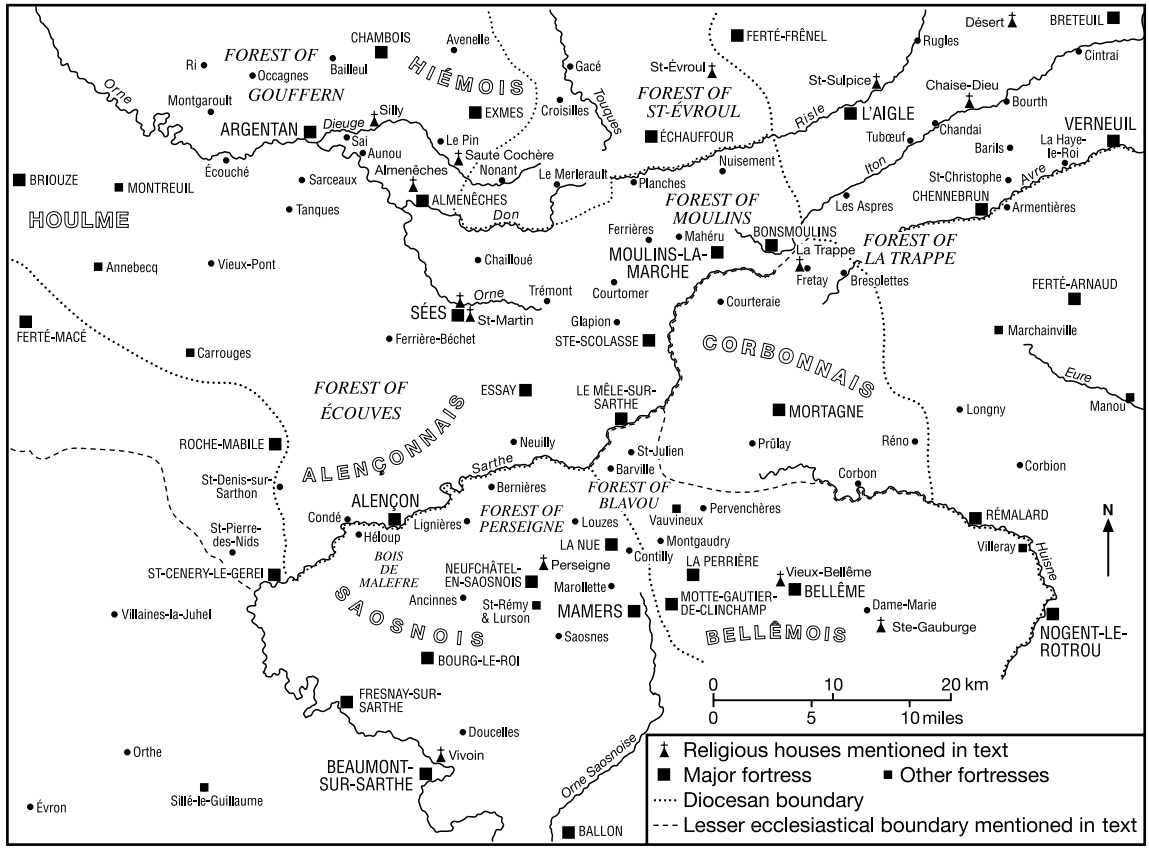
Map 1 Normandy and its neighbours in the twelfth century



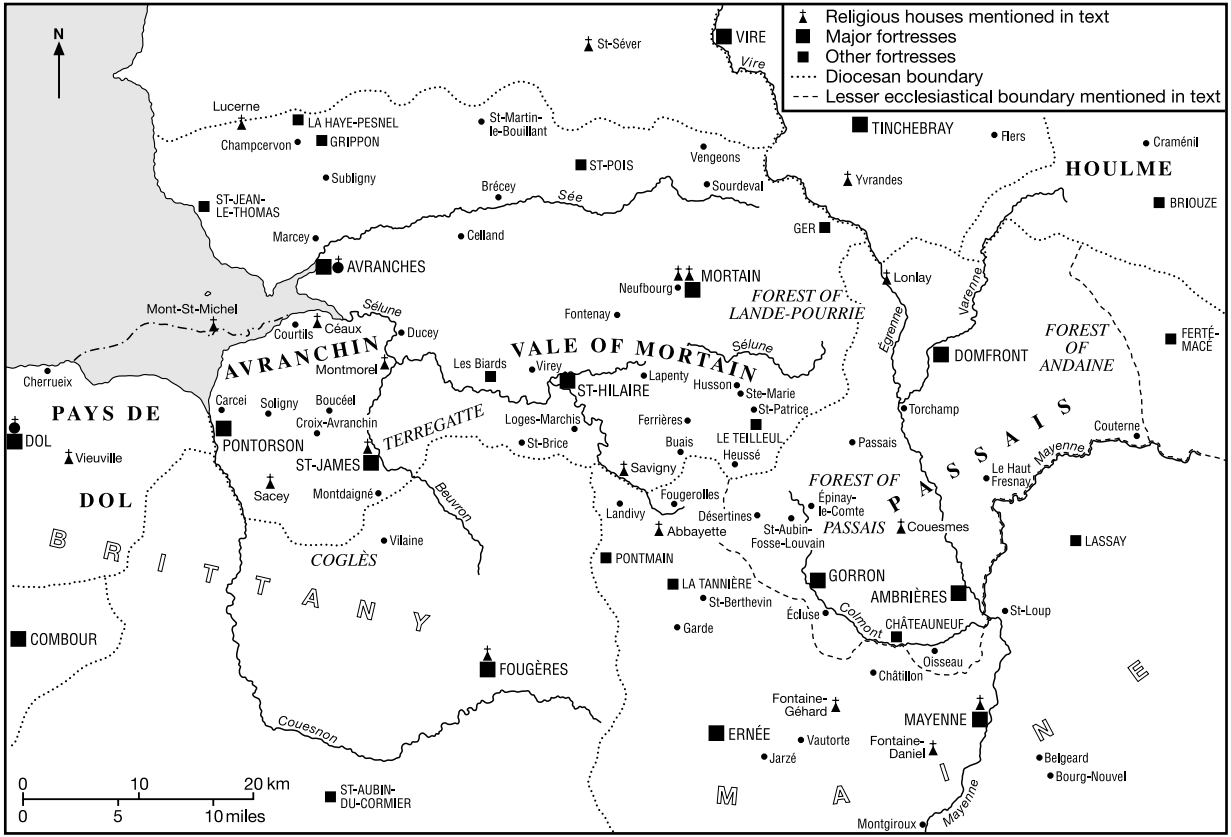
Map II The frontiers of north-east Normandy



Map III The Eure and Avre valleys



Map IV North-east Maine, the Alençonnais and Perche



Map v The frontiers of Normandy, north-west Maine and Brittany

INTRODUCTION

In the twelfth century the borderlands of the duchy of Normandy enjoyed an importance reaching far beyond the rolling hills and narrow rivers that skirted the duchy. Thanks above all to the astounding achievements of its most famous ruler, William the Conqueror, Normandy had emerged in the previous century as one of the most powerful and important principalities in western Europe. However, its land frontiers were often troubled by warfare between the dukes of Normandy – who were more often than not also kings of England – and their neighbours, especially the Capetian kings of France. These conflicts imbued the province's borders with exceptional political significance. Just as significant, however, was the complex relationship between the duke and the aristocratic élites that dominated the frontier districts, which had far-reaching consequences for the history of the duchy and its neighbours.

The Norman frontier has often attracted the attention of historians of Normandy as one of several distinctive facets of the Norman 'state',[1] but much less attention has been paid to the societies that inhabited the marches of the duchy. The period of Plantagenet or Angevin rule in Normandy (1144–1204) has been particularly neglected, despite its importance to the history of the Angevin 'empire'. Count Geoffrey of Anjou overran Normandy in the 1140s with the aid of the lords of the southern frontier, establishing a dynastic 'empire' that under Geoffrey's son Henry II (king of England 1154–89) and grandson Richard I (1189–99) would surpass all others in western Europe in its brilliance and power. Sixty years after Geoffrey's conquest of Normandy, the collapse of Angevin supremacy also owed much to developments upon the Norman frontier. In April 1202 King Philip II Augustus of France (1180–1223) declared that the duke of Normandy, King John of England (1199–1216), had forfeited his possessions in France. In March 1204, after one of the most famous sieges of the Middle Ages, the fortress of Château-Gaillard in the marches of eastern Normandy fell to a French assault. Encouraged

[1] See below, pp. 10–13, 23–5.

by his success, within three months Philip Augustus subdued the whole duchy, ending its effective independence and breaking up the Angevin territories. King Philip's triumph was only possible because ducal control over the frontier regions of southern and eastern Normandy had already crumbled over the previous decade. So the Norman frontier lies at the heart of the rise, greatness and fall of the Angevin empire. The political society of the Norman frontier in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries forms the subject of this book.

HISTORICAL FRONTIERS

'Frontiers' and 'frontier societies' have become a popular subject for historical investigation in recent years.[2] As the dominant statist paradigms of nineteenth- and much twentieth-century historical writing have fallen into disfavour, the history of societies at the fringes of cultures or territories has grown in popularity. Many such studies have been inspired by North American notions of frontiers as zones of transition between a settled and an unsettled area, or, by extension, between civilisations; others have concentrated upon frontiers in a conventional European sense, as the physical and imagined divisions – whether linear or zonal – between settled populations, usually determined by political allegiance.[3]

Political frontiers reveal much about the polities which they delimit. Rulers often face the greatest tests at the fringes of their territories, where their control can be challenged most easily by neighbouring powers, and the measures that they adopt in response demonstrate the overall effectiveness and limitations of their power.[4] The study of frontiers also has a role to play in the history of ethnic and political identities. It is no accident that many of the greatest national leaders of the past, from

[2] The historiography of frontiers is vast. For an introduction to pre-modern historiography on the subject, see Power (1999b, 1–12), while Berend (1999) independently reaches broadly similar conclusions (cf. Berend 2001, 6–17); see also Abulafia 2002.

[3] For these two sorts of frontier, see Power 1999b, 6–12. Other historians adopt slightly different schemes for categorisation, although the basic contrast between zones of cultural interaction and political divisions remains: Lord Curzon distinguished 'frontiers of separation' from 'frontiers of contact', and a number of German historians differentiated between 'frontiers of separation' (*Trennungsgrenzen*) and 'converging frontiers' (*Zusammenwachsgrenzen*): see Kristof 1959, 273. Manzano (1999, 35–6) suggests 'unstable' and 'enclosing', which together equate to what are here called frontiers in the 'European' sense, and 'expanding' frontiers, comparable to the American sense. Frontiers in the North American meaning of the term are not necessarily 'expanding', however: for a reinterpetation of the American frontier in a more stable phase of its history, see R. White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge, 1991).

[4] Cf. Toubert 1992, 16: 'la frontière apparaît ainsi comme *le meilleur indicateur de l'état de l'Etat*' (his italics).

Joan of Arc to Napoleon, came from regions that lay at the extremities of the territories with which they chose to identify; their fervent espousal of that identity indicates that at the fringes of a kingdom or province, identity and conceptualisation of territory are not vague optional ideas but a fact of daily existence.[5] For their part, frontiers of settlement or cultural interaction have proved enduringly popular with historians ever since the American historian Frederick Jackson Turner published his 'frontier thesis' at the end of the nineteenth century, as zones where the mingling of cultures reflect settlement patterns and agriculture, language, social customs and law.[6]

Since historians have identified so many different types of frontier, the validity of this term as a tool for analysis is open to question. There is a danger that treating a particular area as a frontier from the outset can be too deterministic.[7] It may appear anachronistic to speak of a frontier at all for the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, since the English word and many of its cognate terms did not evolve until the late Middle Ages.[8] In addition, all medievalists are aware of the existence of enclaves and pockets of jurisdiction, liberties and rights (whether seigneurial, communal or ecclesiastical), ties of lordship and dependence that were unterritorial in nature, vast stretches of uncultivated lands and 'waste' separating villages, all of which existed in recurrent situations of weak political control and prevailing violence. Medieval power often appears very diffuse, easily slipping away to hitherto peripheral regions, so that a 'frontier' could be rapidly transformed into a core territory or 'metropolis'. Thomas Noble, for instance, has depicted the ninth-century Carolingian lands as a core of Frankish territories surrounded by a ring of client *regna*: but he also suggests that the two chief successor states to the Carolingian Empire that emerged in the ninth century, the future France and Germany, were founded upon three of these same peripheral *regna*, Bavaria on the one hand and Aquitaine and Neustria on the other, whose rulers divided the old Carolingian heartlands between them.[9] In other words, the centre of the Empire, those Frankish *Kerngebiete* that had been a fulcrum of

[5] Cf. Evans 1992, 497.

[6] For frontiers in the North American sense in medieval historiography, see Burns 1989; Berend 1999, 56–64; 2001, 6–12; Power 1999b, 9–12. For Turner's thesis, first published in 1921, see F. J. Turner 1921, 1–38.

[7] J. M. H. Smith 1992, 3. The same author has, however, written an excellent comparative survey of the *fines* and marches of the Carolingian Empire: see J. M. H. Smith 1995.

[8] Febvre 1928; Power 1999b, 4, 6–7. Sénac (1999) traces the origins of *frontera* as a military term in eleventh-century Aragon, but it would not enter French until the thirteenth and English until the fourteenth century. For older terms such as *marca*, see below, pp. 13–15, 24–6.

[9] Noble 1990, 347.

western European politics since the sixth century, were now coming to be dominated by their frontiers. In the following century the Ottonian dynasty was transformed from the defenders of the Saxon March into the rulers of the East Frankish kingdom within a generation. Furthermore, between the late tenth and the early twelfth centuries, power and authority disintegrated across much of Europe, in the process known as *encellulement* (literally 'breaking up into cells') that in the eyes of many historians tended to reduce effective power to the level of the castelry.[10] Could the borders of the kingdom or of its constituent principalities be of any importance when power and authority were often so fragmented and devolved?[11]

Yet 'frontiers' of sorts did exist in the Middle Ages. While no one can deny the ease with which scholars, traders, warriors and peasants moved across the territory between the Pyrenean region, the Alps and the Rhineland, this same period of Latin Christian expansion was also one in which the division of western Christendom into separate kingdoms proved lasting. The divisions within this territory could have great political and social significance and contemporaries were also often very aware of them. Medieval political frontiers often proved to be very durable indeed, and the interaction of a dominant power with local élites at the fringes of its territory could be very distinctive. Rulers frequently had to appease the landowners at the fringes of their territories in order to retain and cultivate their loyalties, or to give their local commanders a freer hand in dealing with the military exigencies that arose at the frontier. As a result, the frontier lord could accumulate power and privilege from the advantages of his location. Paradoxically, for some other frontier regions the very reverse was true: the ruler resorted to ruthless suppression as the best means of controlling his borderlands. The Welsh Marches represent a fair example of the first set of developments,[12] while the Norman Vexin in the twelfth century more closely resembled the second;[13]

[10] For *encellulement*, see especially Fossier 1982, i, 288–595, and Poly and Bournazel 1991; regional examples of this supposed process include Duby 1971, 137–262; Devailly 1973, 168–76, 317–49.

[11] E.g. Duffy 1982–3, 38; Manzano 1999, 36–7.

[12] For the privileges of the Welsh marcher lords, see Edwards 1956; Otway-Ruthven 1958; R. R. Davies 1979; Meisel 1980, 103–27. In contrast to the argument adopted here, Edwards argued that Marcher privileges reflected the differences between pre-Norman England and Wales and had little to do with royal concessions. Davies, on the other hand, stresses the rough-and-ready creativity of the Normans in the face of the military exigencies of the March as well as the role of the kings of England in the formation of the March. Either way, the Marcher lords' retention of such extensive prerogatives, at a time when the royal officials and the Common Law were together ironing out local differences in England proper, was aided by their remoteness from the centres of English royal power and the continuing Welsh threat.

[13] Green 1984, 61.

but in each case, the political and social institutions of the region were affected because it lay at the frontiers of a principality.

As for the term 'frontier', much of the difficulty with the English term arises from the variety of concepts which it evokes. It tends to imply zones of strong contrasts, usually located at the limits of colonisation and settlement, whether literally in a wilderness, or metaphorically, as in the case of Latin expansion in the Mediterranean. Cognate terms in other European languages, however, invoke rather more restricted concepts and tend to have much stronger political than demographic connotations. *Frontières* and *Grenzen* may divide densely populated territories which are similar in most respects, but separated from one another by political organisation and by a rhetoric of difference. Although most of these terms have acquired their modern sense in the context of early modern statebuilding, their more restricted connotations allow them to be used, with qualification, for medieval political divisions, whether linear or zonal.[14]

Care is therefore needed both in the use of frontier terminology and in the treatment of so-called frontiers and frontier zones. In the following pages it will often be necessary to resort to these expressions as shorthand terms for the districts at the limits of the territory which the dukes of Normandy ruled, whether or not there was a recognised delimitation of territory such as a river or boundary markers. This generalisation has some regrettable but necessary shortcomings. Terms such as *fines* and *marca* in Latin or *marches* in French were frequently used in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries to indicate the borders or borderlands of Normandy,[15] but the full significance of the political divide between Normandy and its neighbours requires a much broader swathe of territory to be considered here than the districts immediately abutting the boundaries of the duchy (where these existed).

In modern English the term 'frontier' also conveys wider figurative meanings of conceptual division, the view of 'like' and 'unlike', 'same' and 'other'. While the term was not used in this sense during the Middle Ages,[16] it has enabled historians to draw comparisons and contrasts between very different countries and ages. The rhetoric of Norman identity forms an important aspect of the history of the communities who dwelt at the fringes of Norman territory.

[14] Power 1999b, 6–9, and 1999c, 111–21; see Toubert (1992) for medieval *frontières* in general, and for the derivation of *Grenze*, see Nicklis 1992.

[15] Below, pp. 13–15, 24–6.

[16] The earliest example of the figurative meaning in English given by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, vi, 218, is from Andrew Marvell's *The Rehearsall Transprosed* (1672–3). *Le Robert: Dictionnaire historique de la langue française* (Paris, 1992), i, 849, dates figurative *frontières* to the eighteenth century.

THE NATURE OF THE NORMAN FRONTIER

Normandy has no natural unity. This basic fact reverberates through the history of the duchy. Its cohesion was founded upon naked political power and tradition, not topographical features. Upper (eastern) Normandy, geologically part of the Paris Basin, is predominantly a land of arable agriculture and nucleated villages; the Evrecin and Norman Vexin can even be regarded as tongues of the great wheat-growing plain of northern France. In contrast, Lower (western) Normandy forms part of the Armorican Massif, linking it geologically to Brittany rather than Upper Normandy. Now a country of orchards and cattle-rearing, its settlement is characterised by scattered hamlets. In addition, the Avranchin, Cotentin and Channel Islands enjoyed numerous contacts with Brittany, and the Norman coastal districts with England and Flanders. The southern frontier did not then approximate to the northern limits of French viticulture, as it does today. 'The vine is not unknown there', Dudo of Saint-Quentin commented rather diffidently in his description of the province.[17] Today vines are cultivated around Vernon, and in the twelfth century the stretch of the Seine valley extending from there downstream to Gaillon was the most important wine-producing part of the duchy; but other areas, notably the Sélune valley near Avranches, were also well provided with vineyards, and only the Cotentin, Pays d'Auge and Pays de Caux produced no wine at all.[18]

The duality between east and west would have political, social, economic and cultural significance. Upper Normandy, based around the valleys of the Seine and its tributaries, was oriented towards Paris and the Ile-de-France. The records of Jumièges, Saint-Wandrille and other abbeys in the Seine valley abound with privileges and concessions from the lords of *Francia* who controlled traffic upstream, and show that there was a lively trade along the great river and its tributaries.[19] In contrast Lower Normandy was drained by the Sarthe, the Mayenne and their tributaries which linked Domfront, Argentan or Alençon with the Loire provinces of Anjou and Touraine and beyond to Aquitaine. There are other manifestations of cultural differences between the east and west. The romanesque Frankish suffix *-court* is confined to placenames in Upper Normandy and

[17] Dudo, 166.

[18] Delisle 1851, 418–52, remains an indispensable gazetteer of viticulture in medieval Normandy and the French Vexin. Other examples, such as those in the Norman Vexin given by Deck (1974, 138), would not alter the geographical range significantly.

[19] For exemptions on the Seine, see the charters and cartularies of Fécamp and St-Georges-de-Boscherville (BMRO, Y 51, Y 52), Le Valasse (ADSM, 18 HP 28), Bonport (*Ctl. Bonport*, *passim*), St-Wandrille (*Ch. St-Wandrille*, 2e partie) and Jumièges (*Ch. Jumièges*, *passim*); below, pp. 95–6, 304–5.

neighbouring provinces, whereas the central medieval suffixes *-ière* and *-erie* are primarily western phenomena, found in Brittany, Maine and Anjou, and western Normandy without regard for the border of the duchy.[20] So Normandy was subject to many different, often contradictory cultural and economic influences. It is a testimony to the Normans' sense of political and cultural identity that the duchy was so cohesive, for geographically united it was not.

If the duchy had no natural unity, nor did it enjoy 'natural frontiers' – so far as such a phenomenon can be said to exist anywhere[21] – apart from the English Channel. Physical features certainly served as boundaries but were not major obstacles to communication and contact between neighbouring populations. There are several deep river valleys along the Norman borders, such as the lower courses of the Epte and Eure; but in some places the boundary rivers barely dent the surrounding plain, notably the Avre above Verneuil. By far the greatest river valley and natural obstacle in the region, the valley of the Seine, runs more or less at right angles to the borders of Normandy and formed the focus of the province and a link with Normandy's eastern neighbours, not a barrier between them. The hills and forests of Normandy's southern borders may at first sight appear to be a natural obstacle, and the forests skirting the duchy were indeed more extensive than today.[22] According to Orderic Vitalis, the castle of Bréval (between Ivry and Mantes) lay 'in silvestra et deserta regione' in 1092, and the treasure-train of Geoffrey of Anjou was ambushed in the wood of Malèfre near Alençon in 1136; yet all trace of these woodlands has disappeared.[23] Nevertheless, the idea that there was a genuine 'forest frontier' by 1135 seems hard to maintain; even the great wooded ridge that extended from the county of Mortain to Perche, marked by high-founded fortresses such as Domfront and broken only by the valley of the Sarthe, was more likely to serve as a notional limit comparable to the rivers in the east of the province, rather than an insuperable natural barrier. Toponymic evidence from one of the more remote areas along the southern frontier, the Passais, shows that it was already relatively densely settled by 1000.[24] In the mid-thirteenth century herdsmen were accustomed to driving their beasts from Ambrières in northern Maine to pasture at Tanques, west of Argentan,

[20] For the toponymy of these regions, see Fossier 1968, i, 152–9; Louise 1992, i, 44–71, 76–9; Pichot 1995, 86–94.

[21] Sahlins (1990) gives a weighty critique of the concept and significance of 'natural frontiers' in French history.

[22] Deck (1929, 11–24) describes the great *défrichements* in the Forest of Eu between the late twelfth and the fourteenth centuries; see also Fossier 1968, i, 310–30; Chédeville 1973, 110–16, 142–7; Louise 1992, esp. i, 35–9, 84–95; ii, 75–88; Pichot 1995, 35–43, 72–109.

[23] Orderic, iv, 290; vi, 474.

[24] Louise 1992, i, 48 (map), 50.

and we may suppose that this practice dated back deep into the region's history.[25]

The frontier was of relatively little importance in some other ways. It is true that, in contrast to the lands to the east, there was no servitude in Normandy, a characteristic imputed at least in part to its Scandinavian inheritance;[26] Normandy also had its own system of land measurement which more or less halted along the borders.[27] Other economic factors point to the integration of the duchy into northern France, however. Norman coinage never had a monopoly in the province in the way that the penny sterling had in England: even after the money of Anjou became the dominant coinage in the second half of the twelfth century, the money of Le Mans continued to be used regularly for accounting purposes in the southern half of the duchy, while in the east, the coinages of Paris, Dreux and Beauvais were also all used regularly, a challenge to Angevin hegemony within the duke's own territory.[28]

The Norman frontier represented no great divide in terms of dialect either. It is true that the Romance tongue of northern France categorised as 'Old French II' (*c.*1100–*c.*1350) was highly regionalised, and in the mid-thirteenth century Norman was regarded as one of the main dialects, with specific cultural connotations which were noted, for instance, by Roger Bacon.[29] It is also apparent that by the accession of Philip Augustus (1180), the spoken language of the Capetian court was regarded as in some ways superior to that of other provinces: 'My language is good, for I was born in *France*', Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence assured his Canterbury audience in *c.*1173,[30] while the baron and poet Conon de Béthune

[25] *QN*, no. 468.

[26] Musset 1986, 339, and 1989, 317; Gouttebroze 1995, 413–18. For legal aspects of the Norman frontier, see below, chapter 4.

[27] For the close coincidence between ducal authority and the region where the acre was used, see Navel 1932, 152–66; Musset 1989, 317–18; Niermeyer, 13. For arpents, its 'French' equivalent, in Norman frontier regions, see ADOR, H 3630 (meadow at Essay, *c.* 1200); ADE, E 2657 (arable land at Marcilly-sur-Eure, 1231); Delisle 1851, 537 (woods, vineyards and meadows, chiefly in the Seine valley and Norman Vexin); cf. *ibid.* 536, for the use of the *jugus* and *jornalium* to measure arable land in three frontier zones (Eu, the southern Evrecin, and the lands of the count of Alençon).

[28] Dumas 1979 and 1986. Power (1994, 275–312) gives a much fuller consideration of this topic than has been possible in the present work.

[29] For 'Old French II', see Pope 1952, 9–10; for its main dialects, see *ibid.*, 486–505, and Einhorn 1974, 135–141. Roger Bacon's comments are reproduced in Brunot 1966, i, 310 and n.: 'Nam et idiomata variantur ejusdem linguae apud diversos, sicut patet de lingua gallicana quae apud Gallicos et Normannos et Picardos et Burgundos multiplici variatur idiomate. Et quo proprie dicitur in idiomate Picardorum horrescit apud Burgundos, imo apud Gallicos viciniores.' Cf. Lodge 1992, 78.

[30] *La vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr par Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence*, ed. E. Walberg (Lund, 1922), line 6165: 'Mis languages est bons, car en France fui nez.' For his Francien dialect, see p. clxv. Cf. Brunot 1966, i, 329; Rickard 1974, 49.

complained that he was mocked at the Capetian court on account of his Artesian dialect, 'for I was not brought up in Pontoise'.[31] However, it is impossible to know what the distinguishing features of twelfth-century dialects were, where and when exactly they occurred, and how sharp the divide was. The very notion of a linguistic frontier was refuted by one of the leading experts in the study of Old French.[32] Individual traits which have been discerned from extant texts do not necessarily follow political borders: one of the supposed indices of the divide between Francien (the dialect of the Ile-de-France) and other provincial dialects united northern Normandy, including Caen and Lisieux, with Picard dialects, but separated this part of the duchy from the southern districts of Normandy, Brittany, Maine, the Chartrain, and the Ile-de-France.[33]

In any case, none of the provincial dialects used in Old French literature was 'pure'. It has been suggested that this reflected a prevailing desire to imitate the written *bon usage* of Francien,[34] but few 'Francien' texts survive before the mid-thirteenth century: most of the literature of this period is written in what are regarded as primarily Norman, Anglo-Norman, Champenois, Picard or Tourangeau dialects.[35] With such poor evidence, it is impossible to demonstrate that the Norman frontier had a linguistic significance. Much of the groundbreaking categorisation of Old French dialects in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries presumed that the triumph of the dialect of the Ile-de-France as a national language was as assured as the rise of the French monarchy.[36] The

[31] *Les origines de la poésie lyrique d'oïl et les premiers trouvères: textes*, ed. I. M. Cluzel and L. Pressouyre (Paris, 1962), 56: 'La Roïne n'a pas fait ke cortoise/ Ki me reprist, ele et ses fieus, li Rois./ Encoir ne soit ma parole franchoise,/ Si la puet on bien entendre en franchois;/ Ne chil ne sont pas bien apris ne cortois,/ S'il m'ont repris se j'ai dit mos d'Artois,/ Car je ne fui pas norris a Pontoise.' Cf. Lodge 1992, 77. In the mid-thirteenth century, Philippe de Beaumanoir's English heroine in *Jehan et Blonde* spoke French, but 'you could tell from her speech that she was not born at Pontoise' (Rickard 1974, 50).

[32] Pope 1934, 19–20; she did, however, concede the existence of a marked 'northern' dialect, of Walloon and Picard, which in some features incorporated northern Normandy (19–20, 500).

[33] Brunot 1966, i, 310, 321, 326, and Pope 1934, 487: *ca-* of vulgar Latin remained hard in northern Normandy and Picardy (e.g. *castel*), whereas it became soft in the southern French Vexin and Ile-de-France (and hence modern standard French), southern Normandy and the Loire region (e.g. *chastel*). The dividing line, the so-called 'ligne Joret', cut across Normandy from Caen through Lisieux, Bernay and Evreux to Mantes. The superbly detailed maps of linguistic forms compiled by Dees (1980 and 1987) from thirteenth-century charters and literary texts reveal many subtle variations in written French between Norman and neighbouring dialects (as well as many similarities), but the author's decision to treat Normandy as a single unit when compiling the maps necessarily exaggerates the significance of the duchy's borders.

[34] Brunot 1966, i, 328–31; Rickard 1974, i, 47, 50–1, 52–3; Delbouille 1962, 9–12.

[35] Brunot 1966, i, 327; Rickard 1974, 52.

[36] E.g. Brunot 1966, i, 330–1 (originally published in 1903): 'Il est désormais facile de voir qu'un jour ou l'autre il y aura en France une langue nationale et que ce sera celle de Paris et de ses environs.' Rickard (1974, 51–2) detects a wider linguistic awareness among authors which he calls the 'pre-dialectal unity of the *langue d'oïl*', but this view is refuted by Dees (1985 and 1987, vii–xvi).

tendency of sociolinguistics to minimise traditional classification of dialects also greatly reduces the significance of regional difference.[37] Even the Norman–Breton border had no linguistic dimension, for the eastern parts of the duchy of Brittany were fully integrated into the northern French world in the Angevin era; the Breton language was largely confined to the western ends of the peninsula.[38]

The chief significance of the Norman frontier was in terms of power. The borders of Normandy passed through a variety of districts, each with its own characteristics, and differing combinations of forests, rivers, hills and human habitation. To dwell close to the French king's fortresses must have been a very different experience from living in a remote corner of the hills east of Domfront. Between Verneuil and Neufmarché, the Norman border was normally a 'hot' frontier, subject to raiding and siege warfare with a depressing regularity. The reason was simple: Paris and Rouen, the chief cities of the two most powerful princes in western Europe, both lay within forty miles of the Epte, Eure and Avre, and no landowning noble could ignore that basic fact. Elsewhere, the Norman frontier was often far less strife-torn. The Breton frontier might sometimes be disturbed by localised violence, but after 1064 the only major reported conflicts occurred in 1173, 1196 and 1202–4. The border with Perche, ill defined and violent in the late eleventh century, probably remained at peace for much of the twelfth century but 'heated up' from 1150 onwards. What held these different regions together was their common place on the peripheries of the Norman principality. Their political communities, the aristocracy who dominated local affairs and who dealt with the Norman dukes and neighbouring princes, are the key to understanding the character and significance of the Norman frontier in the last century of ducal Normandy.[39]

THE NORMAN FRONTIER: ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

When Jean-François Lemarignier, Jean Yver and Lucien Musset sought to explain the precocious development of the Norman 'state' by comparison with other French principalities, the Norman frontier was an integral part of their theories.[40] As early as the eleventh century, they argued, the

[37] Cf. Lodge 1993, 71–4. [38] Everard 2000, 7–16.

[39] Although Given (1990, 252–3, 259) and Reuter (2000, 85–6), amongst others, argue persuasively that aristocratic power cannot be understood without reference to the humbler sections of society, it has not been possible to give extensive attention here to the peasants and townspeople of the regions concerned.

[40] Lemarignier 1945, 9–33; Yver 1952b, 310–11 and 1969, 309–12; Musset 1962–3 and 1989. All three authors drew heavily upon Génestal (1927, 38–44); for critiques, see Tabuteau 1988, 223–6, 391–2.

province's limits were defined with unusual precision, more often than not using much older divisions such as the boundaries of Carolingian *pagi*, and within this delineated zone the dukes enforced their sovereignty. Lemarignier and Musset acknowledged that there were areas such as the 'Avre Triangle' or certain southern Norman borderlands where ducal sovereignty was slower to develop, and others from which Norman power soon receded, but such exceptions served to highlight the success of the Norman rulers elsewhere in developing their state.[41] The early history of the Norman 'frontier' is therefore closely related to the origins and evolution of Normandy itself, and is no less controversial.

At first sight, a Norman frontier from the mouth of the Bresle to the Bay of Mont-Saint-Michel appears well established by the mid-tenth century. A century after a Scandinavian warband had taken over the lower reaches of the Seine with the toleration if not the blessing of the Frankish king Charles the Simple, Dudo de Saint-Quentin's *De Moribus et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum* alleged that the Viking leader Rollo received all the territory 'from the River Epte to the sea', as well as dominion over the Bretons.[42] Dudo's claims regarding the territorial extent of 'Normandy' have been disproved, for Rollo's power was confined to the environs of Rouen; only gradually did the Scandinavians acquire control over the territory to the west. Frankish sources impute further grants of territory in 924 and 933 that brought the Scandinavians' territory as far as the Bay of Mont-Saint-Michel, giving the impression that by the second of these dates Normandy encompassed the same territory as at the birth of William the Conqueror one hundred years later.[43] Yet even this modification of Dudo's account, suggesting a period of rapid expansion followed by remarkable territorial stability, risks being both too simplistic and anachronistic. The extent of continuity from Carolingian Neustria in population, culture and modes of domination remains very debated.[44] The very survival of the Norse colony had been in doubt

[41] Musset 1957–8, 36–47; Lemarignier 1945, e.g. 60–7, 70–1. By 'le triangle de l'Avre' Musset means the district of Croth and Illiers-l'Evêque, bounded by the River Avre to the south and the River Eure to the east, and usually regarded as the south-east corner of Normandy. Cf. Musset (1989, 312–14), for other minute examples of ducal authority extending beyond the border rivers, e.g. Limetz on the left ('French') bank of the Epte, which Rollo had allegedly taken but restored to St-Ouen de Rouen (cf. *RADN*, no. 53).

[42] Dudo, 169: 'a flumine Eptæ usque ad mare'. Werner (1976, 695 n.11) notes Charles' strength at this time.

[43] Bates 1982, 8–9.

[44] Bauduin (1998, 4–18) gives a comprehensive review of these debates, for which see especially Boüard 1955; Yver 1969; Werner 1976; Bates 1982, 2–38; Searle 1988, 1–97; Potts 1996 and 2002, 19–30; Lifshitz 1998; Bates 1999. Bauduin's thesis places the growth of the power of the counts of Rouen securely in the context of existing Frankish structures. For simplicity the terms 'duke' and 'duchy' will be used throughout the present work, at the risk of some anachronism for the period before 1100.

on several occasions, notably after the assassination of its count, William Longsword, in 942 and again during the internecine Frankish wars of the 960s.[45] The name 'Normandy' is not found before the second decade of the eleventh century, precisely when Dudo was composing his lavish story of the foundations of Norman greatness; its ruler was never called *dux* until after 1000 and continued to be frequently described merely as *comes* until after 1100.[46]

The drastic revision in recent historiography of the traditional views relating Normandy's early history leads to the conclusion that there was no single, established Norman frontier from either 911 (the traditional date for the treaty between Rollo and Charles the Simple) or 933 (when the Normans were said to have received the Avranchin and Cotentin, completing their chief expansion westwards). The Scandinavian leaders came to exercise considerable control over their territory, and with time they strengthened their dominion by appropriating many of the attributes of Carolingian kingship and countship. However, the idea that they governed within 'definitive' frontiers founded upon the previous structures of Carolingian administration has been dealt heavy blows from several different directions. It is clear that, whatever the nominal bounds of their land, the Norman counts extended their power beyond the vicinities of the lower Seine in a piecemeal fashion and suffered numerous setbacks in the process. The obstacles which they encountered included superior Frankish power that inhibited expansion to the north-east, and independent Scandinavian settlers to the west who resented and resisted the imposition of rule by the descendants of Rollo;[47] these and other impediments left ducal power much stronger in some districts than others. For much of the eleventh century the extent of Norman power was still very unclear. Cassandra Potts has demonstrated how the Norman princes only gradually extended their effective power to the south-west as far as the River Couesnon, halting first at the Sélune.[48] Eleanor Searle and Gérard Louise, although writing from very different perspectives, have highlighted the contested nature of ducal control right up to the reign of William the Conqueror in the central and southern parts of the duchy, a vast marcher zone at the limits of Norman, Angevin, Blésois and French royal influence.[49]

[45] Bates 1982, 13–14, 25–6; Searle 1988, 57–8, 79–90, 102–7.

[46] Werner (1976, 708), notes that *princeps* remained the most consistently used title of the rulers of Normandy until the reign of Henry I of England; Bates 1982, 148–50; below, p. 213.

[47] See Werner (1976, 700) for the gradual subjugation of western Normandy, in part with Frankish help.

[48] Potts 1990, 140–55.

[49] Louise 1992, i, 269–385; Searle 1988, 179–82, 206–12.

Only under William the Conqueror did ducal authority come to match the nominal extent of his territories, after the aggressive young duke had dismantled the power of his kinsmen from the ducal dynasty whose apanages, based around key fortresses, had hitherto defended the peripheries of Normandy. Even then, the dukes of Normandy may well have envisaged their territory in terms of fortresses and peoples rather than anything resembling a land hermetically sealed by fixed frontiers.[50] Moreover, even after 1100 the extent of ducal power at the limits of its nominal territory would fluctuate considerably.

Nevertheless, for much of the history of ducal Normandy its borderlands attracted many comments from contemporaries: sources abound with references to Normandy's *fines* or *confinium*, its *limites* or *marce*, as well as to its *marchisi* and *finitimi*.[51] As early as the 1020s the foundation act of the abbey of Lonlay referred to the *Normannie commarchia*.[52] Writing shortly before 1060, William of Jumièges recorded the construction by Robert the Magnificent of a fortress near the River Couesnon in the 1030s 'to fortify the Norman border',[53] and a charter for the abbey of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire described the Conqueror's fortress at Saint-James as 'on the border of Normandy and Brittany'.[54] At the opposite end of the province, a late-eleventh-century act recorded that the fortress of Aumale had been established three generations earlier 'in the farthest parts of Normandy on the River Eu (Bresle), where it divides the province of Amiens from the land of the Normans'.[55] In the late twelfth century a nearby

[50] A. W. Lewis 1992, 151–2.

[51] There are countless twelfth-century allusions to the borders of Normandy, particularly with 'France', e.g. Orderic, iv, 152; Suger, 102; *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 72; Torigny, ii, 50–1; *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 52; Howden, iv, 163; Rigord, 123. For the border with Ponthieu, see *Gesta Henrici*, i, 310; for the border with Maine, Musset 1989, 314–15. For *marchisi*, see A. W. Lewis 1992, 153; for the *finitimi Cenomannenses seu Normanni*, see Orderic, iv, 156; in general, Power 1999c, 118–20. A revealing conceptualisation of Norman territory, to be dated 1074 × 87, is the statement in the *Miracula Sancti Vulfranni*, 27, that Rollo 'primus marcas inter se et finitimas nationes certis pro arbitrio limitibus prescripsit'; see Bates 1982, 56.

[52] *Neustria Pia*, 424–6; Musset 1989, 315. Lonlay (dioc. Le Mans) then still lay outside Norman territory.

[53] *GND*, ii, 56 ('ad munimen Normannici limitis'; cf. 42), and for the date of composition, see *ibid*., i, xxxii–xxxv. Most historians have taken the castle in question, *Caruscas*, to be Cherrueix (Ille-et-Vilaine, cant. Dol-de-Bretagne). However, Stapleton (*MRSN*, i, xciii) believed it to be *Carcei*, in the parish of Moidrey (cne. Pontorson) on the 'Norman' side of the Couesnon, which accords with William of Jumièges' statement that Robert I invaded Brittany only after building the castle. Wace, in his *Roman de Rou*, i, 258 (iii, lines 2605–8), professes not to know if the castle was at Pontorson or *Carues* (Cherrueix?). For *Carcei* (Charcey) see also *RADN*, no. 49 and p. 21; *PDN*, ii, no. 113.

[54] *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 251 (*Ch. St-Benoît*, i, no. lxxviii): 'ecclesiam sancti Jacobi, que in confinio Normannie et Britannie sita est'; cf. Bates 1982, 56.

[55] The two foundation acts of Auchy (ADSM, 1 H 1, no. 1 (ed. Musset 1959–60a, 32–5); Semichon 1862, i, 391–3) both state that a nobleman called *Guerinfredus* 'condidit castellum quod Albamarla

landowner could refer to the Bresle as 'the river of the March of Normandy'.[56] Numerous other examples give the impression that contemporaries had a reasonably strong sense of the extent of Norman territory.[57] That territory was demarcated in various ways. From the very beginning the eastern limits of Norman power were defined in terms of rivers,[58] and of six rivers in particular, as the Bresle, Epte, Eure, Avre, Sarthe and Couesnon came to be taken as the notional limits of Norman territory. In 1066 an oratory by the River Epte at Gisors stood 'between both countries, Normandy to the east and France to the west';[59] in 1136, according to Orderic Vitalis who was writing in southern Normandy, Geoffrey of Anjou 'crossed the River Sarthe and entered Normandy'.[60] The strength of notions about the whereabouts of the Norman border is demonstrated by the observation of the well-informed Yorkshire canon William of Newburgh that the town of Dol 'is certainly Breton by right but is enclosed within the bounds of the Normans',[61] and in the same region a charter of Ralph de Fougères mentioned a disputed wasteland that lay between Brittany and Normandy, which was in fact of very small extent.[62] The frontier could even be imbued with moral qualities: Louis VII

nuncupatur in extremis partibus Normannie quę antiquitus Neustria uocabatur super flumen quod Algus dicitur in ea parte qua dividit Ambianensem prouintiam a terra Normanorum'.

[56] *Ctl. Sélincourt*, no. XCI (cf. nos. XCIII, XCVII): William de Guimerville grants 'totum feodum Sancti Leodegarii, quod ad me pertinet, usque ad Caisnoi de Senarpont, et usque ad Novillam, et usque ad aquam marche Normannie' (1175 × 91). St-Léger-sur-Bresle, Senarpont and Neuville-Coppegueule (Somme, ar. Amiens, cant. Oisemont) lie east of the Bresle, whereas Guimerville (Seine-Maritime, ar. Dieppe, cant. Blangy-sur-Bresle, cne. Hodeng-au-Bosc) is on its west bank.

[57] A. W. Lewis 1992, 150 nn. 11–12; Power 1995, 198–9; 1999c, 118–20. *RADN*, no. 161, concerning Le Luot near Avranches (1050 × *c.*1064), states that, 'ex una parte est callis tritus, qui ducit ab Abrincas civitate in Normanniam interiorem', and identical acts of William Rufus and Robert Curthose (1091) are addressed to all men 'intra fines Normannie degentibus' (Bates 1995, 39, 46–7).

[58] For the conflicting traditions regarding the Andelle, Epte and Oise as the eastern limit of Normandy, see *GND*, ii, 286.

[59] *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 196, p. 626 (cf. *Ctl. Pontoise*, no. III): 'Qui locus habens ad orientem Franciam, ab occidente vero Normanniam, constitit super fluvium Heptam, inter utramque patriam fluentem atque alteram super altera dividentem.' For this text, see Lemarignier 1945, 40 n. 29.

[60] Orderic, vi, 466.

[61] Newburgh, i, 176 (referring to events in 1173): 'Dolense oppidum . . . quod juris quidem est Britannici, sed Normannicis collimitatur finibus.' Although the passage could theoretically mean simply 'is adjoined by Norman territory', Dol had been seized by Henry II before most of the rest of Brittany and given to a Norman, John de Subligny, which Newburgh's choice of words appears to reflect. See below, pp. 137, 220, 234, 397.

[62] AN, L 973, no. 766: Ralph confirms gifts to Savigny 'totam terram de Calumpniis inter Ualanias et Sanctum Iacobum, que Muntdagheium appellatur . . . fuerat in calumpnia et uastitate inter Britanniam et Normanniam' (Fougères, 1151). Valaine, Ille-et-Vilaine, cant. Louvigné-du-Désert, cne. Le Ferré; Montdaigné, Manche, cant. St-James, cne. Carnet. Cf. Musset 1989, 316; note also the adjacent district of 'Terregatte'.

recalled the assiduous service of the men of Mantes to the kings of France even though they 'dwell in an evil borderland'.[63]

Yet how significant were these descriptions? Chroniclers were frequently, indeed notoriously simplistic in their choice of territorial terminology and also constrained by their authorities. The apparent resemblance of the eleventh-century and thirteenth-century borders of Normandy may be deceptive.[64] Terms such as *marca*, *limes* and *fines* could be simultaneously both linear and zonal in meaning.[65] Moreover, although delineation of borders by reference to rivers and streams is a very ancient practice, river valleys have a habit of uniting neighbouring populations rather than separating them, and watercourses function more effectively as notional limits of jurisdiction rather than as genuine 'natural frontiers'.[66] In a fragmented society that lacked maps for all practical purposes, linear borders defined by rivers were one way of making sense of more intricate, overlapping or competing jurisdictions. In our age of scientific and popularised cartography, it is difficult for us to enter the mind of the inhabitants of the Norman marches whose notions of their environs were based entirely upon observation and hearsay. When the English chronicler Roger of Howden recorded the 'division of the kingdoms on the coast' (*divisio regnorum secus mare*) which he witnessed as he sailed to Palestine, he wrote simply that 'All the land by the sea from England to Spain, namely Normandy, Brittany, and Poitou, is in the king of England's domain'; he then described the whole of what is now the Mediterranean coast of France, as far as a point between Nice and Ventimiglia, as the *terra regis Arragonie*; only thereafter did the Empire begin.[67] While some details in Howden's description are demonstrably inaccurate, the English chronicler and royal ambassador was neither unobservant nor badly misinformed: rather, he was displaying a typical and understandable preference for the simplicities of physical features and broadly defined princely hegemonies to complex jurisdictional realities.

The use of linear boundaries or landmarks to indicate the limits of jurisdictions was not merely descriptive: it also informed political actions. Robert of Torigni believed that Henry I had a concerted programme to

[63] Luchaire (1885), no. 406 (ed. pp. 411–12): 'quamvis in malis finibus collocati' (1153). *Fines* in this usage can mean simply 'parts', but the context implies 'borderland'.

[64] A. W. Lewis 1992, 150–1.

[65] Cf. Zimmermann 1991, 38–9; J. M. H. Smith 1995, 176–7. The Norman examples of *fines* to mean '(limits of) territory' are too numerous to record here; an early example is William of Jumièges' statement, describing the revolt of Count William of Eu, that Duke Richard II 'alios exules de suis finibus exturbauit' (*GND*, ii, 8).

[66] Cf. Evans (1992, 482–3, 489), for central European parallels.

[67] Howden, iii, 51; cf. *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 122, which does not name the different provinces within the *terra regis Angliæ*.

fortify the 'margin of his duchy', treating the frontiers as anything but peripheral:[68] Henry's policy contrasts with, for instance, the inability of the Capetians to fortify the external frontiers of the kingdom of France.[69] The Irish archaeologist Tadhg O'Keeffe has suggested that heavy encastellation is as symptomatic of an imagined frontier as of a real military threat:[70] by this token, Henry's constructions from Pontorson to Drincourt signify how awareness of the territorial extent of Normandy had grown over the previous century.

The kings of France and dukes of Normandy reinforced the symbolic importance of border markers through holding conferences and ceremonies of homage at particular fords or bridges.[71] In the time of Henry I's grandson Henry II, the famous elm 'near Gisors, but growing within the limits of France', was the traditional spot for negotiations between the kings of France and the dukes of Normandy; its destruction by Philip Augustus in 1188 symbolised his intention to hold no further negotiations with his enemies, or possibly his aim to extend his rule beyond the Epte and its redundant elm tree to Gisors and the Norman Vexin.[72] These physical points of reference had numerous parallels elsewhere in Europe, such as 'Charles' Cross' that traditionally marked the boundary of Navarre and Gascony,[73] or the rivers Scheldt, Meuse, Saône and Rhône that were usually treated as the division between the kingdom of France and the Empire.[74] Hugh of Poitiers, a twelfth-century monk of Vézelay, described the town of Saint-Jean-de-Losne as 'on this side of the River Saône, within the boundaries of the kingdom of France'.[75] Hugh's words were confirmed by royal actions. In 1162, after Louis VII of France and the emperor Frederick Barbarossa had failed to meet for a conference at a bridge on the Saône, Louis is said to have washed his

[68] *GND*, ii, 250: 'in margine sui ducatus et confinium prouinciarum'. A. W. Lewis (1992, 152–3) sees this policy as a break with the past, although Tabuteau (1992, 54–65) argues for a concerted ducal policy towards baronial castles from William the Conqueror onwards.

[69] For the Capetians and their kingdom's eastern frontier, see Power 1999c, 106–9.

[70] O'Keeffe 1992, 58, discussing the Pale. Lemarignier (1945, 62–3) makes similar comments concerning the Norman border with the county of Mortagne.

[71] Lemarignier 1945, 90–1, 101–13.

[72] Diceto, ii, 55: 'arborem quandam, Gisortis vicinantem, sed intra fines Franciæ radicatam'; for its destruction, see also *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 47, 59; Will. Bret., 188–9; *Philippidos*, 69–72 (iii, lines 102–85); *HGM*, i, 7763–78; Lemarignier 1945, 91, 103–5, who notes other examples of elms, real and fictitious, at traditional parleying spots. Cf. Nicklis (1992, 20–1) for the link between Slavonic *granica* ('heap' or 'boundary-marker', the root for German *Grenze*, i.e. 'border') and oak trees.

[73] *The Pilgrim's Guide to Compostela*, trans. W. Melczer (New York, 1993), 93, 148–9. Diceto, ii, 119, comments that Richard I's campaigns in 1194 meant that no one dared rebel against him 'a castello Vernolii quousque veniatur ad crucem Karoli', while *Annales angevines*, 19–20, states that King John 'adquisivit totum regnum quod erat patris sui usque ad Crucem Karoli Regis'.

[74] Bur 1976; 1979; Parisse 1990; Power 1999c, 106–9.

[75] *RHF*, xii, 329: 'citra Ararim fluvium intra fines regni Francie'.

hands in the river to demonstrate that he had fulfilled his obligation of coming to the meeting. His gesture reinforced the river's symbolic role as the limits of his authority. When he returned to Burgundy in 1166 Louis VII again demonstrated his belief that the river marked the border of his kingdom, for in 1166 he ravaged the lands of the count of Chalon-sur-Saône, who had offended him, as far as the River Saône. He then took homage for a line of castles along the west bank of the river.[76] The conceptual simplicity of the notional limits of the kingdom contrasted with the intricacy of the Franco-Imperial frontier in practice. The *fines* and *marchie* of Normandy were likewise identified and legitimated by princely actions.

To understand the nature and significance of the frontiers of ducal Normandy, it is necessary to consider more than the notional limits alone. This book will examine the ways in which ducal power functioned at the limits of its territories and at how local societies responded to political divisions in their midst.

THE ARISTOCRACY OF THE NORMAN FRONTIER

The aristocracy that dominated the regions around the Norman frontier has suffered from historical neglect. Historians have given some consideration to the frontier's inhabitants, but usually only in very specific contexts, and chiefly prior to the reign of Henry I of England in Normandy (1106–35).[77] Indeed, the history of Normandy between 1100 and 1300 has received far less attention than the previous two centuries. After 1144 Normandy's history has usually been subsumed into more general histories of the Angevin provinces in France. The Norman aristocracy is of secondary importance even in the *magna opera* of Haskins, Powicke and Boussard, which have so much to say about ducal power and authority in twelfth-century Normandy.[78] The neglect of the Norman aristocracy

[76] Heinemeyer 1964, 171–86; Duby 1971, 407–9; for this frontier in general see Schlesser 1984. Typical of Capetian attitudes even after 1200 was Philip Augustus' grant to the chapter of Langres of the right to elect its bishop, 'quia etiam predicta ecclesia a nobis remota est et in confinio regni et imperii sita' (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 772; for similar references to Langres, see *PL*, cxxxviii (*Gesta episcoporum Autissiodorensium*), 320, and *RHF*, xvi, 140–1, and for its uncertain place within the kingdom of France and Empire, Bur 1979, 150–1.

[77] E.g. Lemarignier 1945, 34–69; Yver 1955–6; Musset 1977, which concentrates upon the Tosnys before 1150; Bauduin 1998.

[78] Powicke 1961, 331–58; Haskins 1918, especially 157–95 for the Angevin period. Boussard (1956, 87–100) has many errors concerning the aristocracy of Normandy; Boussard (1938, 59–63) also has some inaccuracies concerning the aristocracy of northern Maine. Louise (1992) also concentrates upon the period before 1135, but Lemesle (1999), Guyotjeannin (1987, 100–56) Thompson (1995, esp. 67–103) and Everard (2000) all consider aristocracies bordering Normandy after 1150, in Upper Maine, the Beauvaisis, Perche and Brittany respectively. Studies of 'Norman' frontier

under the Angevins owes much to the poverty of the contemporary narrative sources, none of which can compare with the *Ecclesiastical History* of Orderic Vitalis, who ceased to write in 1141; the proliferating records of Norman government, though informative, lack the attraction or accessibility of the lengthy and vivid accounts of the monk of Saint-Evroul.

Yet far-reaching changes in the nature and number of primary sources make the twelfth century a particularly fruitful period for researching the aristocracies of northern France. Whereas eleventh-century sources, most of which were narrative, mentioned few of the laity apart from the magnates, the twelfth century witnessed the first frequent appearances of lesser landowners in northern French records.[79] Two independent phenomena, the qualitative increase in the use and preservation of written documents for administration and the rise of the reformed religious orders, bring the northern French knightly lineages under the historical microscope in large numbers for the first time.[80] As leading patrons of the reformed religious orders, these lords and ladies of villages and fortified manor houses had thousands of charters issued in their name and adorned with their little seals. Simultaneously, princely governments in England, Normandy, the Ile-de-France and elsewhere were relying heavily upon this social group for its operations and recording its services, dues and court cases. Hence the *petite noblesse* was confidently emerging from obscurity on both sides of the Norman frontier in the last decades of Angevin Normandy: it will feature prominently in the pages of this book. The same developments also vastly increase the documentation for the magnates.

The historical neglect of a frontier aristocracy can also be imputed to historians' customarily 'statist' concerns. Marcher lords have rarely received a good press. Their reputation is exemplified in the Tudor denunciations of the Law of the Welsh March as 'sinister usages and customes', imposed as part of 'the thraldome and cruelty used by the Lords marches'.[81] Orderic Vitalis, who paid more attention than most writers to the lords of northern France, dismissed the barons who had dominated the Franco-Norman frontier in his younger days as 'warring

lords after 1150 include those by Green (1984), Crouch (1986 and 2000), A. W. Lewis (1985), Yver (1967–89), Thompson (1994), Vincent (1997) and Lemoine (1998).

[79] For the diplomatic context of twelfth-century acts, see especially Barthélemy 1993, 19–83, and Guyotjeannin 1997; cf. Chédeville 1973, 20–3; Pichot 1995, 18–20.

[80] Note, though, that our reliance upon charters for religious houses can heavily distort the geographic impression of the sources. Pichot (1995, 20–1) is very suggestive, showing the remarkably uneven distribution of evidence for parishes in western Maine (chiefly because of the abundance of records for the abbey of Savigny and the Manceau priories of Marmoutier).

[81] R. R. Davies 1971, 29–30.

marchers'.[82] Modern historians have often demonstrated similar prejudices because they have generally been more interested in the political structures constraining marcher power than in the marcher lords themselves.[83] The aristocracies of the borderlands of French principalities also risk being neglected because of the provincial framework of most modern French historical writing: although the vast number of excellent regional surveys written since 1950 have much to say about the aristocracy, they generally halt at the supposed borders of each province. Leading studies of the provinces neighbouring Normandy, for example, mention the Norman frontier only in passing or not at all.[84] It is no small task even to discover who held the lordships lying on either side of the notional Norman border (where this can be shown to have existed), still less to know how local potentates interacted with one other.[85] More importantly, an approach focussing exclusively upon individual provinces is in danger of taking contemporary concepts of identity at face value. Chroniclers and poets invariably classified the nobles whose deeds they described according to province, but modern historians have a right to treat their rhetoric with suspicion, and only by considering both sides of the frontier can they establish the significance of the Norman borders for the societies which they supposedly divided.[86]

Most of the great lineages of the frontier were established by 1100, and a good number had already been in place for several decades by then: many families had originally been given offices and grants of land along the borders of the duchy either to defend the Normans or to contain them.[87] Yet over several generations the original purpose of their lordship tended to be forgotten or superseded by new concerns, so that the material and social interests of the frontier's élite in the twelfth century were often not identical to those of a century earlier. It is true that there are some striking continuities in family strategies from earlier periods: the Talvas, who were most famous as lords of Bellême (a fortress which

[82] Orderic, vi, 46: 'belligerantes marchisos' (Ralph III de Tosny, Eustace de Breteuil and Ascelin Goel).

[83] E.g. Warren (1973, 235–6) dismisses baronial castles on the borders between the various Angevin provinces as 'a dangerous anachronism'.

[84] Chédeville (1973, e.g. 41, 59) for the Chartrain; Pichot (1995) for Lower Maine; Fossier (1968) for Picardy; Lemesle (1999) for Upper Maine. For an exception that considers the frontiers of southern Normandy with Maine and Perche as a single frontier region, see Louise (1992); Bauduin's singularly original and perceptive study of the eastern Norman frontier (1998) is primarily concerned with the three centuries before 1100.

[85] Lemarignier (1945, 34–72) remains the most comprehensive overview of the lordships of regions along the Norman frontier.

[86] For terms of identity along the Norman frontier, see Power 1994, 54–67; 1995, 199–201; below, 472–3.

[87] See chapter 5.

they lost in 1113), rose up in arms against the ruler of Normandy in every generation from the turn of the first millennium to the fateful surrender of Alençon to the king of France in January 1203; almost every lord of Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais was a steadfast opponent of the Norman duke.[88] Yet for other families, such as the counts of Aumale, Meulan or Eu, the lords of Montfort-l'Amaury and the lords of Gournay, changing connections with the princes of northern France or genealogical luck altered their political concerns from generation to generation. Merely to dismiss them as rebellious marcher lords is to miss the story. Twelfth-century lordship had its own dynamics.

This work sets out to analyse the concerns of rulers and subjects at the fringes of Norman territory. Part I considers the frameworks of princely and ecclesiastical authority, in order to discern the significance of the duchy's borders for governmental structures, legal practices and the organisation of power. Part II turns to the aristocratic élites themselves, assessing the impact of the presence of the political frontier in their midst upon their strategies and fitting their history into the broader picture of French aristocracies. Part III considers the structure and course of frontier politics from Henry I's assumption of Norman ducal power in 1106 to its appropriation by Philip Augustus of France in 1204, as well as the aftermath of those events. Together these three sections will reveal the fundamental place of the Norman frontier in the history of the duchy and its neighbours, and in the history of France as a whole.

[88] Bates, 23, 33; below, pp. 350–3, 364–5.

Part 1

PRINCELY POWER AND THE NORMAN FRONTIER

Chapter 1

THE DUKES OF NORMANDY AND THE FRONTIER REGIONS

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FRONTIER FOR NORMAN GOVERNMENT

The twelfth century was a pivotal period for the development of systems of government in western Europe. These changes have been characterised variously as the 'rise of administrative kingship', or, by the historian of the county-bishopric of the Beauvaisis, to the east of Normandy, as a 'new mode of exercising power'.[1] For another distinguished historian of twelfth-century France these changes signified the beginnings of the retreat of 'lordship' in the face of 'government', although the practices and structures of lordship were too entrenched to be overthrown completely, and in many respects the French principalities are best viewed as lordships writ large.[2] Characteristic developments included the growing use of written records and revocable offices which could hold officials more accountable, the rise of extraordinary taxation such as scutages, tallages and aids, and the increasing recourse to more rational judicial methods.

The duchy of Normandy appears to have been at the forefront of these developments.[3] By the death of Henry I in 1135, its administration was noticeably more sophisticated than that of most other French principalities, even though it was still more primitive than in Normandy's great colony of England. Some developments arose in parallel with their better-known English counterparts, or were borrowed directly from England after 1066. The Anglo-Saxon writ, for instance, became a major tool of Norman administration in the twelfth century.[4] By the death of Henry I his Norman revenues were being audited at some sort of 'exchequer', and although this fledgling institution probably fell into abeyance in the

[1] Hollister and Baldwin 1978; Guyotjeannin 1987, 156–69. [2] Bisson 1995b, 757–8.

[3] Haskins (1918, 123–95) remains the standard work for the Angevin period; other studies include Delisle (1848–52), Valin (1910), Powicke (1961, esp. 18–78) and Boussard (1956, esp. 330–7); Lyon and Verhulst (1967, 41–52), Holt (1975, 1984a), Moss (1994, 1999 and 2000); Power (2002, 68–75). Strayer (1932), despite being primarily a study of St Louis' reign, is also very useful for Norman government before 1204.

[4] See Bates 1985.

reign of Stephen, there was certainly a Norman exchequer at Caen under Henry II, probably from the 1160s and certainly by 1176.[5] As in England, regular judicial circuits around the duchy were established during the course of the century, and a permanent provincial governor, the seneschal, came to resemble the English justiciar in many ways. The ruler's itinerant household provided a link between the dynasty's different dominions; so, too, did the cadre of Angevin officials, who had often acquired their training through service to their prince on both sides of the English Channel. Hence Angevin rule in Normandy was bolstered by the influx of English-trained administrators with Richard of Ilchester in the mid-1170s, and a generation later the abbot of Caen led a group of officials trained in Normandy to reform the English exchequer.[6] However, some features of Norman government were neither derived from English practices nor akin to them. These included fiscal devices such as the triennial hearth-tax known as *fouage*, and an assize under which offenders were amerced for selling wine at too high a price.[7] Norman forest law and administration were quite different from their English counterparts.[8] The territorial organisation of the duchy bore some resemblances to England, but the Norman *vicomte* had different functions from the English sheriff and his position was often hereditary. The English counties had no true equivalent in Normandy; the duchy was divided into *vicomtés* and also, from the Angevin conquest onwards, into *bailliages*, but the latter were constantly evolving and were fluid in number, size and purpose.[9]

At first sight the records of Norman government present a picture of a well-organised bureaucratic 'state', and contemporaries were struck by the degree of political control which the rulers of Normandy could exert over their territory. In the mid-eleventh century a monk of the abbey of Marmoutier in Touraine noted how the power of the duke alone could guarantee the protection of Marmoutier's Norman property: 'The duke of Normandy', he wrote, 'was ruler of his whole land, something which is scarcely found anywhere else.'[10] There is good reason to believe that ducal power was just as strong a century later, except in times of chronic crisis such as the succession dispute of 1135–44. Yet contemporaries also regarded the Norman borderlands as a 'march', distinct from the

[5] Green 1989, 117–23; Moss 1994, 187–8. [6] Newburgh, ii, 464–5; Moss 1996, 189–92.

[7] For *fouage*, see below, pp. 34–40. For amercements *de vino supervendito*, see Moss 1994, 192–3; noting that most amercements were from western and southern Normandy, on the wine trade routes from Anjou.

[8] Green 1989, 123–7; Moss 1996, 20–2. [9] Powicke 1961, 53–7, 68–78; Moss 1996, 251–64.

[10] Bates 1982, 57, translating *RADN*, no. 137 (1055): 'Willelmum Normannorum principem et ducem et, ut expressius dicatur quod difficile in aliis reperies, totius terræ suæ regem.' The act concerns a grant at Vesly in the Norman Vexin, but the benefactor, John de Laval, came from one of the chief families of Maine.

heart of the duchy. A march could be a simple border: Suger of Saint-Denis referred to the border between the kingdom of France and the Empire as a march, although neither monarch had fortifications there.[11] But in the twelfth century 'march' retained the strong martial connotations which it had had since the Carolingian era.[12] Suger's description of the Franco-Imperial border had a military context, for he was referring to the expected encounter between the French and Imperial armies in 1124. Relating the dispute between Philip Augustus and the count of Flanders in 1181, Gilbert of Mons referred to the 'march' between the king's domain and the count's lands of Vermandois and Valois where both protagonists mustered their knights.[13] A mid-thirteenth-century inquest reported that the repeated wars of the kings of England and France before 1224 had transformed the district of Poitiers into a march.[14] In Ireland the English lordship died away into a myriad of 'marches' where government, lordship and ownership of land were inextricably entangled by the late Middle Ages, characterised by continual raiding.[15] References to the Norman marches were invariably in a military context such as inquests into knight-service or exchequer accounts and writs concerning the defence of the duchy. After Philip Augustus seized a string of Norman border fortresses in the 1190s, his clerks also referred to these districts as the 'Marches', and their chief concern was also the garrisoning and victualling of these castles.[16] All those who dealt with the duke's military affairs along the Norman frontier regarded the Norman borderlands as distinct from the heart of the duchy.

'Marches' also often implied distinctive border organisation. Medieval rulers often found it impossible to maintain tight control of their borders. In order to retain the loyalty and cooperation of his frontier lords, a prince frequently had to delegate power and authority to them to a degree that would have been unacceptable in the heart of his lands. These privileges might include exemption from levies, taxes or services, the grant of franchises and rights of *haute justice*, or the freedom to make war without royal interference. The political consequences of concessions to border lords could be enormous: in tenth-century Germany, the Saxon dukes defending the frontier had amassed enough power to take control of the

[11] Suger, 222 (*ingressos marchie fines*). For Suger's conceptions of space and of the French *regnum*, see Adams 1993, although he does not consider marches.

[12] Power 1999c, 111–12; for Carolingian marches see especially J. M. H. Smith 1995; Wolfram 2001.

[13] Gilbert of Mons, 136: 'dominus rex, ordinatis ubique in marchia contra comitem Flandrie militibus et servientibus equitibus et peditibus in civitatibus et castris suis . . . terram ipsius comitis, Valensium scilicet, invadere proponebat'. *Ibid.*, 137: 'comes Flandrie undique homines suos in marchia constitutos ad se vocavit'.

[14] 'Comptes d'Alphonse de Poitou', 59.

[15] Davies 1989, 80–9; Ellis 1999, 155–75.

[16] Power (1995, 185 n.13) brings together many of these references; cf. Power 1999c, 118–20.

kingdom for themselves. The kings of England after 1066 never faced such a challenge, but to secure the Welsh and Scottish borders they allowed the nobility there to accrue many fiscal and judicial privileges which gave them much greater weight in English politics.[17] Across Europe, marches offered local élites numerous possibilities for aggrandisement.[18] The following consideration of ducal rule in the Norman marches therefore seeks to identify not only the geographical extent of ducal power, but also the impact of marcher conditions upon ducal services, justice and finance.

MILITARY SERVICES

One indication of the geographical extent of Normandy and the nature of ducal authority at its fringes is the territorialisation of military service to the duke, a process which had occurred by the late twelfth century and in some areas much earlier.[19] The records of inquests into these services show that, in theory at least, none of the frontier castelries was exempt from demands for military service, and even if their lords did not perform service in person, they could not deny that they owed it. In the great survey of 1172 known as the *Infeudationes Militum*, Henry II took a record of the number of knights who owed service to him and to his barons, just as he had already ordered an even more comprehensive English survey six years earlier.[20] Those barons who made no response to the inquest, including several stalwart upholders of ducal administration, were nevertheless recorded for defaulting.[21] The survey made no mention, even amongst the defaulters, of the counts of Perche, Ponthieu and Dreux, or of the lords of Trie, La Roche-Guyon, Rosny, Châteauneuf or La Ferté-Arnaud (in *Francia*), Mayenne and Beaumont-sur-Sarthe (in Maine), or Fougères and Combour (in Brittany): nobles whose chief lordships therefore lay beyond ducal authority.[22] Yet the *Infeudationes Militum* do not give

[17] For the powers of the Welsh Marcher barons, see the sources cited above, p. 4; for those of the northern lords, see Holt 1984c, 94, and Green 1990.

[18] To take one instance among many, the power of the Canossa counts of Tuscany owed much to their exploitation of their marcher position in the Apennines (Wickham 1988, xxx–xxxi).

[19] Bates 1982, 168–72; Chibnall 1983; cf. Holt 1984c, for territorialisation of services in England.

[20] *RB*, ii, 624–45 (*Registres*, 267–76); cf. Warren 1973, 275–8 (English *carte baronum*); Keefe 1983, 4–6, 141–53. For the Norman surveys 1172–*c.*1220 in general, see Strayer 1932, 56–63; for those executed under Philip Augustus, see Baldwin 1986, 279–95.

[21] *RB*, ii, 644 (*Registres*, 276); Boussard 1955, i, 196; cf. Keefe 1983, 242 n. 63. Non-respondents associated with ducal rule included the archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Evreux, Doon Bardolf, and Hamelin, earl Warenne. Frontier lords included the counts of Eu, Evreux, Aumale and Meulan and Richer de l'Aigle (for l'Aigle itself, although he was recorded for Crépon near Bayeux).

[22] The 'Count John' mentioned in the survey is the count of Sées, not his nephew and namesake the count of Ponthieu (*RB*, ii, 626; *RHF*, xxiii, 694; *Registres*, 268).

the whole picture; surveys rarely do. By the end of the twelfth century the count of Perche owed the service of ten knights for the castle of Bellême to the Angevins, an obligation which must have had its roots in Henry I's 'grant' of the Bellêmois to Count Rotrou II of Perche between 1113 and 1126.[23] The relationship of Bellême to Normandy was peculiar, however;[24] with this one exception, the survey of 1172 seems a reliable source for the military obligations of the landowners along the frontiers of Normandy, and a broadly comprehensive guide to the territorial limits of services owed to the duke.

Various inquests between 1133 and *c.*1220 also reveal the distinctive character of military service in the Norman marches in comparison with the heart of the duchy. The knight-service of some marcher magnates was specifically to be performed *ad marchiam*: examples in 1172 were Hugh de Gournay and the count of Mortain.[25] For others, frontier duties were far more onerous than their service in the ducal host. Hence the ten knights' fees of William du Merlerault, located between Sées and the Forest of Saint-Evroul, were to furnish ten knights to guard the earl of Gloucester's castle of Sainte-Scolasse or one knight to join the earl's contingent in the ducal army.[26] Frontier services had some other distinctive features. At Gournay-en-Bray in the early thirteenth century, castle-guard was called *estagium*: this term was otherwise unknown in Normandy, but it was common in other parts of France including the adjoining Beauvaisis, where the lord of Gournay and his knights had numerous lands, and also at the castles of the *vidame* of Picquigny to the north.[27] Although annexed to the Capetian domain in 1202, the lands of Hugh de Gournay retained other distinctive military services: in 1215 the service of a 'rouncey' (or nag) was owed to Giles de Hodeng, one of the leading knights of the district, 'according to the custom of the land of Gournay'.[28]

In the marches, duties of castle-guard were particularly prominent: whereas specified ducal services in central Normandy were normally assessed in numbers of knights or as 'host' (*exercitus*), in the frontier castelries they were often measured as 'castle-guard' (*gard(i)a*, *custodia*).[29] The

[23] *Rot. Lib.*, 74; Thompson 2002, 61–3.
[24] Power 1995, 189; Thompson 2002, 61–3, 92, 135.
[25] *RB*, ii, 628, 643 (*Registres*, 268, 275).
[26] *RHF*, xxiii, 618; cf. 716.
[27] *RHF*, xxiii, 638; Carolus-Barré 1978, 75. For *staciones* at the castles of the *vidame* of Picquigny, see AN, R^{I} 34, doss. 3, pièce 1 (rolls); Fossier 1968, ii, 669–70; Baldwin 1986, 295. For *estaige* in Anjou, see *RRAN*, iii, no. 1006 (*stationem*, 1146); *Etabl.*, e.g. iii, 26–7, no. XLVII; for the Vendômois a century later, see Barthélemy 1993, 846–50. At Nogent-le-Roi, between Dreux and Chartres, both *custodia* and *estagium* were recorded in *c.*1220 (*RHF*, xxiii, 627).
[28] For rouncey-service, see Guilhiermoz 1902, 191–4, 220–2; Yver 1990, 46; it is also recorded at Gamaches-sur-Bresle, on the borders of Ponthieu with Normandy (*RHF*, xxiii, 718).
[29] Knight-service and custody were not, of course, mutually exclusive: Robert IV, earl of Leicester, mentions 'seruicium duorum militum facientium michi wardam apud Britolium' (ADE, H 438, vidimus of Luke bishop of Evreux, 1209).

best evidence for this comes from exceptionally detailed surveys of services executed between 1220 and 1224 in the *bailliage* of William de Ville-Thierry, the emerging *bailliage* of Gisors which included both 'Norman' and 'French' castelries in the region of the Seine and Eure.[30] To some extent the emphasis upon castle-guard in this survey is more apparent than real: since William de Ville-Thierry's *bailliage* was confined to royal domains, it excluded the important castles of Château-sur-Epte and Ivry, which the king of France had conferred upon William de Garlande and Robert d'Ivry respectively. We know from Henry II's inquest of 1172 that duties of *garda* were prominent at ducal fortresses in the heart of Normandy such as Gavray or Falaise, as well as in other parts of the Norman frontier such as the Passais;[31] the inquests of *c.*1220 reveal the lord of l'Aigle's obligations of forty days' *gardia* at Evreux, as well as of other services at Rouen and in the Cotentin.[32] Conversely, castle-guard was not the only duty imposed upon border knights, some of whom had additional obligations to serve in the ducal army. The significance of the services in the *bailliage* of William de Ville-Thierry lay in the emphasis placed upon castle-guard there in comparison with less strategically important regions. The various forms of castle-guard had been an obligation, even the *raison d'être*, of *milites castri* across most of western Europe for close to two centuries; but in the surveys of Normandy and the French Vexin *custodia* appears primarily as an obligation of frontiersmen at frontier castles.

In William's *bailliage*, duties of castle-guard were recorded in four main districts. One was in the castelries annexed to the Capetian domain in the 'Norman' part of the *bailliage*, namely Pacy, Vernon and Gisors, the latter including Neaufles and Les Andelys as well.[33] Together these three castelries represented the area of greatest confrontation between the king of France and duke of Normandy before 1193, and the prime military service noted in these castelries was castle-guard irrespective of whether they had been ducal or seigneurial castles before 1193. In the neighbouring, 'French' castelries of Bréval, Mantes and Pontoise, the military service recorded was usually the traditional French service of *exercitus et equitatus*; in the castelry of Anet, which included lands on both the 'Norman' and 'French' banks of the Eure, 'rouncey-service' was particularly prominent.[34] However, castle-guard was also significant in two

[30] *RHF*, xxiii, 621–29 (1220 × 24); Baldwin 1986, 293. For the *bailliage* of William de Ville-Thierry (1219–27), see *RHF*, xxiv, i, 117*–118*.

[31] *RB*, ii, 634, 642, 639 (*RHF*, xxiii, 696, 698, 697; *Registres*, 271, 275, 274).

[32] *RHF*, xxiii, e.g. 618, 613, 611.

[33] *RHF*, xxiii, 621–3.

[34] *RHF*, xxiii, 625–6. For *exercitus et equitatus*, see Guilhiermoz 1902, 261–3; for rouncey-service, see above, p. 27.

other lordships in the *bailliage* that had belonged to Franco-Norman lineages for several generations, namely the county of Meulan, which the king annexed in 1203, and the former Tosny castelry of Nogent-le-Roi, which King Philip had acquired from the heirs of Blois in 1218. In the eyes of John Baldwin, Pacy and Nogent were among the best-organised castelries in the Capetian domain, a tribute to the ways in which their former lords, respectively the earl of Leicester and the lord of Tosny, had asserted their lordship there, as well as an indication of the military challenge which lordship in the frontier regions faced. Lest it be thought that such organisation had been beyond the capabilities of the kings of France before 1204, it should be noted that the Capetian stronghold of Chaumont also boasted an organised system of *custodia* embracing parts of the French Vexin.[35]

Besides these obligations upon the borderers themselves, men from all over Normandy might owe castle-guard on the frontier if their lord's lands included a frontier castle. The men of the honour of Gravenchon near Lillebonne owed service at Evreux because Gravenchon, although a major castle in its own right, belonged to the count of Evreux.[36] The services of twenty knights that the bishop of Bayeux owed to the duke in the marches of Normandy are well known because the obligations of the bishop's fiefs, first stated in 1133, are usually regarded as the earliest fixed quotas for military service in Normandy.[37] The bishop's most powerful man, the earl of Gloucester, also owed service in the marches in 1133,[38] and by the end of the twelfth century the Gloucester lands in the Bessin and Cotentin were expressly to supply knights for the earl's castle of Sainte-Scolasse-sur-Sarthe on the fringes of Normandy and Perche. From their lands in the Norman honour of Gloucester the Coulonces family had to provide the service of four fiefs with full arms at the castle of Torigni in central Normandy, or, if required, one knight at Sainte-Scolasse, and another Gloucester fief in the Cotentin owed service at Sainte-Scolasse specifically for a time 'when there is war between the king [of France] and the duke'.[39] Ducal castles in the marches were also to be garrisoned by knights from the heart of Normandy, such as Roger de Pavilly and the men of the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen at

[35] *RHF*, xxiii, 623–4, 626–8, 624–5; Baldwin 1986, 294–5.

[36] *RHF*, xxiii, 705 (*Registres*, 281); for Gravenchon, see Le Maho 1976, 25–31, 108–9, 144.

[37] Navel 1934, 14–15, 17 (*RHF*, xxiii, 699–700; *RB*, ii, 645–7); for the Bayeux services in 1207 and *c.*1220, see *RHF*, xxiii, 709 (*Registres*, 289), 612, and for further discussion, including the bishop's supposed duties to the army of the king of France, see Haskins 1918, 15–23; Navel 1934, 44–50; Stenton 1961, 13–14; Powicke 1961, 79n.; Tabuteau 1981, 21–30 (26 n.39 for French services); Bates 1982, 168; Reynolds 1994, 307.

[38] *RB*, ii, 646 (*RHF*, xxiii, 700).

[39] *RHF*, xxiii, 610–11.

Lyons-la-Forêt.[40] The services recorded by the monks of Mont-Saint-Michel show that knights and vavassors who held lands from the abbey throughout western Normandy were required to garrison Mont-Saint-Michel in wartime, except for the men of the honour of La Croix-Avranchin, who would guard Saint-James.[41] Such duties must have reinforced the impression in the minds of knights from central Normandy that their duchy had a fortified 'march'.

So by the death of Henry I the marches were seen as a special region with particular military exigencies, where the knights of Normandy were required to garrison both ducal and noble castles when the duke went to war, and in the course of the later twelfth century these services continued to be elaborated. Nor were the frontier districts exempt from providing such services. Overall, the organisation of these military services for frontier defence must have emphasised the existence of the Norman frontier to all landowners of Normandy, great and minor alike.

FISCAL ADMINISTRATION

Military services were only one of the ways in which the Normans were obliged to serve their duke, and occasional inquests into these duties do not show the range and effectiveness of ordinary administration in different parts of Normandy. The duchy's fiscal organisation is another indicator of the extent of ducal control in the Norman marches. From the last three decades of Angevin rule in Normandy, exchequer rolls from about six years have survived: they are fairly complete for 1180, 1195 and 1198, and shorter but often illuminating fragments survive for 1184, 1201 and 1203.[42] The duke's officials accounted for demesne revenues, notably the farm of the *vicomté* and *prévôté*, as well as for *ad hoc* levies such as aids and forced loans, and also profits of justice such as amercements and proffers. Since much of the ducal revenue was domain-based, it tended to fluctuate considerably according to which escheats or wardships were under his control, and in proportion to the strength of each duke. When Henry II investigated the erosion of ducal domain since the death of

[40] Pavilly: *RB*, ii, 632, 636 (*RHF*, xxiii, 695, 696; *Registres*, 270, 272). St-Ouen: *RHF*, xxiii, 615 and n.1. The main lands of the 'Norman' family of Pavilly were north-west of Rouen (*ibid.*, xxiii, 613, 615–16), but the Wiltshire family of the same name (for which, see *Rot. Ob. Fin.*, 49–50; *VCH Wilts*, viii, 136, 149; x, 34–5; Powicke 1961, 350) founded the Premonstratensian abbey of Ile-Dieu in the Andelle valley on the land of its kinsman Gilbert de Vascœuil; ADE, H 353, H 377; *Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. DCLXXXI; Arnoux 2000, 108–10, 151–2, 299–306.

[41] *RHF*, xxiii, 703–4.

[42] 1180, 1195, 1198, 1201, 1203: see *MRSN*. 1184: *ibid.*, i, 109–23, and *Actes de Henri II*, intro. vol., 334–44; for related documents, see Legras 1914; *Misc. Exchequer Records*.

Henry I, he is said to have doubled his revenues in this manner, and these inquests affected the frontier regions as well as central Normandy.[43]

However, fluctuations in the ducal domain differed in the frontier districts from the heart of the duchy in one crucial respect. Again and again in his reign Henry II seized castles in the marches which had once been in ducal hands, especially in southern Normandy: he took Moulins and Bonsmoulins in 1158, the county of Mortain with its four castles in 1159, the chief castles of the Norman Vexin between 1152 and 1160, the castles of the southern Passais in 1162, Alençon and La Roche-Mabile in 1166, Pacy in 1173 and Ivry in 1177.[44] Such fortresses not only had great military worth, but were symbols of power and authority, and with them came many seigneurial and legal rights and often considerable castelries.[45] Not all the castles which the Angevin dukes took into their hands lay in the Norman border regions, but most confiscations in the interior of Normandy were carried out either because their lords were in rebellion, such as Torigni-sur-Vire (1154), and Montfort-sur-Risle, Pont-Audemer and Beaumont-le-Roger (1161);[46] because a lord had died without an obvious heir, as with the Giffard honour centred on Longueville-sur-Scie (1164);[47] or because the duke took pledges for loyalty, as in the case of Semilly, a castle of the earl of Chester (1203).[48] Furthermore, in most instances these castles were eventually restored to their lord or heir. King Henry's seizures of frontier castles, on the other hand, were intended to be permanent; they were generally executed in peace rather than during a war or rebellion; and they constituted a radical aggrandisement of the ducal domain. It is no wonder that Henry sometimes had to appease the local inhabitants in a newly acquired castelry. In 1166, he confiscated the castelries of Alençon and La Roche-Mabile with all their appurtenances from the Talvas family, and the revenues were henceforth accounted at the Caen Exchequer; but he also abolished 'evil customs' which the Talvas had exacted from the inhabitants of the Alençonnais. In other words, the duke abandoned some seigneurial exactions to secure his control of the district. In doing so he probably eradicated some of the differences between the administration of the Alençonnais and that of

[43] Torigni, ii, 28–9 (1171). For property 'recovered through inquest' in the Avranchin (*c.*1171), see *Actes de Henri II*, intro. vol., 346 (cf. Haskins 1918, 337–9); *MRSN*, i, 18, for Alençon (1180). The duke could also lose domains through juries: *ibid.*, i, 245 (a mill at Moulins, 1195).

[44] Torigni, i, 314–15, 335, 360; ii, 68, and *Gesta Henrici*, i, 191; below, pp. 351, 361, 396–7, 402, 476–7.

[45] Cf. Coulson 1984, 17n. The comments of Smail (1956, 60–2, 204–15), concerning the multiple functions of castles, remain very pertinent.

[46] Torigni, i, 286–7 (Torigni), 331 (castles of Count Waleran of Meulan).

[47] Torigni, i, 353; *MRSN*, i, 59–60. [48] *RN*, 96–7, and *Rot. Pat.*, 29; Powicke 1961, 167.

central Normandy; certainly the district was under ducal administration in 1180 and 1184 and formed an ordinary *bailliage* by 1195.[49]

The Angevin annexations largely determined what appeared in the exchequer records in the frontier regions. As a consequence of Henry II's confiscations, in large patches of the southern frontier the duke's domain revenues were certainly substantial. In 1180, ducal officials accounted for revenues from the districts or *bailliages* of the Passais (Domfront), Gorron, Ambrières, Argentan, Alençon, Exmes (including Moulins-la-Marche), Verneuil, Nonancourt, Vaudreuil and the Norman Vexin. These officers were exploiting these districts just as ruthlessly as in central Normandy.

However, some other regions occur far less in the exchequer accounts. In the north-east, no roll before 1201 recorded the counties of Eu and Aumale and the lordships of Gournay except for Richard I's costs in fortifying Eu and the burgesses' associated expenses;[50] it suggests that the duke had few or no rights to raise revenues further than Drincourt, where his *bailli* of Bray was based. This would match the distribution of ducal castles, for Drincourt was his most north-easterly castle. Even that fortress was given away by Richard I to bind the count of Eu, Ralph de Lusignan, more closely to him, although Ralph's rebellion in 1201 allowed King John to seize and tax his county.[51] In south-east Normandy, the city and county of Evreux were farmed by ducal officials only when the last count of Evreux, Amaury IV, was a minor (*c.*1191–*c.*1199), and perhaps only after his mother's death in 1198.[52] Between the Seine and l'Aigle, indeed, few ducal revenues are recorded in 1180 – that is, even before the disruption of Capetian invasions – apart from at the ducal strongholds of Vaudreuil, Verneuil and Nonancourt.[53] In the south-west, the county of Mortain appears in the exchequer roll of 1180, for the county had been in ducal hands since the death of William of Blois in 1159. From 1189 it was the apanage of Richard I's brother John, so that the entries in the rolls in 1195 and 1198 were much briefer. In the wake of John's

[49] Torigni, i, 360; *MRSN*, i, 18–20 (1180), 114 (1184), 246 (1195); ii, 386–90 (1198). The only reference to the Alençonnais on the (incomplete) 1195 roll is a tallage raised 'in Ballia de Alench" (*ibid.*, i, 246). Powicke (1961, 73), and Moss (1996, 258), both treat Alençon as the seat of a *bailliage* in 1180, but this term was not used there before 1195. The counts' régime in the Saosnois provides a contrast: Count William of Ponthieu had abolished customs which the monks of Mamers levied from the inhabitants of Mamers when he built a new castle there, and his son Count John doubted whether he would be able to reimpose them upon the townsmen; he agreed to indemnify the monks for their losses instead if need be (ADSA, H 298).

[50] *MRSN*, ii, 300, 301, 385, 386, 419, 444, 447.

[51] Howden, iv, 160–1; *MRSN*, ii, 501. The revenues from Drincourt in 1198 should be compared with the much greater ducal revenues there in the reign of Henry II (*ibid.*, i, 57–8, 92, 116–17, ii, 419–20).

[52] *Ibid.*, ii, 462–4 (1198). Countess Mabel had fined for custody of her heir and some or all of his lands by 1195 (i, 139); for her death, see *Ann. Mon.*, i, 56; Power 2005, n.83.

[53] E.g. *MRSN*, i, 76–7 (Nonancourt), 84 (Verneuil), 92–4 (Vaudreuil).

rebellion against his brother the ducal *bailli* Richard Silvain accounted for numerous escheats and judicial revenues from the knights of the Vale of Mortain in 1195 and levied prests and tallages there in 1198; but domain revenues were largely absent, presumably because of the partial restoration of the comital domains to Count John in 1194. In 1203, when John had become duke of Normandy, the revenues of Mortain were accounted once more in great detail as they had been in Henry II's reign, in strong contrast with the partial entries under Richard I.[54]

A little to the west, ordinary ducal revenues from the Avranchin in 1180 were very restricted, being largely confined to the castles at Avranches, Pontorson and Saint-James (taken in 1173 from the earl of Chester, who nonetheless retained the *prévôté*), minor revenues in and around the episcopal city itself, and a great chestnut-grove.[55] Since one of the local magnates, Fulk Paynel, was farming the chestnut-grove, fair and meadows of Avranches in 1180, these ducal demesnes provided little or no revenue for the duke.[56] The only other ducal revenue from the *bailliage* of Avranches in 1180 was a tallage levied in Saint-James.[57] Attempts to increase these domain resources were only partly successful: in Richard I's reign the ducal officers recovered the ducal domains from Fulk Paynel's widow through a jury, but in 1203 the earl of Chester was farming Saint-James, to which he had a longstanding claim, and the *prévôté* of Avranches.[58] In the same year, King John acknowledged – perhaps reluctantly – that the Avranchin customarily yielded no revenues whatsoever except for the proceeds of the pleas of the sword.[59] Although the exchequer rolls are incomplete, the accounts for Mortain, the Evrecin and the Avranchin imply that omissions in the accounts were due to fiscal immunities rather than through the loss of the relevant membrane; large areas of Normandy yielded little revenue for the duke except for lands that had been confiscated or were in wardship.

In the view of Vincent Moss the enormous fiscal pressures of the French wars upon Norman administration in the 1190s eradicated most variations between central and peripheral regions of the duchy, since ducal finances came to depend increasingly upon tallages and loans raised from towns and *bailliages* throughout Normandy. Indeed, he argues that many

[54] *MRSN*, i, 8–11, 14, 30 (1180); 215–18 (1195); ii, 356–7 (1198); 536–48 (1203).

[55] *MRSN*, i, 11–13, 40, 56; *Actes de Henri II*, intro. vol., 345–7; Haskins 1918, 337–9; Powicke 1961, 75–6. The castle of Avranches was entrusted to the next earl of Chester in May 1203 (*ibid.*, 258).

[56] *MRSN*, i, 11; *ibid.*, 215, implies that Fulk held these revenues on behalf of his wife Lescelina de Subligny, lady of Grippon and eldest sister and coheiress of Gilbert d'Avranches (see App. 1, no. 28).

[57] *MRSN*, i, 12.

[58] *MRSN*, i, 215; ii, 289, 292, 537.

[59] *RN*, 87–8. For the 'pleas of the sword', see below, pp. 46, 62.

Norman *bailliages* were founded specifically for this purpose.[60] Undoubtedly the growth in the number and range of these levies between 1180 and 1198 harmonised Norman administration to an extent that sporadic or localised additions to the ducal domain could not. The exchequer roll of 1198 shows that *ad hoc* levies were exacted in almost every corner of the duchy, under the supervision of the seneschal of Normandy and barons of the Norman Exchequer from Caen.[61] Along the southern Norman frontier, for instance, both the seneschal of Normandy and local officials raised tallages and loans in the towns and *bailliages* of the Passais (Domfront, Gorron and Ambrières), some of which were used to pay local garrisons, others to fund the construction of Château-Gaillard at the other end of Normandy.[62] Similarly the lands of the young count of Evreux, then in ducal custody, contributed tallages and forced loans for the upkeep of the duke's border garrisons;[63] and tallages were also levied in the Avranchin, now erected into a *bailliage*.[64] Yet the system never operated for the whole duchy, not least because it was compromised by the dukes' own gifts to secure political support. Moss himself has identified extensive gifts by King John to the earl of Chester in west-central Normandy in 1199 in return for his support.[65] There was certainly a *bailliage* of Moulins and Bonsmoulins by 1200, but the tallages raised there went not to the ducal coffers but to its new lord, the count of Perche, to whom Richard I had granted the district.[66] The records of the Exchequer show that some of the Norman borderlands, notably the Passais and the Alençonnais, were more or less integrated into the duchy's administration, but even in 1200 significant areas of Normandy were not subject to ordinary fiscal procedures; and in this respect frontier districts were particularly prominent.

A FRONTIER PRIVILEGE: *FOUAGE*

While the nature and importance of ducal levies fluctuated considerably in the border regions of Normandy, frontier conditions significantly weakened one aspect of ducal government in particular. Manipulating the

[60] Moss 2000, 46–56. Moss (2002, 146–7) plausibly attributes the absence of many areas of central and southern Normandy from the 1195 roll to revolts and French invasion.

[61] For the barons of the Norman Exchequer, see Moss 1996, 114–26.

[62] *MRSN*, ii, 354–6, 368. [63] *MRSN*, ii, 463. [64] *MRSN*, i, 244; ii, 290, 292.

[65] Moss 1999, 105–8. Moss (1994, 187–8) suggests that nearly a third of the 1180 roll is missing, on the assumption that all the omitted regions were administered by the Exchequer in the same way as the recorded districts.

[66] ADOR, H 721: Count Geoffrey III of Perche exempts the men of St-Evroul in his castles and *bailliage* of Moulins and Bonsmoulins from all exactions, including tallages. Cf. ADOR, H 722 (confirmation of Count Thomas of Perche, 1216); Power 1995, 189; Thompson 2002, 120.

coinage (*renovatio monetæ*) could be an important source of revenue to a ruler, but at some point before 1204 the dukes waived their right to remint in return for collecting a triennial tax known as *fouage* or *monnéage*.[67] It was probably the earliest 'money-tax' (or minting-tax) anywhere in France and the only regular direct tax in Normandy, and it was quite lucrative; in 1221, the first year for which we know the whole amount raised, it totalled 15,389 *li*. 9 *s*. *tournois*.[68] Yet according to a survey entitled *Scriptum de Foagio*, which was inscribed in the register of Philip Augustus soon after 1204, a number of lordships were exempt from the tax, and in the mid-thirteenth century the *Grand Coutumier* stated that the inhabitants of those regions had never been subject to the tax.[69] What is striking is that the exempted areas which *Scriptum de Foagio* identified were all located along the southern frontier: the Vale of Mortain, the Passais, the Alençonnais and the castle of Almenêches, the lands of Moulins and Bonsmoulins, and the fiefs of Breteuil (see Map VI).[70]

If it is clear that the inhabitants of the southernmost parts of Normandy enjoyed a major tax privilege, it is more difficult to assess its significance. The list of places named in *Scriptum de Foagio* was not comprehensive. In 1225, the inhabitants of Ezy near Ivry protested that they had not paid the tax 'in the time of Simon d'Anet' (*c*.1155–91). In 1247, the men of the seventy-two parishes of Le Houlme, the district around Briouze, claimed that they had never paid *fouage* before the conquest of Normandy, and the commune of Verneuil alleged that it had not done so until 1214, when Philip Augustus imposed the tax upon the burgesses as a punishment for their mayor's *stultiloquium*.[71] According to the *Grand Coutumier* the castelry of Saint-James-de-Beuvron on the Breton border was likewise exempt.[72] While such examples reinforce the association of *fouage* exemptions with southern Normandy, the *Scriptum de Foagio* implied that the fiefs of Breteuil enjoyed exemption throughout the duchy, a claim

[67] For *fouage*, see Bridrey 1941; Bisson 1979, 14–28; for *renovatio monetæ* in general, see Grierson 1962, viii–xiv; Bisson 1979, esp. 7–13; Spufford 1988, 92–4 (England), 95, 302 (E. Europe). Musset (1959–60b, 421), also notes the absence of another, much older tax, *bernage*, in 'une bande continue de comtés' in the Norman marches from Avranches to Eu; for this levy, see Moss 1994, 192–3.

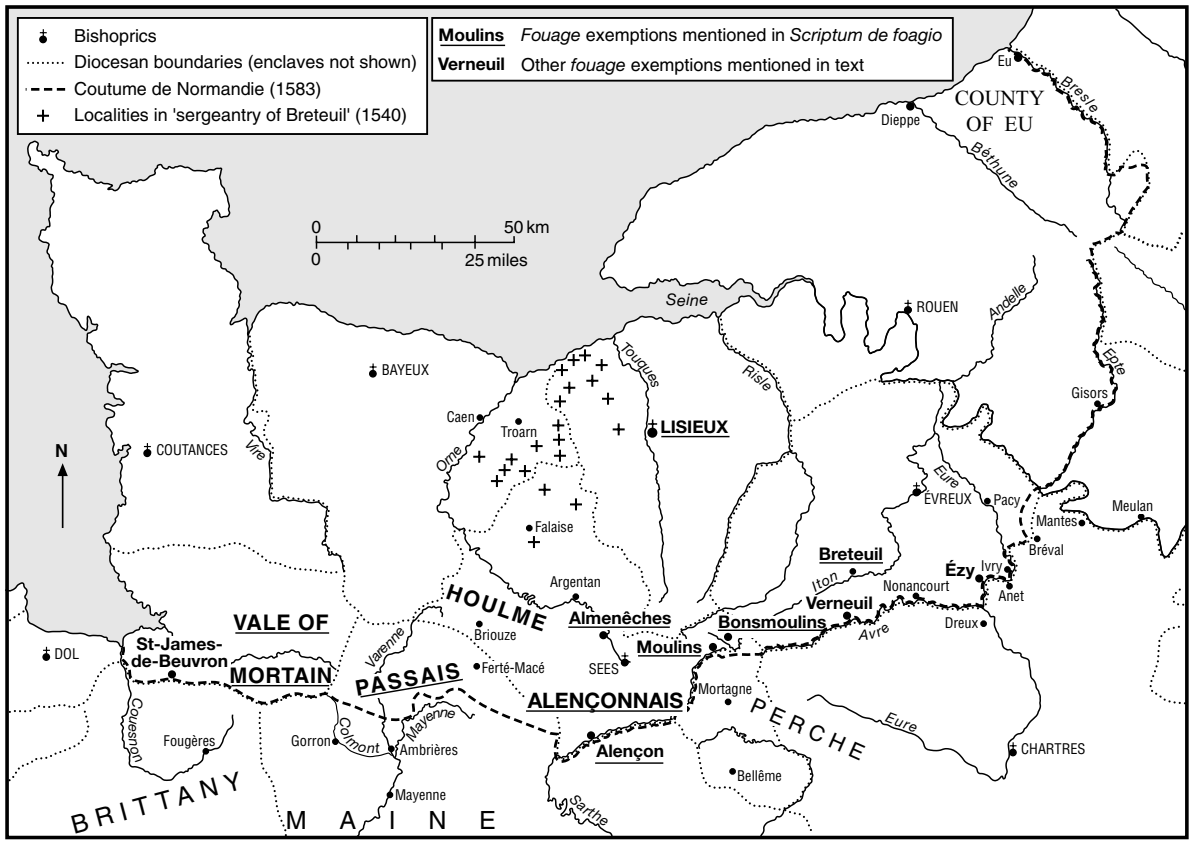
[68] Nortier and Baldwin 1980, 12–14, 16 (probably collected in 1220).

[69] *Scriptum de foagio*: *Registres*, 556–7, and Bisson 1979, 204–5 (cf. 14–28). *Grand Coutumier*, 40–3, c. XIV ('De monetagio'); cf. Bridrey 1940–1.

[70] *Registres*, 557 (Bisson 1979, 205): 'Sciendum uero quod hee terre quite sunt de foagio, videlicet totum feodum Britolii quicumque illud teneat, et Vallis Moretolii usque ad Petras Albas et usque ad Doet Herberti, et tota terra de Passeis et Alenconii et Alenconesium usque ad Pissotum Heraudi, et Molins et Boens Molins et terra ad ea pertinens, et castrum de Aumanesche in ballia de Argenton.'

[71] *Olim*, i, 178; *QN*, nos. 480, 253; Power 1999a, 135, where it is speculated that the mayor's real offence was sedition at the time of the battle of Bouvines.

[72] *Grand Coutumier*, c. XIV, 42.



Map VI *Fouage* exemptions in Normandy

that is confirmed by later evidence in the *bailliage* of Falaise.[73] Nevertheless, the exempted areas were concentrated first and foremost along the southern frontier.

Why did a great swathe of the southern Norman borderlands enjoy this liberty? If the inhabitants there had truly never been subject to *fouage*, then the answer to that question lies in the tax's origins, for it implies that the duke failed to impose it upon the inhabitants of these districts when he instituted it in the rest of Normandy. Unfortunately, it is not known exactly when *fouage* was first levied. It is never mentioned before the reign of Henry II, but Thomas Bisson has argued for a date of origin in the late eleventh or early twelfth century. Noting the absence of Bellême from the list of exemptions, he inferred that the exemptions could have dated from the late 1070s, when Robert Curthose revolted and held the Talvas stronghold of Bellême against his father William the Conqueror, who garrisoned the Talvas fortresses of Alençon and Domfront.[74] In fact, Bellême was probably omitted from the list of exemptions simply because it was never firmly incorporated into the duchy; by the early 1200s, when the *Scriptum de Foagio* was compiled, that castle would have been regarded as a domain of the count of Perche, and hence not under ducal taxation nor indeed direct Capetian rule (unlike Moulins and Bonsmoulins which, although likewise fortresses of the count of Perche when the *Scriptum de Foagio* was compiled, were numbered amongst the fiefs of Normandy).[75] As Bisson admits, the evidence of the list of exempted places is 'hardly less treacherous than tantalizing' as a means of establishing the origins of *fouage*; and in fact some of the other exemptions could indicate a later date for its establishment. Bonsmoulins was not founded until the reign of Henry I in Normandy (1106–35),[76] although its inhabitants may simply have assumed the privileges of the neighbouring fortress of Moulins-la-Marche at the time of its construction. The exemption of Ezy near Ivry by 1191 could have arisen when Ivry formed part of the honour of Breteuil, before the death of William de Breteuil in 1103; but in the thirteenth century some parts at least of the castelry of Ivry were obliged to pay the tax.[77] Since *fouage* was also a term used in Anjou, although for a different

[73] Musset 1959–60b, 429–35 (cf. Musset 1970, 202n.): in 1540 the inhabitants of the so-called *sergenterie de Breteuil* in the *bailliage* of Falaise claimed never to have paid *fouage*. The sergeantry was based at Guibray (cne. Falaise) but comprised scattered parishes extending to the coast north-east of Caen (see Map VI).

[74] Bisson 1979, 15–21, esp. 19–20.

[75] Power 1995, 189; *Registres*, 283 (*RHF*, xxiii, 706). The omission of Bellême from the *fouage* exemptions could be taken as additional evidence that Bellême was never regarded as part of Normandy.

[76] *GND*, ii, 250.

[77] *CN*, no. 492. Ezy had been in the lordship of Ivry in the time of William Louvel (1123–*c.*1162): *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 569, 605–6.

tax altogether, it is not inconceivable that the Norman money-tax was introduced by the Angevins into Normandy after 1144.[78]

Without knowing the date of the origins of *fouage*, it is impossible to deduce exactly why the southern frontier castelries should have enjoyed exemption from it. In Bisson's view the exemption of the southern marches from a tax based on ducal rights of coinage was most probably due to the greater presence of non-ducal coinages there; according to an inquest from the first half of Henry II's reign, the dukes did not have rights over minting (*justicia de moneta*) in 'the marches' as they did in the rest of Normandy. It is significant that the jurors believed that the dukes had less authority over the coinage in the frontier regions than in central Normandy, since this was a right that princes usually cherished, and none more so than the Anglo-Norman rulers; but as the inquest was concerned primarily with the Bessin, its references to ducal rights in the 'marches' were secondary.[79] It is unclear which region of the Norman marches the jurors had in mind in any case, and by the reign of Henry II the ducal coinage was in competition with other currencies chiefly in eastern rather than southern Normandy.[80]

So while it is likely that the southern marches enjoyed fiscal privileges primarily for political reasons, we should not seek a single event as an explanation. The lands exempted from *fouage* were associated with several of the greatest families of Normandy: the Vale of Mortain with the counts and countesses of Mortain (who were always closely related to the duke), Breteuil with the FitzOsberns and later the Beaumont earls of Leicester, and the Alençonnais and Almenêches with the Montgomery-Talvas. At various times the Passais enjoyed the lordship of the Talvas, the future King Henry I, the Angevin queens and the counts of Boulogne, and the lords of Mayenne often controlled its southern fortresses.[81] Moulins (and later Bonsmoulins) had a peculiar history, being subject first to the lords of Moulins and later to a neighbouring prince, the count of Perche, with his kinsman the lord of l'Aigle, between 1137 and 1158 and again from

[78] *Actes de Henri II*, ii, nos. DXLV, DCLXXV; cf. Bisson 1979, 15n. ADSM, 6 H 6, includes an act of Count Henry I of Eu which exempts the canons of Eu from *fouage* (1111 × 28), but since it is an unsealed transcript from the second half of the twelfth century, the exemption is almost certainly interpolated. The act demonstrates that in the Angevin period the count gathered *fouage* within his county, rather than ducal officers.

[79] *TAC*, I.i, c. LXX, 65: 'Dixerunt eciam quod . . . omnis justicia de exercitu vel de moneta ad solum ducem pertinent. Hec autem supradicta fuerunt generalia per totam Normanniam, nisi solummodo in marchis ubi moneta non currebat.' Haskins (1918, 160 n. 22) dates the inquest to the reign of Henry II, and before 1174; it was copied (*c.*1218) into the *Très Ancien Coutumier*, the French version of which omits the last sentence (*TAC*, I.ii, c. LXX, 55). Cf. Lemarignier 1945, 71.

[80] Power 1994, 275–312.

[81] Cf. Orderic, v, 318, for the liberal promises made by the future Henry I to the inhabitants of Domfront in the Passais in *c.*1092.

*c.*1198 to 1217. As we have seen, between 1158 and 1166 Henry II eagerly seized the castles in most of these districts and added them to his domain, sometimes making tax concessions to the local populace at the same time. It is surely no coincidence that almost all the *fouage* exemptions named in the memorandum *Scriptum de Foagio* were the very castelries that Henry II had annexed, and the chief exception, Breteuil, was an honour whose honorial barons had been notoriously rebellious in the reign of Henry I.[82] Although knights were not obliged to pay *fouage*, this would not have prevented them seeking exemption from this ducal tax for the common people, as two knights of Le Houlme did in 1247.[83]

Most probably the exemptions after 1204 reflect the political uncertainties of southern Normandy during the Angevin period as much as the remote reign of William the Conqueror, and since there is ample evidence that the rulers of Normandy continued to grant exemptions from *fouage* throughout the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries – and the fate of Verneuil in 1214 shows that the privilege could also be revoked – the list of privileged areas in *Scriptum de Foagio* was far from definitive.[84] The *Grand Coutumier* selected Mortain and Saint-James as examples of places which did not pay the tax;[85] this could be because the author hailed from the Cotentin, but an association between these two places may have gone no deeper into the Norman past than 1204–6, when Philip Augustus conferred them upon the Dammartin brothers Renaud, count of Boulogne, and Simon, only to confiscate them once more in 1211.[86] Exemptions from *fouage*, like most tax privileges, evolved over time, and we do not know if other places had had their exemptions suppressed under the Angevins.

Of course, the very uniqueness of the *fouage* exemptions is a testimony to the integration of the southern districts into the Norman system of governance in many other respects. Although revenues from *fouage* were considerable, the three-year gaps between its collection meant that *ad hoc* tallages and loans yielded far more ducal income by the end of the twelfth century, and there were no exemptions for the Alençonnais or Passais from these much heavier impositions. The total revenues of Normandy in 1198 are reckoned at between 97,100 and 153,131 *li. ang.*, of which about 48,000 *li. ang.* came from *ad hoc* loans,[87] whereas *fouage* probably

[82] Crouch 1986, 107–12. [83] *QN*, no. 480.

[84] Bisson (1979, 15 n.3 and 27 n.1) gives numerous examples; cf. *CN*, no. 444, pp. 317–18.

[85] *Grand Coutumier*, 42, c. XIV; cf. Bridrey (1941, 225–6, 229–31), who presumed that these two districts alone retained their privilege in the mid-thirteenth century.

[86] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 863, 939; cf. Powicke 1961, 274n., 275.

[87] Holt (1984a, 95–6) calculates a total of 153,131 *li. ang.*, including 47,351 *li. ang.* from *ad hoc* impositions; Moss (1996, 36–54, 63–5) prefers figures of 97,100–100,400 *li. ang.* and about 48,000 *li. ang.* respectively.

did not yield more than than the equivalent of 5000 or 6000 *li. ang.* a year.[88] The county of Evreux was not exempted from *fouage*, but its other immunities constituted a far greater hole in ducal revenue, as the loans and tallage raised in the honour and *bailliage* of Evreux when it was in ducal custody in 1198 testify.[89] Exemption from *fouage* was a symptom of ducal appeasement in areas where the duke was trying to secure his authority throughout the twelfth century, and despite Henry II's annexations and Richard I's reorganisation of ducal revenue-raising, it came to be enshrined in the Coutume de Normandie; but it also serves as a testimony to ducal control of the frontier in other respects.

CONFIRMATIONS

The broadest demonstration that the dukes might make of their judicial authority was in the confirmation of the property of religious houses. Protection of church property was a ducal prerogative, and its infringement ranked as one of the pleas of the sword: an assize at Caen in 1157 bluntly declared that 'all alms are in the duke's hand'.[90] The vast majority of surviving ducal acts were drawn up in exercise of this particular right. Every religious house had to decide who could guarantee its property most effectively, who had the right to offer such protection, and whose court would have jurisdiction over any dispute, and so many petitioned the dukes for writs of protection or for confirmations of alms and agreements. All such acts indicate the ultimate limits of ducal authority in the eyes of the beneficiaries, but they vary considerably in keeping with the purpose and type of document.[91]

Least informative are general writs of protection for the property of a religious house. When Henry II took all the 'tenures and possessions' of the abbey of Estrée into his hands, with the threat that his justice would correct any defiance of his command, the limits of his authority appear hazy at best, for his letter did not mention the fact that although the abbey itself lay on the 'Norman' bank of the Eure near Nonancourt much of Estrée's property lay beyond the River Avre on the 'French' bank, in lordships over which Henry certainly had no rights such as Dreux,

[88] Nortier and Baldwin 1980, 12–14, 16: *fouage*, levied every three years, raised over 15,000 *li. tournois* in 1220. Philip Augustus raised 6600 *li. parisis* in his Norman acquisitions in 1202–3, at least in part from *fouage* (Lot and Fawtier 1932, 71, CCIII).

[89] See below, pp. 61–5.

[90] Torigni, ii, 251–2 (a notice from the cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel): 'dux Normanniæ . . . in cujus manu sunt omnes elemosine'. Cf. Haskins 1918, 188–9; Yver 1971a, 372–3.

[91] Berkhofer (1997, 342–3) divides confirmations into (i) 'generic' confirmations (naming no specific properties); (ii) 'confirmations of acquisitions'; and (iii) 'nominative confirmations', theoretically exhaustive lists of properties.

Brezolles and Gallardon.[92] The count of Dreux granted a similarly vague promise of protection to Estrée that outwardly appears to infringe the authority of Henry's act.[93] In an area of spasmodic warfare such as the district of Estrée, however, it was only sensible to secure such guarantees from both sides. The same was true in the Vexin: Henry II offered his protection to the grange of Champignolles, on the 'French' bank of the River Epte near the fortress of Sérifontaine, which belonged to the monks of La Vallée-Notre-Dame near Pontoise.[94] In the 1190s the fall of the eastern Norman marches to Philip Augustus placed a large number of religious houses there at risk of Norman reprisals: Richard I offered his protection to the priory of Sainte-Geneviève near Gisors between 1196 and 1198, just as he was attempting to reconquer the Norman Vexin,[95] and in the turmoil of war in 1202–3, King John issued many writs of protection to the religious houses of eastern Normandy that had fallen under Capetian sway.[96]

Confirmations of named properties sometimes give a stronger indication of the limits of Angevin control in Normandy, at least where the neighbouring territory was not another Angevin dominion. For some religious houses, though, nothing survives except ducal confirmations of particular pieces of property, which merely reveal particular places under the duke's jurisdiction rather than the overall extent of ducal authority. Sometimes the duke was ratifying the resolution of a property dispute, such as Henry II's confirmation of the churches of Illiers-l'Evêque to the cathedral chapter of Chartres and abbey of Saint-Père (1157) or, in the same district, of the peace made between Simon d'Anet and the priory of Croth (1185).[97] In others, Henry's own seizure of frontier castles and lordships appears to have led anxious religious houses to seek his confirmation of their property within the annexed domains. The confirmation of the rights of Saint-Martin de Sées in the Forest of Ecouves between 1165 and 1173 may well be connected with his seizure of the Alençonnais, including Ecouves, in 1166; a similar confirmation of the property of Ivry Abbey at Ivry (1174 × 81) may be connected with the

[92] *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CLV. [93] A. W. Lewis (1985), 179, no. XIV.

[94] BN, ms. lat. 5462, p. 80 (text courtesy of Nicholas Vincent and the *Acta of Henry II* project, Cambridge).

[95] AN, LL 1158, pp. 609–10 (22 March, at Rouen). Richard was in Rouen on 22 March 1190, but he could also have been there in 1196, or less probably in 1197 or 1198 (Landon 1935, 28–9, 111, 116, 126). For a similar privilege for St-Germer-de-Fly near Gournay, granted by Richard I and renewed by John, see Lohrmann 1973, 230–1 (cf. *Rot. Pat.*, 25).

[96] *Rot. Pat.*, 12, 13, 25–7; Stevenson 1974, i, 40.

[97] *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CXXIII; ii, no. DCLIII (cf. no. DCLIV). For the context of the first, see *Ctl. N.-D. Chartres*, i, nos. 1 (p. 19), XI, LXV (cf. iii, 180), and *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 262; for the second, see ADE, H 837, H 838; Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 572.

king's forceful acquisition of the castle in 1177.[98] He used other domains acquired in this way to endow local religious houses.[99]

General confirmations are more useful as broad indications of the geographical limits of ducal jurisdiction. When Henry II confirmed the possessions of the abbey of Bec, he did not mention the abbey's lands just beyond the rivers Eure and Avre at Bréval, Rouvres and Brezolles, or its numerous priories in the French Vexin; so as far as the monks of Bec were concerned, they lay beyond the limits of Henry's territory.[100] In the same way, the general confirmation of Count Rotrou III of Perche for La Trappe (1189) included the abbey and forest of La Trappe themselves but not the abbey's possessions nearby in the castelry of Moulins, which Rotrou had lost to Henry II in 1158.[101] In north-east Normandy, general confirmations of Henry II for the abbeys of Foucarmont, Eu and Beaubec omitted the numerous properties that these abbeys had acquired beyond the Rivers Bresle and Epte;[102] the monasteries of those lands turned instead to the local counts, lords or bishops for confirmations.[103] Where no boundary river was available they might turn to both king and local lords for good measure.[104] Even within the county of Eu the canons of

[98] *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CCCCII; ii, no. DLIX.

[99] *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CCCLXXXVII (grant of Mahéru in the castelry of Moulins to La Trappe). Note also the acts of the ducal constable of Moulins, William de Soliers (*Ctl. Trappe*, 223, 388), and the *curia regis* held at Moulins in the time of his successor as constable, Guérin de Glapion (*ibid.*, 225).

[100] *Ibid.*, ii, no. DCCXLIV (1184 × 89), compiled from several defective copies. The same act, however, included gifts at Formerie, although this village lay in the diocese of Amiens (see below, pp. 105, 255–6, 357). For Bec's lands in the diocese of Chartres, see BN, ms. fr. nouv. acq. 6354, fols. 2r–7v (Bréval); *Ch. Meulan*, 61–70, nos. 52–3; Porée 1901, i, 357–8; for its priories in the French Vexin (mostly dioc. Rouen), see *ibid.*, i, 387–94, 400–3, 432–4, 437.

[101] *Ctl. Trappe*, 587–90; Alexander III's bull (584–5) mentions La Trappe's property at Nuisement and Mahéru (1173). Few ducal general confirmations survive for southern Normandy. Several for Saint-Evroul contain numerous interpolations: *Actes de Henri II*, ii, nos. DXIII, DXXX, and intro. vol., 316–17; BN, ms. lat. 11055, fols. 25r–27v, no. 23 (*CDF*, no. 647; Landon 1935, no. 212), an act of Richard I that was purportedly given at Verneuil and witnessed by John, bishop of Evreux (and which therefore must date from before 6 April 1190 if genuine). All three acts mention 'Willelmus comes Pontivii et Robertus comes nepos eius', an impossible phrase before May 1191 when Count Robert succeeded his elder brother John (see *Ctl. Perseigne*, no. CCCLXIII). Either Richard I's act was derived from one of Henry's inauthentic acts (no. DXXX), or else they had a common interpolated source.

[102] *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CLXXVI; ii, nos. DCCXLVI, DCCLIII; AN, JJ 155, fols. 224v–225v, no. 375 (act for Beaubec, 1156 × 65; transcript kindly supplied by Nicholas Vincent).

[103] See the following cartularies: BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1801 (Beaubec); BMRO, Y 13 (Foucarmont). For Eu, see *Ctl. Ponthieu*, nos. II–III, V; *Actes de Ponthieu*, nos. XXII, XXXV, CLXXXI; below, pp. 55–8.

[104] Henry II's act for Beaubec includes the gift of Stephen d'Aumale (the brother of Franco the viscount of Aumale) of pannage and *herbagium* in his land of La Montagne (AN, JJ 155, fols. 224v–225v, no. 375); the family's lands there lay in the dioceses of Beauvais and Amiens, and were held from the lords of Beaussault (BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1801, fols. 115r–v, 116v–117r; 'Ctl. Lannoy', no. CXX). For La Montagne, the watershed between the rivers Bresle and Thérain,

the abbey of Eu were much more likely to solicit their count for acts of confirmation.[105]

However, acts for different religious houses can provide strongly conflicting impressions of the limits of ducal authority. Since it was typically the beneficiaries who constructed long lists of properties to be confirmed, they may represent a catalogue of claims as much as properties in the monastery's secure domain.[106] Nor were they usually as comprehensive as they first appear. King Henry's two acts for Foucarmont confirmed two distinct lists of properties in the north-easternmost parts of Normandy. Of the same king's two general acts for Savigny, one mentioned only properties in the dioceses of Avranches and Bayeux, omitting lands in the other Norman dioceses (notably Coutances), Maine, Brittany and England;[107] the other act was more detailed but by no means all the possessions of Savigny in Henry's dominions were mentioned, for the act listed properties in Normandy and England alone.[108]

Moreover, since general confirmations were usually constructed with the aid of other, non-ducal deeds, the duke might end up confirming properties mentioned in these acts even if they never came under his control. It would be difficult, for instance, to ascertain the limits of Norman jurisdiction around Aumale from the muniments of the abbey of Saint-Martin d'Aumale. The terms of Henry II's general charter for the monastery (1181–2) were primarily determined by earlier, more specific acts. It reproduced, *mutatis mutandis*, an earlier general confirmation of William le Gros, count of Aumale (*c.*1160),[109] which in turn owed much to two acts of William's father Count Stephen (1115).[110] All these acts mentioned the abbey's rights in the comital forest of Mouflières, which lay beyond the Bresle in the diocese of Amiens; but there is no evidence

see Bauduin 2000, 132–7; below, pp. 104–5, 118, 192, 256, 325. The name is preserved in the hamlets of Villedieu-la-Montagne (Seine-Maritime, ar. Dieppe, cant. Forges-les-Eaux) and La Montagne (Oise, cant. Formerie, cne. Abancourt). In 1219 the head of the commandery at Villedieu described himself as William, 'preceptor de Sancto Manueio et totius Montane' (BMRO, Y 13, fol. 114r).

[105] ADSM, 6 H 1 (eighteenth-century inventory) lists several comital acts but none of the dukes; see also 6 H 6 (general confirmations of Counts Henry I and Henry II).

[106] Berkhofer 1997, 341–3.

[107] *Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. DXCI (1177 × 82).

[108] *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. LXXX (1156 × 58?).

[109] *Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. DCVII; *EYC*, iii, no. 1307 (1157 × 62). Henry's charter also confirmed Count William of Aumale's grant of the mill of Avenel (in England) and acts of Enguerrand and Franco, viscounts of Aumale, and of Robert de Gauville, for all of which there are extant originals or copies (ADSM, 1 H 14, 1 H 23, 1 H 26), as well as lost acts of Arnulf Biset, Hugh *de Oyri*, Eustace d'Orival, John count of Eu and Robert Constable. Most of these acts mentioned places east of the Bresle but almost all of them lay in the diocese of Rouen.

[110] *EYC*, iii, no. 1304; ADSM, 1 H 1, no. 2 (cf. *EYC*, iii, 32–3, no. 1304 n., an extract from a seventeenth-century French translation of this act). Count Stephen's act adapted earlier eleventh-century acts, for which, see Bates 1982, 90 n.74.

apart from Henry's confirmation that Mouflières was ever for any practical purposes under Norman jurisdiction. Although the three comital acts and King Henry's confirmation all listed the rights at Mouflières among the abbey's properties 'in Normandy', this was to distinguish them from its English lands. King Henry's act cannot be taken as proof that Norman ducal jurisdiction extended so far east of the Bresle; it merely demonstrates that earlier acts were consulted and crudely copied when the king was asked to confirm the abbey's property.

Such contradictions were more likely in districts where jurisdictions were already uncertain or competing. In the district of Aumale, three dioceses met and many aristocratic inheritances straddled the duchy's borders; although within the diocese of Rouen, most of the deanery of Aumale lay east of the River Bresle, and in later times the custom of Normandy certainly extended in a salient in similar (but not identical) fashion on to the plain of Picardy. There were also more localised property disputes: Mouflières, discussed above, did not lie within either of these salients of 'Norman' jurisdiction, but in the early thirteenth century the counts of Ponthieu clashed with successive lords of Aumale, including Philip Augustus himself, over the Forest of Mouflières and the adjacent wood and territory of Arguel.[111] Hence the contradictions in Henry II's charters for the abbey of Aumale reflect deeper confusion about the limits of his power and authority.

If the abbey of Aumale's ducal confirmation harked back to a time when the limits of Norman power had been undefined in the north-east, other confirmations failed to acknowledge where Norman power had demonstrably retreated. When Henry II confirmed the possessions of the abbey of Jumièges, his charter included Dame-Marie in Perche, close to Bellême. This region, however, was no longer under anything but nominal Norman control, and a case involving the abbey's rights at Dame-Marie only a few years later was resolved in the court of the count of Perche.[112] From 1193 onwards, French invasions of Normandy increased the uncertainty for monastic houses which sought to secure their property in the Norman marches. In January 1195, when Philip Augustus remained in control of sizeable tracts of south-eastern Normandy, Richard I issued a general confirmation for the abbey of Saint-Taurin d'Evreux that mentioned its possessions at Longueville (near Vernon) and Pacy, although these were in French hands at the time. The monks of Saint-Taurin reasonably presumed that the recent Capetian gains might be reversed; they could not know that the Normans would

[111] See below, p. 457.
[112] *Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. DXXVII (1172–3 × 1178); *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, no. CXXXII (1182).

never retake either Pacy or Longueville. However, King Richard's charter omitted the abbey's possessions near Bréval, which had never been under Norman rule.[113]

Overall, charters of confirmation at best demonstrate what the inhabitants of Normandy and adjacent lands believed the maximum geographical limits of ducal authority to be; within these bounds the duke was the ultimate arbiter of disputes and guarantor of land transactions, but the affected area did not always match political realities. What the acts do not reveal so clearly are variations in the intensity of ducal rule in the borderlands. Abbeys frequently sought ratification of alms from local lords much more readily and willingly, and perhaps necessarily, than from the duke. His confirmation was often requested only when he passed through the neighbourhood, and some religious houses do not appear to have felt any need for ducal confirmations of their property.

JUSTICE

The Norman judicial system

In return for milking his domains and taxing his subjects, a ruler was expected to provide justice. He thereby gained peace and control in his lands as well as judicial revenues; to his subjects, his justice guaranteed peace but also implied subjection to his authority. The provision of justice took a great many forms in the twelfth century. Owing to the widespread fragmentation of power and authority over the previous 150 years, in many regions of western Europe local castellans judged even the most serious crimes in their own courts, and resolved their own disputes with neighbours by violence, although powerful social forces prevented periodic disorder from turning into genuine anarchy.[114] This was the condition not only of many parts of France, but also, by 1200, of the Anglo-Norman lordships in the Welsh Marches and Ireland. Conversely, in many parts of Europe the process of fragmentation was halted in the twelfth century as many princes took control of justice from their castellans, hearing cases, sending out judges, and imposing their peace upon their territory by forbidding their nobles to solve disputes through war and forcing them to settle them in the princely courts instead. In Normandy William the Conqueror and his sons had sought to prevent

[113] ADE, H 793, fols. 57r–61r, no. 28 (*GC*, xi, instr., cols. 138–41); for revenues from the *péage* of St-Illiers near Bréval, granted by Simon d'Anet (d. *c.*1191) see fol. 76v, no. 73; cf. *Registres*, 188, § 38. Richard also omitted the abbey's Irish possessions, perhaps because his brother John was lord of Ireland.

[114] Fossier 1982, i, 288–301, 364–422; Geary 1986; White 1986; Barton 1995, 43–6, and sources cited there.

their nobles settling their quarrels by arms, and before 1200 it was established custom throughout Normandy that no man might make war on another.[115] The dukes reserved the so-called 'pleas of the sword' to their courts and asserted that no one had the power of life and limb except by ducal grant.[116] The provision of justice consequently had a much more general application than the administration of ducal domain-based revenues, and was therefore as geographically widespread in its magnitude as *bailliage*-based tallages.

As in England, the *curia regis* was the ultimate court of appeal in the duchy and it had several different manifestations; the itinerant court of the duke, assizes held by itinerant justices, the local courts of *baillis* and other officials and, from the late twelfth century, the court of the exchequer in Caen. There were therefore various ways in which a disputant might seek ducal justice. A system of itinerant justices similar to the English system had also evolved by 1200, and indeed we have glimpses of it much earlier in the twelfth century. According to the *Très Ancien Coutumier* these justices were to hold assizes once or twice a year in each *vicomté*, during which no baronial courts were to be held, as Henry II had ordained in 1182; the viscounts also held their own pleas.[117] In the late twelfth century the *baillis* and viscounts were collecting substantial profits of justice, such as proffers for privileges, amercements and fines, chattels seized from criminals and dead usurers, and amercements for selling wine at too high a price.[118]

Did this 'system' embrace the whole of Normandy, and was it applied evenly throughout the duchy? The list of known assizes in Normandy before 1204 is lamentably short, but it is striking that of those for which the location may be identified, the great majority were at Caen or Rouen.[119] Only one can be identified in southern Normandy for the earlier years of Henry II's reign, at Avranches (1156 × 61);[120] and of the thirty-one assizes listed by Haskins for the years 1176–93, only four were held in the south of the duchy, at Argentan in 1180 and 1190 and at Sées in 1187 and 1190. In the north-east, assizes are found at Drincourt (1178–9)

[115] Haskins 1918, 283, nos. 6–8 (*Consuetudines et Justicie*, 1091, apparently attempting to restore the situation under William the Conqueror); *TAC*, I.i, 27, c. XXXI (*c.* 1200).

[116] For the 'pleas of the sword', see *TAC*, I.i, 43, c. LIII, (cf. 44, LIV), 64–5, c. LXX; Haskins 1918, 27–30, 186–8; Yver 1958.

[117] *TAC*, I.i, 44, c. LV, § 1; 37–8, c. XLIV, § 2; Yver 1971a, 344–5. See Powicke 1961, 55, for this use of the term *vicecomitatus*.

[118] Moss 1994, 192.

[119] Haskins (1918, 165–7, 218–19, 334–6) and Power (2002, 70 n.46) collect various references to Norman assizes.

[120] *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CLIII; Haskins 1918, 165 n.51 (referring ultimately to ADC, J non classée, Ctl. St-Etienne de Caen, fol. 23r).

and the Giffard castle of Longueville, then still in ducal hands (1185).[121] The apparent rarity of judicial circuits in the border areas of the duchy is suggestive; even more significant is the close correlation between these assizes and ducal domains, despite the claims of the *Très Ancien Coutumier* that assizes were frequent and widespread. Strong regional variations in the efficacy of ducal justice is also suggested by the costs and profits of administering justice recorded in the Norman exchequer rolls, for judicial income was overwhelmingly concentrated in four ducal towns: Caen, Falaise, Argentan and Dieppe.[122]

The regionalised nature of Norman justice also emerges from the cases heard before the court of the Norman Exchequer at Caen, following its establishment in the middle of Henry II's reign.[123] By the end of the century cases were being enrolled there regularly.[124] Litigants certainly brought their disputes there from the furthest corners of Normandy: the court heard cases from the county and honour of Mortain,[125] the Passais and Houlme,[126] the Alençonnais and Séois,[127] the southern Pays d'Ouche[128] and near Nonancourt.[129] The exchequer court also served as a natural forum for the division of the Argouges inheritance in the Avranchin and Derbyshire,[130] or for the complex marriage pacts between Ranulf earl of Chester and Clemence de Fougères

[121] Haskins 1918, 165–8, 334–6. The assize at Sées in 1190 concerned Condé-sur-Sarthe (cant. Alençon-ouest), one of the remotest localities with which ducal justice was concerned (BES, *Livre Blanc de St-Martin de Sées*, fol. 134r). An act of 1192 nevertheless assumed that the district of Gacé would be subject to both ducal assizes and the jurisdiction of the exchequer court (AN, L 902, no. 3).

[122] Moss 1994, 194. Dieppe was given to the archbishop of Rouen in 1197.

[123] For the judicial role of the Exchequer and the specialised nature of its court, see Moss 1996, 114–23.

[124] *CDF*, no. 461 (cf. ADC, J non classée, Ctl. St-Etienne de Caen, fol. 93v), concerning Mouen (Calvados, cant. Tilly-sur-Seulles) (1190). ADC, H 6679, no. 2 (1199): 'Sciendum quod diuisiones tenementorum de Sapo et de Sameele recognite et nominatum assignate ad scacarium domini regis apud Cadomum . . . et actio ista notata fuit et scripta diligenter in rotulis domini regis.' Le Sap (Orne, cant. Vimoutiers) and Samesle (cne. Le Sap).

[125] AN, L 976, no. 1143, and BMF, ms. 22, pp. 141–3, no. 110 (pact between Eudo de Ferrières and Savigny concerning St-Patrice du Teilleul, 1201–2); *Misc. Exchequer Records*, 36, nos. 5–6, and *CDF*, no. 843, concern the same case. ADC, H non classée, Ctl. Plessis-Grimoult, II, fol. 197r, no. 882: act of Hugh de Couterne, nephew of William de Tracy, concerning the transfer of lands in Maine from the priory of Couesmes near Ambrières to the priory of Yvrandes near Tinchebray (cf. no. 881, ed. as *Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. DLVII).

[126] ADC, H 6572 (*CDF*, no. 608): acts of Gondrea, lady of La Ferté-Macé, and her son William de la Ferté, concerning Bellou-en-Houlme (1189 × 99); cf. *EYC*, vi, 53–4.

[127] BN, ms. lat. 11055, fol. 70r, no. 134 (concerning Le Merlerault, s.d.); BES, *Livre Blanc de St-Martin de Sées*, fol. 42*bis*, verso (St-Denis-sur-Sarthon, 1186; Valin 1910, 278–9, no. XXV); BMAL, ms. 177, fol. 487r (Trémont, 1189 × 99).

[128] *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. DXIII, pp. 72–3 (Bocquencé and St-Nicholas-des-Laitiers, cant. La Ferté-Fresnel). This cartulary copy is not authentic, but the duel over a hauberk fief which it records, waged at the Exchequer before Henry II and Richard du Hommet, is very credible.

[129] ADE, G 6, p. 17, no. 10 (*CDF*, no. 309).

[130] *Derbyshire Charters*, no. 1753; *HKF*, ii, 40–3.

in 1200, which embraced property in Brittany and England as well as the Fougères lands in the Vale of Mortain.[131] Nevertheless, the court was probably far less important to the inhabitants of frontier regions than to those of central Normandy. The haphazard survival of documents recording cases at the Exchequer makes it impossible to quantify this, although most surviving cases concern places in the heart of the duchy.[132] More indicative is a roll of royal charters and private chirographs compiled at the Norman Exchequer in the second reign of King John (1200–1). The roll includes nineteen non-royal transactions, ranging from sales and exchanges to concords settling real or fictitious disputes. At least seven of these agreements concerned property held from a single lord but were performed at the Exchequer none the less: whether or not these were the consequences of collusive action, the ratification and enrolment of the ducal court was clearly regarded as highly desirable.[133] Only one, a concord between the Templars of Renneville near Le Neubourg and one of their fiefholders, concerned a location remote from the Caen Exchequer.[134] The remainder concerned localities in central or north-western Normandy, namely the *bailliages* or towns of Caen (five cases), Lisieux (five), Bayeux (two), Falaise (two), Cotentin (two), Auge (one) and Pont-Audemer (one).[135] None of the transactions concerned places east of the Seine. An exchequer memorandum of judicial debts compiled in about

[131] *Chester Charters*, no. 318; Vincent 1997, 85–9.

[132] For acts performed at the Caen exchequer, see ADC, H 1868 (Loucelles), H 5637 (Hautmesnil), H 5644 (Le Mesnil-Patry); H 6510, fols. 3v–4r, no. 7, Montgaroult), 128r (no. 550, Pommereux, cne. Montgaroult); H 6607 (Fresné-la-Mère), H 6635 (two acts for Montgaroult), H 6679 (four deeds, including Valin 1910, 281–2, no. XXVII) (Le Sap), H 7077 (St-Georges-en-Auge), H 7834 and *Actes de Henri II*, intro. vol., 349–50 (Robehomme); H non classée, Ctl. Plessis-Grimoult, I, fols. 309v–310r, no. 521 (Rosel, cant. Creully); J non classée, Ctl. St-Etienne de Caen, fol. 89r (St-Ouen de Villers, cne. Caen); ADOR, H 1418 (Belautel, Orne, cant. Exmes, cne. Survie), H 3333 (Chênedollé, Calvados, cant. Vassy); Haskins 1918, 328, no. 11 (Moult); BN, ms. lat. 10079, fol. 192r (Démouville, Calvados, cant. Troarn); ms. lat. 10086, fol. 211r–v (*CDF*, no. 509) (Secqueville-en-Bessin); Le Prévost 1862–9, iii, 166 (Le Thuit-Anger, Eure, cant. Amfreville-la-Campagne); *CDF*, no. 517 (concerning Gruchy, cne. Rosel); *Holy Trinity Charters*, 40 (Rosel), 129–31 (Carpiquet); 'Ch. St-Florent', 672–3 (Flottemanville, Manche, ar. Cherbourg, cant. Beaumont-Hague); *Rot. Chart.*, 112 (*Escayum*, viz. Esquay-sur-Seulles (cant. Ryes) or Esquay-Notre-Dame (cant. Evrecy), between Bayeux and Caen); Le Hardy 1897, 267–8, no. 10 (Langrune-sur-Mer); *Livre Noir de Bayeux*, i, no. CCLXXIII (Mesnilbuye, apparently dept. Manche). A comprehensive search would doubtless reveal other acts, but the general pattern seems clear. Two acts of Richard Avenel, in the king's court before William fitzRalph, seneschal of Normandy, did not expressly take place in the Exchequer, although the second was at Caen: BN, ms. lat. 10087, p. 127, no. 363 (Lestre, cant. Montebourg, cne. St-Martin-d'Audouville); *Inv. Somm. Manche*, i, 34 (H 212: 'Anglesqueville', apparently near Lestre). For full geographical references, see index.

[133] For final concords as collusive pleas (in England), see *Final Concords (Lincs.)*, ii, IX–XVIII, XXVI–XXIX; Hyams 1991, 185.

[134] *RN*, 13.

[135] *RN*, I ('Hic est Rotulus Cartarum et Cyrographorum Normann[ie] factus tempore Guarini de Glapion tunc Senescalli Normannie anno secundo regni Regis Johannis'), 4, 6–17, 19.

1201 is more extended in scope, including debts from the Hiémois, the Pays de Caux, and the *bailliages* of Alençon and Vaudreuil; nevertheless, the list was dominated by the *bailliages* of Caen, Bayeux, Vire and the Cotentin.[136]

Yet ducal justice was not completely absent from the frontier regions. Even though concords from the outermost reaches of Normandy were rarely performed at the exchequer court, the exchequer rolls indicate that litigants in the frontier regions sometimes paid to have their agreements heard by the local ducal officials.[137] For ordinary justice, the activities of the duke's officers extended to much the same parts of the southern and eastern marches as their collection of revenues. In 1180, for instance, the duke's officials accounted for amercements and forest pleas in the castelries of Moulins and Bonsmoulins and in the Alençonnais, areas which Henry II had annexed to his domain respectively in 1158 and 1166.[138] The court of the archbishop of Rouen was maintaining its own records of concords by 1204.[139] In addition, since the early history of the duchy, plaintiffs had brought their cases to the itinerant duke and his court from the frontier regions. Henry I adjudicated a dispute between the bishop of Sées and the monks of Vieux-Bellême in 1127, at a time when Henry still had a measure of control over Bellême.[140] More direct intervention from the duke or his officials along the frontier must surely have reflected appeals from those localities to the ducal court. Along the south-eastern frontier, Henry II's justices, Robert du Neubourg and his brother Bishop Rotrou of Evreux, intervened in the castelry of Vernon to protect property of the abbey of Coulombs in 1158,[141] and the king himself wrote to the lord of Vernon for similar reasons between 1154 and 1166.[142] Henry II warned three barons of the Eure and Avre valleys that the abbey of Estrée, its lands and chattels were under his protection, and ordered his seneschal of Nonancourt not to permit any harm to the monks or their property.[143]

[136] *Misc. Exchequer Records*, 57–64.

[137] E.g. payments at Alençon and Nonancourt: *MRSN*, i, 19 (*pro concordia*); 76 (*pro habenda record*'). However, although such payments have not been quantified here, it is my impression that they were more common in central Normandy than elsewhere.

[138] *MRSN*, i, 18–20; ii, 386–90 (Alençonnais); i, 104–5 (Moulins and Bonsmoulins).

[139] ADSM, 18 HP 5: act of Walter, archbishop of Rouen, recording a concord between the abbey of Le Valasse and William de Bréauté, which is to be recorded in the archbishop's rolls (1184 × 1204).

[140] *Ctl. Perche*, no. 23 (*RRAN*, ii, no. 1439). The case was heard before Henry I at Ste-Vaubourg near Rouen. For Henry I and Bellême at this time, see Louise 1992, i, 420–2; cf. Haskins 1918, 300–2.

[141] BN, ms. fr. 24133, p. 133 (alms at Blaru).

[142] BN, ms. fr. 24133, p. 133; ADEL, H 1261, p. 335. If William de Vernon held that town before 1136, this could in theory by Henry I, but more probably the king's intervention was connected to the actions of his justice in 1158.

[143] *Actes de Henri II*, i, nos. CLV, CLXI (to Simon d'Anet, Gilbert de Tillières and Rahier de Muzy).

We may assume that the monks of Coulombs and Estrée had sought this assertion of ducal authority.

When the king of England took all the lands of the abbey of Estrée into his protection, his act in theory embraced lands in *Francia* as well, just as the protection which the count of Dreux offered theoretically embraced the abbey's Norman lands. In practice, ducal authority along the south-eastern frontier was more clearly demarcated. With *baillis* at Nonancourt and Verneuil and castellans at Ivry and Tillières, the dukes had firm administrative control along the Avre valley until 1193.[144] In 1192, the claimants to the inheritance of Simon d'Anet disputed the fortified house of Illiers-l'Evêque near Nonancourt before the exchequer court at Caen, and the victor even sought confirmation from Richard I at Jaffa.[145] This neatly shows the limits of Richard's administrative authority, for across the boundary River Eure, Philip Augustus seized the rest of the Anet inheritance as an escheat.[146] The aristocracy of south-east Normandy had to contend with firmly established Angevin government: here the ducal writ ran to the very boundary rivers.

Ducal and seigneurial courts

Far from being all pervasive, ducal justice worked side by side with seigneurial and episcopal courts. When the abbey of Saint-André-en-Gouffern waged a series of long-running property disputes near Argentan with the heirs of Gervase de Montgaroult, the cases were heard variously at the Norman Exchequer and, if confirmations are an indication of formal proceedings, before the archbishop and dean of Rouen and the bishop and count of Sées.[147] Consequently the relationship between the different courts can give a clear indication of the effectiveness or otherwise of the dukes' authority. In his lands near Argentan William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, held a 'duel' in his own court but then went to the king's court in order to buy the contested property from the victor,[148]

[144] Powicke 1961, 71, 182.

[145] ADE, G 6, p. 17, no. 10 (*CDF*, no. 309; Landon 1935, no. 366). The beneficiary was Morhier le Drouais, for whom see below, pp. 279–80, 421.

[146] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, I, no. 424 (cf. no. 417).

[147] ADC, H 6635: six acts concerning Montgaroult, including two performed at the Exchequer and one of Robert (du Neubourg), dean of Rouen (1175 × 90). H 6511 (four acts of Count John); H 6512 (Count Robert); H 6546 (two acts of Archbishop Rotrou); H 6551 (three acts of Bishop Lisiard).

[148] *Ch. St-Wandrille*, no. 101 (1167 × 89): Earl William grants St-Wandrille the presentation of the church of Avenelle (cant. Exmes, cne. Orméel), 'quam adquisiui de Alberico de Auenellis, per eschangium terre quam ei dedi de feodo Alberti quam fine duelli in curia mea erga Nicolaum de Valle de Corion perdiderat et quam de eodem Nicolao emi in curia regis in presencia iusticiarum suarum'.

while his contemporary Count Robert of Meulan agreed that the king's *famuli* might emend his default of justice in his Forest of Brotonne near Vaudreuil.[149] Relations between ducal and seigneurial courts were not always so harmonious: it was not uncommon for lords to be amerced for ill-performed cases in their courts, for instance the lord of Gacé in southern Normandy in 1184.[150] The judicial organisation of some lordships spanning the border was stronger than ducal structures, so that cases from Normandy might be heard outside the duchy. An agreement made at Bellême in 1086 in the court of Robert de Bellême, between two of his 'barons', had stated that any future dispute arising from this compromise could be heard either at Alençon, supposedly in Normandy, or at Lurson, the count's chief fortress in the Saosnois and therefore notionally in Maine, near where the affected property lay.[151] A century later the abbot of Jumièges arranged for a duel concerning Vieux-Verneuil in the diocese of Chartres to be waged in the court of Gilbert de Tillières in the castle of Tillières, although the notice recording this event was careful to state that this was done of the abbot's free will, not under coercion from Gilbert.[152]

Particularly illuminating is the continuing recourse of the monks of Savigny to the court of their founding patrons, the lords of Fougères in Brittany, in matters involving the Fougères territories in Normandy.[153] When a young widowed heiress, Mary Bastard, wished to become a nun at the priory of Notre-Dame de Mortain in 1162, she granted her inheritance in the contiguous parishes of Savigny (dioc. Avranches) and Landivy (dioc. Le Mans) to the convent's mother-house, Savigny. The ceremony took place at the abbey of Savigny in the presence of Ralph de Fougères, who was lord of Mary's lands in that parish, but her uncle and the monks then gave an account of her action in the *curia regis* at Mortain. The following year, Mary's uncle augmented her gifts in both parishes to

[149] *Ch. St-Wandrille*, no. 96 (1166 × 78).

[150] *MRSN*, i, 123: 'de Sabrolio [debet] . . . l. li. pro duello de combustione male servato in curia sua'. Most probably Amaury I de Sablé, lord of Gacé in 1172 and 1180, is meant (see App. 1, no. 16).

[151] BES, *Livre Blanc de St-Martin de Sées*, fols. 34r–35r; Musset 1985, 133–4; Tabuteau 1988, 226, 346–7 n.172 (cf. 138–9). The dispute concerned the dower of *Adeloia*, widow of William de Coesmes (*de Coimis*); she and her second husband Picot de Sai were compensated with property at Ancinnes and Rouessé-Fontaine (Sarthe, ar. Mamers, cant. St-Paterne; for Coesmes, cne. Ancinnes, see *Dict. topog. Sarthe*, 255). For Lurson (cant. Mamers, cne. St-Rémy-du-Val), see Louise 1992, ii, 101–2, 205, 285.

[152] *Ch. Jumièges*, i, no. xxiv; Bauduin 1995, 39. I am grateful to David Bates for sharing with me his opinion that this act dates from the time of Abbot Robert IV (1178–90), not Robert III (1048–78). See *Ann. Jumièges*, 107, for a later case in the abbot's court at Vieux-Verneuil (1240).

[153] For the Fougères lands in the Vale of Mortain, see Pouëssel 1981, 86–94; for lands in the Avranchin, see BMAV, ms. 206, fol. 13r–v, no. 40 (Courtils); AN, L 973, no. 766 (Montdaigné); 'Ch. St-Florent', 673–4; *RHF*, xxiii, 703; *Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. dxci. Cf. *Layettes*, ii, no. 2127.

the abbey of Savigny: once again, the performance of the transactions was divided between the abbey, the king's court at Mortain, and the entourage or court of Ralph de Fougères (possibly at Fougères). The fact that Landivy lay in the lordship of Mayenne was not apparently taken into account on either occasion.[154] At about the same time, when the brothers Richard Juhel and Alan de Savigny endowed the abbey with lands at Savigny, they swore to uphold their grants in Ralph's court at Fougères, even though they made provision for the *servitium regis* that the lands owed.[155] At the turn of the century Ralph's brother William de Fougères, then custodian of his family's vast lands, heard another case at Fougères relating to the alms of the Savigny brothers, which Alan de Savigny's daughter and son-in-law had contested.[156] Afterwards, however, William sent notification of his judgment to Richard de Fontenay, who was successively seneschal of Count John of Mortain and, after John's accession, the most powerful Angevin official in south-western Normandy.[157] We may also note that when the alms of Mary Bastard were challenged by a kinsman in about 1191, the case was heard in the court of the count of Mortain.[158]

All these cases concerned the parish of Savigny itself, where the court of the lord of Fougères might be expected to have particular importance for the monks of the abbey. But the court's influence in the Fougères' Norman lands was not restricted to the parish of Savigny alone. In the reign of Richard I, Geoffrey de Saint-Brice confirmed an exchange which his parents had made with the abbey of Savigny at Buais; he promised to fulfil all services owed from the alms to the king, the count of Mortain, and the lord of Fougères, and therefore had his concession recorded and confirmed in the courts of all three authorities.[159] In 1195 when Leonesius,

[154] BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 4. I am preparing a separate study of this complex case. No location is given for Ralph's final act in Dec. 1163, but that year he confirmed the abbey's possessions in ceremonies at Savigny and Fougères before setting off for Jerusalem (AN, L 968, no. 209). Another act of Ralph de Fougères concerning Savigny acknowledges the lordship of Geoffrey de Mayenne over Landivy (AN, L 975, no. 1075).

[155] AN, L 975, no. 1075 (confirmation of Ralph de Fougères). Richard Juhel was about to go to Jerusalem, which suggests that this act dates from just before Ralph's proposed crusade in 1163–4 (Vincent 1997, 85, and see previous note).

[156] AN, L 975, no. 1078: The case, heard 'in curia coram baronibus et hominibus meis, me tunc custode terre Filgeriarum loco Gaufridi nepote meo', concerned the rights of *aînesse* which the abbey enjoyed over the Savigny family by virtue of these alms. William was guardian of Fougères from 1191 or 1194 to 1200: see Vincent 1997, 85–91.

[157] AN, L 975, no. 1076. For Richard de Fontenay, see below, pp. 60, 79, 282.

[158] BMF, ms. 22, pp. 121–2, no. 88 (s.d.); Desroches 1856, 133 (misdated to 1121). William Avenel, seneschal of the count of Mortain, presided over the count's court.

[159] AN, L 968, no. 233: Geoffrey promises to retain nothing in the exchanged alms, 'sed eas de seruicio domini regis et comitis Moretonii, et domini Filgeriensis semper aquitabo. Hanc meam concessionem et confirmationem in curia domini Ricardi regis, et domini Johannis comitis Moretonii, et domini Filgeriensis feci recordari et confirmari.' The first phrase above appears, *mutatis mutandis*, in a related act of Geoffrey's mother Gervaise and his brother Ranulf de Virey (L 978, no. 1358). Buais, cant. Le Teilleul.

a knight of Fougères, and his grandson Leonesius de Poilley claimed the church of Brécey near Avranches from the monks of Savigny, the terms of the ensuing accord stated that the donors would seek the confirmation of the archbishops of Rouen and Tours, the bishops of Avranches and Rennes, the king (of England) and William de Fougères.[160] There is no other evidence that the Fougères family had lordship over Brécey; rather, this seems to be a more general recognition of the Fougères' influence through their knights. Moreover, while there is no sign that the royal or archiepiscopal acts concerning Brécey were ever procured, the monks preserved the acts of the local authorities, namely the bishops of Rennes and Avranches and William de Fougères, who declared himself to be 'witness, guardian and surety of this peace'.[161] The power of the lords of Fougères and their continuing association with their greatest monastic foundation meant that the judicial authority of the dukes of Normandy, the counts of Mortain and the various ecclesiastical authorities, however nicely defined, complemented the seigneurial power of the lords of Fougères in the south-western corner of Normandy but did not supplant it.[162]

These cases show that the fairly clearly defined administrative border of Normandy with Brittany was nevertheless far from impermeable in judicial matters. It contrasted with conditions at the other end of the duchy, for in parts of north-eastern Normandy disputants never seem to have used the ducal courts; seigneurial courts handled the known cases, and since the barons of the region often had lands both within and beyond ducal power, the judicial frontier was blurred, in so far as it existed at all. In his court at Aumale the count of Aumale oversaw agreements that concerned properties in the dioceses of Amiens and Beauvais.[163] As in fiscal matters, judicial authority around Aumale and Gournay appears to have lain largely with the local nobility.

Ducal and seigneurial courts certainly came into conflict in the border regions from time to time. The *Très Ancien Coutumier* (*c.*1200) illustrated several principles of Norman custom with cases from Ivry, which Henry II had seized from its lord in 1177: all three examples concerned conflicts

[160] BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 10; AN, L 967, nos. 150–4, and *PDN*, ii, nos. 104–6, noting that the papal judges-delegate (from Maine), the abbot and prior of Evron and the dean of Sablé, played only a small part in resolving the dispute.

[161] AN, L 967, no. 151: 'Huius igitur pacis testis sum hinc inde, et custos et fideiussor.' The monks also preserved the act of the papal judges.

[162] Around 1200 William de Fougères also announced the agreement which his stepfather or stepbrother William de Saint-Jean had made with the abbey of Lucerne in the ducal assizes at St-Lô, concerning land near Coutances (*Ctl. Luzerne*, no. XXXIV).

[163] E.g. 'Ctl. Lannoy', no. XXXIV (ADOI, H 4846): Count William confirms the quitclaim of properties at Belval in the Beauvaisis (Oise, cant. Formerie, cnes Mureaumont and Monceaux-l'Abbaye) which Guichard d'Escles had made to the abbey of Lannoy (Aumale, 1166).

between the ducal official and a local lord, Roger de Saint-André, who held fiefs from the lord of Ivry.[164] One paradigm, concerning the rights of seigneurial courts, allowed Roger to try one of his men who had been caught stealing because the duke's constable of Ivry could not prove that Roger had harboured the criminal.[165] In the second, the constable's foresters had wrongly arrested some of Roger's men.[166] In the third, which demonstrated the procedure for false accusations, Roger successfully appealed to the seneschal of Normandy against a ducal sergeant who had arrested one of his men.[167] Once Henry II had established his constable at Ivry, the neighbouring lordship of Saint-André was not immune against ducal justice, at the hands either of the local officials or of the seneschal of Normandy, but the lord of Saint-André defended his rights assiduously. Later lords of Saint-André were guarding their rights of high justice against royal officials well after 1204.[168] Yet the custumal's paradigms suggest that this particular frontier lordship did not enjoy greater judicial independence on account of its marcher position.

Another place where the judicial rights of the duke and lord were disputed was the nearby fortress of Vernon. In 1196, Richard I de Vernon ceded his lordship of Vernon to Philip Augustus, who had taken the town in 1193. Under the French king an inquiry sought to establish the rights of the duke of Normandy and lord of Vernon in the castelry, especially in the matter of judicial duels. The jurors stated that the lord of Vernon had the right to hold these combats in his court, and to try a thief residing in his lands, but the duke would try a runaway thief.[169] The lord could hold all other pleas except pleas of the sword and recognitions, which were evidently reserved for the duke: recognitions had developed at a later date than most pleas, which explains why the duke retained control over them.[170] The duke was also entitled to the revenues of a fugitive for a year and a day, which was the usual custom in Normandy.[171] In so far as the depositions reflected established practice, the lord of Vernon had neither firmly established liberties nor special freedom from ducal justice, and his lordship was not especially privileged compared to the rest of Normandy, even though it left no trace on the 1180 exchequer roll. The lords of Vernon had not exploited their castle's strategically crucial position in the Seine valley to extract judicial privileges from the

[164] For the rights of the lord of Ivry over St-André, see *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1305.
[165] *TAC*, I.i, 50, c. LXI; I.ii, 47. [166] *TAC*, I.i., 52–3, c. LXI; I.ii, 49–50.
[167] *TAC*, I.i, 55–6, c. LXIV; I.ii, 51–2. [168] *CN*, no. 493 (Mauvoisin family, *c.*1250).
[169] *Registres*, 133–4 (*CN*, no. 201), before 1221. The related Old French list of customs reserved battles to the lord's court (Lebeurier 1855, 527, c. IX). *Registres*, 78–9 (*CN*, no. 200), an inquiry into rights in the forest of Vernon, mentions the lord of Vernon holding court at three feasts each year.
[170] Powicke 1961, 46. [171] *TAC*, I.i, 98, c. LXXXVIII.

ruler of Normandy.[172] However, the very need to hold an inquest after 1196 suggests that the relationship between ducal and seigneurial rights of justice was more contested than the depositions claimed.

THE NORMAN COUNTIES AS JUDICIAL FRANCHISES

One distinctive feature of the Norman frontier regions was the counties. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the Norman dukes had established junior members of their dynasties at the limits of their territories, usually combining defensive needs with the need to endow younger sons. By the twelfth century only three survived, at Eu, Mortain and Evreux.[173] A number of other dynasties in Normandy bore the comital title, and at Aumale and Alençon a 'county' emerged by the end of the Angevin period.[174] However, the ducal apanages of Mortain, Eu and Evreux might be expected to have the greatest autonomy, since from the outset they enjoyed extensive rights of justice.[175] In practice, though, there were considerable variations in judicial independence of the counties by the second half of the twelfth century.

The county of Eu

The county of Eu appears to have been the least affected by ducal justice: the counts' almost uninterrupted possession there from the mid-eleventh century to 1214 must have helped them to consolidate their authority there, although there were several periods of minority.[176] In addition to genealogical continuity, the counts enjoyed local territorial hegemony, with few ducal domains and no ducal fortresses encircling them in the way that Verneuil, Nonancourt and Vaudreuil (and at times also Pacy, Vernon, Illiers and Ivry) hemmed in the county of Evreux. The counts of Eu maintained effective regulation of the Norman frontier with the counts of Ponthieu and the lords of Saint-Valéry, with remarkable lack of interference from the duke; by the time of Count Henry II (1170–*c.*1190) they held fiefs in Ponthieu from its count, but their comital jurisdiction halted at the boundary River Bresle.[177] Within the area the only other

[172] In 1213 the lord of Chennebrun near Verneuil, Gohier de Morville, also claimed to have 'justitiam de bello et sanguine et furto' at La Haye-le-Roi (cant. Verneuil, cne. Pullay): *Ctl. Trappe*, 263.

[173] For the creation of these 'counties', see Lemarignier 1945, 67–8, 71; Douglas 1946; Bates 1982, 99, 156; Garnett 1994, esp. 98–101.

[174] Below, pp. 215–17.

[175] Bates 1982, 156 and n. 38; Garnett 1994, 99.

[176] For the county of Eu, see Deck 1954; for the counts, see below, App. 1, no. 13.

[177] Power 1995, 190; *Actes de Ponthieu*, nos. CLXXX, CCXCVII; below, pp. 248–50. Boussard (1956, 88) attributes control of the mint at Abbeville to the counts of Eu, but in two acts of Count Henry II upon which Boussard's statement ultimately rests, the *moneta* of Abbeville merely refers

important lordship was at Saint-Riquier-en-Rivière, which belonged to the Mortemer family, lords of Saint-Victor-en-Caux.[178] More significant as a constraint upon the counts were the townsmen of Eu: the counts therefore cultivated their support from a relatively early date, notably with the grant of a commune by Count John by 1151.[179]

In view of this relatively free hand it is not surprising to find that the counts of Eu held extensive judicial and fiscal privileges.[180] The twelfth-century counts apparently enjoyed rights of high justice, for in 1219, when Philip Augustus restored the county to Countess Alice, he specifically reserved the pleas of the sword to himself.[181] The county had been organised around *vicomtés* at Eu and Le Tréport by 1059, and over the next century others appeared at Criel, Sept-Meules and Foucarmont; unlike the seneschals of Eu, the viscounts did not hold their post hereditarily.[182] There are almost no known examples of ducal justices acting within the county.[183] In fact, the chief constraint upon comital justice came from the town of Eu, and the burgesses were probably responsible for the main ducal interventions there. Count Henry I (1095–1140) conceded to the townsmen the right not to have to plead outside the town of Eu itself, but Count John (1140–70), although granting them a commune, carefully stipulated that the townpeople were still subject to his justice and would lose their privileges if they refused to acknowledge the authority of his court.[184] The townsmen, meanwhile, sought the approval of Geoffrey of Anjou and Henry II for the commune, petitioning them to stand surety for both parties to the agreement, and they later also thought it prudent to ask the Young King at Drincourt to do the same. If, as it is tempting to

to the unit of account in which the *lignagium* of Eu was assessed: ADSM, 8 H 8 ('de moneta Abbatisuille'); 17 HP 1 ('Abb[atisuill]e monete'; *Ctl. Tréport*, no. XXXIV, mistranscribes this as 'albe monete').

[178] *Layettes*, i, nos. 733–4; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 862. In the late twelfth century the lords of St-Valéry, Cayeux and St-Saëns also held or acquired lands in the county (*GC*, x, instr., cols. 329–30).

[179] *Livre Rouge d'Eu*, 1–18 (including *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CLXX); Deck 1924, 71–90 and 1960, 208–12.

[180] Deck 1954, especially 106–9, 114–16.

[181] *Layettes*, i, nos. 1353, 1360; Deck 1954, 106 and n. 52. The acts of 1219 reveal that Count Ralph had also held the *placitum ensis* in Roumare and probably Neufmarché.

[182] Deck 1954, 114.

[183] For one possible exception, see ADSM, 8 H 108, a notification by Bishop Rotrou, 'tunc temporis existente iusticia Normannie' (i.e. 1157–65), of alms of Richard de Fesques at Varimpré for Foucarmont. Deck (1954, 103 n.30) treats Varimpré as part of the county, but Foucarmont's property there was confirmed by Countess Isabella, widow of Count Gilbert of Pembroke, and her son Richard (Strongbow) (ADSM, 8 H 108; *Actes de Henri II*, i, nos. CLXXVI (p. 310), CCLXV). Even if Varimpré was part of the county, it lay at its fringes and very close to a major ducal fortress (Drincourt), so the case cannot be taken as typical. For Bishop Rotrou's term as justice, see Haskins 1918, 166.

[184] *Livre Rouge d'Eu*, 1–2.

believe, the young Henry made this grant during his rebellion of 1173, in which Count Henry II of Eu participated, the burgesses were demonstrating an almost unseemly eagerness to have whatever royal approval they could secure for their privileges.[185]

Before 1201 the county contributed no revenues to the dukes, at least when there was an adult count, with the possible exception of *fouage*.[186] The acts of the comital dynasty also show them in control of most of the economic resources in the region, including tolls at Le Tréport and saltpans on the coast, but especially the Forest of Eu which even in 1204 still covered much of the county: they included the exaction of a timber-tax or *lignagium* at Eu, other timber revenues at the river crossing of Blangy, and the woodland itself.[187] As elsewhere in Normandy, the most pervasive and comprehensive ducal rights appear to have been the protection of alms,[188] although the canons of Eu prized comital deeds more highly.[189]

Only in the 1190s did the minority of Countess Alice and a brief French occupation push the town more closely into contact with the dukes. Richard I recaptured the town from Philip Augustus, expended over 5000 *li. ang.* on its walls and ditches, and took 'our faithful and dearest friends the men of the commune of Eu' under his protection.[190] King John echoed his brother's words in his appeal to the *prud'hommes* of Eu in the autumn of 1201, when the Poitevin revolt pitted him against Ralph de Lusignan, count of Eu. 'We well know that you were the men of our brother Richard, our father Henry, and our predecessors of dear memory, and that you are and ought to be our *fideles*', John reminded them,[191] and the following spring they lived up to his admonishments by expelling the count's men from the town.[192] More significantly, perhaps, the king's words were matched by an extension of the ducal fiscal régime into the county: in the previous spring, his first, brief war against the count of Eu, including the siege of Drincourt, was financed with tallages

[185] *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CLXX; *Livre Rouge d'Eu*, 17–18. [186] See above, n. 78.

[187] *Lignagium*: ADSM, 8 H 8; *Ctl. Tréport*, no. XXIV (Count Henry II). Timber (*maeria*) at Blangy: ADSM, 8 H 12 (Count John). For comital woodland, see *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CLXXVI, p. 309; Deck 1929, 33–50.

[188] For ducal acts for N.-D. d'Eu (O. Aug.) and Foucarmont (O. Cist.), the chief new abbeys in the county in the twelfth century, see e.g. *Actes de Henri II*, i, nos. CLXXVI, CCLXV, CCCCXVIII; ii, nos. DXXCIII, DCLXVI, DCCLIII, DCCLXVII (Foucarmont); nos. DCCXLVI, DCLXXXVII, DCCLIV (Eu). King Henry II issued at least one act at Eu in the first half of his reign (i, no. CXLIX, 1156 × 1172–3).

[189] Above, n. 103.

[190] *Livre Rouge d'Eu*, 19–20: 'homines de communia Augi . . . Quia ipsi fideles et amicissimi homines nostri sunt quos in manu nostra et custodia et protectione suscepimus.' For accounts concerning the defences of Eu, see *MRSN*, ii, 300–1, 385–6, 419, 429, 444, 447; Moss 2002, 157.

[191] *Rot. Pat.*, 2. [192] *Rot. Pat.*, 8; Powicke 1961, 147; below, pp. 423–6.

from the county.[193] Yet the siege itself was testimony to the weakening of ducal power in north-east Normandy under Richard I, who had given Drincourt to the count of Eu, alienating the chief ducal fortress facing the county.[194] Paradoxically, then, at the moment when ducal administration and justice appear to have had most influence in the county of Eu, the duke had less direct influence in the region than a few years earlier. It is an irony that the Poitevin web entangling this corner of Normandy by 1199 led, through King John's alienation of the Lusignan dynasty, to the destruction of the Angevin 'empire', but simultaneously enabled ordinary ducal administration to be extended to the county for the first time.

The county of Mortain

Lying near the other extreme of the duchy, the county of Mortain had a very different, far less autonomous existence than the *comitatus Augensis*. Like the counties of Eu and Evreux, the county of Mortain was a coherent political unit from the mid-eleventh to the thirteenth century. Unlike the other two counties, however, the county of Mortain retained its close associations with the rulers of Normandy until it was dismembered in all but name by Louis IX in 1235, the remainder escheating to the royal domain in 1258.[195] The roll-call of the counts is a testimony to its importance: they included Robert, brother of William the Conqueror, and his son William, the mortal enemy of Henry I of England; Stephen of Blois and John Lackland, the future kings of England; and Renaud de Dammartin and Philip Hurepel, younger son of Philip Augustus, both of whom acquired the county through marriages to Stephen's descendants. As this list implies, the dukes repeatedly regranted Mortain to close relatives as an apanage, often in the face of the claims of the previous holders or their heirs. In between it spent long periods under ducal or royal control, notably from 1142 to 1153 and again from 1159 to 1189.[196] With major castles at Mortain, Cérences, Tinchebray and Le Teilleul, the honour of Mortain was concentrated in the broad valley of the River Sélune, the so-called 'Vale of Mortain', but it also embraced scattered but important domains in the Cotentin, including revenues from the fair of Montmartin, and under Stephen and his son William it even appears to have embraced the city of Coutances itself.[197]

[193] *MRSN*, i, 501–2, for which see Moss 1999, 116, and Power 1999a, 125.
[194] Power 1999a, 125; above, p. 32.
[195] Nortier 1970, *CN*, no. 412, and *Layettes*, ii, nos. 2367–8; *RHF*, xxiii, 586 (Savigny chronicle).
[196] King (2000, 274) also argues for ducal custody between 1106 and *c.*1112.
[197] For the county before 1106, see Boussard 1952, 270 (map); for the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, see Pouëssel 1981; Nortier 1970. Before 1106 it had also included the castle of La

The administration of the county of Mortain reveals a history of close royal supervision that nevertheless relied upon members of the local aristocratic community, who frequented the court of Counts Robert and William until the latter was disinherited in 1106. In accordance with usual practice, some of Robert's acts were performed in the presence of the duke of Normandy, but they reveal that under his lordship there was a system of justices at Mortain.[198] When Stephen of Blois acquired the county from Henry I in *c.*1112, it was still common practice for comital acts to be performed in the king's presence.[199] Nevertheless, Stephen took full control of the county and honour of Mortain and attracted members of the local aristocracy to his service. One of his acts, addressed to William de Vernon and the count's foresters, mentions Stephen's justice at Coutances.[200] Another, in favour of the nuns of Moutons, is addressed to his viscount, presumably of Mortain itself.[201] As count, Stephen of Blois confirmed gifts to the priory of Le Neufbourg de Mortain, a dependency of Marmoutier, in his hall at Mortain,[202] and during his one visit to Normandy as duke, he heard the settlement between the same priory and the canons of Saint-Evroul de Mortain in a gathering at Rouen.[203]

Haye-du-Puits (BN, ms. lat. 5441, II, p. 405; *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 215, p. 683), afterwards the chief possession of the family of La Haye. Ralph I de la Haye had been seneschal for Count Robert of Mortain: Desroches (1856, 133) cites an unidentified charter of 1105 of 'Robertus de Haia, filius Radulfi, senescalli Roberti comitis Moritonii'. For rights at Coutances, see below, n. 200 (Stephen); Torigni, i, 305 and n.10 (his son William). King John gave the *villa* of Le Teilleul to William de l'Etang in 1199 (*Rot. Chart.*, 16). The Vale of Mortain was such an important constituent of the county that Robert, brother of William I, even appears as 'count of the Vale of Mortain' (*Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 271).

198 *Regesta*, ed. Bates, nos. 205, 215 (p. 685 for justices, but p. 680 notes suspicious language); BN, ms. lat. 5441, II, pp. 403–6. For late-eleventh-century diplomatic practice, see Bates 1997.

199 King 2000, 273–4; ADE, H 10, and *Mon. Hist.*, no. 418 (*RRAN*, ii, nos. 1547, 1973). I am grateful to Edmund King for various details concerning Stephen's acts before his accession.

200 ADC, J non classée, *Ctl. St-Etienne de Caen*, fol. 23r: 'Stephanus consul Mauretanie, W. de Uern(one) et omnibus forestariis et ministris suis de Boseuill' salutem . . . et si supra id aliquid feceritis quod eis noceat, precipio quod iusticia mea de Constant' rectum faciat.' This could be Beuzeville-au-Plain or Beuzeville-la-Bastille (cant. Ste-Mère-Eglise), close to the Vernon honour of Néhou; but see *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 215, and index, for a domain of Count William of Mortain at *Bosonavilla* (Bolleville, cant. La Haye-du-Puits, or Bonneville, cant. St-Sauveur-le-Vicomte).

201 Haskins 1918, 127 n.17. Perhaps Robert de Sauqueville, Stephen's seneschal, was intended (King 2000, 287).

202 BN, ms. lat. 5441, II, pp. 415–16. This act is misdated '1139' and was confirmed by a similarly misdated act of a certain Herbert, bishop of Avranches, who is otherwise not recorded (*ibid.*, ii, pp. 416–17; *GC*, xi, cols. 478–9). Despite the apparently spurious nature of these texts, there are grounds for regarding the basic terms of Stephen's act as genuine.

203 BN, ms. lat. 5441, II, pp. 409–10: Richard, bishop of Avranches, announces the *finalis consideratio et terminalis concordia* made before King Stephen, Archbishop Hugh of Rouen, 'et comitum et procerum plurimorum'.

In 1158 Stephen's younger son and successor in the county, William, confirmed the gifts of his father from the mills of Mortain,[204] but after his death in 1159, Henry II's officials soon appear in charge of justice in the county. The king's first official in this escheated inheritance was Robert Boquerel or Buccherel, who in 1162 was holding court at Mortain for his royal master in the presence of the local barons.[205] It is not known whether he was from the region.[206] Robert Boquerel was succeeded by a certain Nigel de Mortain who appears as seneschal of Mortain or 'the king's sergeant'.[207] Nigel had local connections, whether by origin or marriage, and at the end of the century was a landowner further north in the Cotentin.[208] He headed 'the king's justices of Mortain'.[209] There was also a *prévôt* of Mortain, a more minor figure, although Ralph the *prévôt* was of sufficient status to stand godfather to the son of Richard de Fontenay, one of the chief barons of the county.[210] Richard himself would become seneschal for Count John of Mortain,[211] one of three men known to have held this post under the future king of England; of the other two, William Avenel, was a substantial landowner in south-west Normandy,[212] but William le Gras, who was seneschal of Mortain in 1193–4 and later the notorious seneschal of Normandy, had previously held no land in the region.[213] Although the 'viscount's aid' in the Vale

[204] AN, L 979, no. 8 (issued at Tinchebray; copy).

[205] BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 4: 'Ricardus Bastardus cum monachis ueniens Moretonium in curia regis in presentia Roberti Bucherelli et baronum ad recordationem monachorum.'

[206] He may have witnessed a charter of Henry II's brother William for the nuns of Mortain simply because he was the king's representative in the town (AN, L 979, no. 78; *Actes de Henri II*, intro. vol., 440). For William, youngest son of Geoffrey of Anjou, see Keefe 1990, 185–7.

[207] AN, L 976, no. 1138 (vidimus): Nigel, seneschal of Mortain, announces gifts of Ruellon de Sourdeval 'coram me et baronibus domini regis'; cf. *Actes de Henri II*, intro. vol., 408. *Ibid.*, ii, no. DCCLX: Henry II confirms these gifts made before the king's sergeant Nigel de Mortain (Domfront, 1185 × 89).

[208] AN, L 968, no. 283; L 975, no. 1058: Nigel and his wife Matilda quitclaimed the churches of Champcervon (cant. La Haye-Pesnel) and St-Martin-le-Bouillant (cant. St-Pois); she was probably the heiress of Ducey and widow of William de Husson. Nigel was possibly a kinsman of Hasculf, son of John de Subligny (see next note).

[209] BMF, ms. 22, pp. 134–5, no. 102: letter of Hasculf de Subligny (lord of Combour) to his *carissimus amicus* Nigel [de Mortain] and the king's justiciars of Mortain concerning the gift of a *métairie* at *Lautreil* to the abbey of Vieuville near Dol (s.d., late twelfth century).

[210] AN, L 967, no. 149 (act of Richard de Fontenay for Savigny, *c.*1200): Ralph *prévôt* of Mortain had granted a field to Richard's son John *in filiolagio*. For his revenues at Vengeons, see L 979, no. 89.

[211] AN, L 974, no. 878 (act for Savigny of Richard de Fontenay, seneschal of the count of Mortain).

[212] For William Avenel as the count's seneschal, see above, p. 52. The complexity of the Avenel genealogy precludes its inclusion here; William was lord of Les Biards, presumably a descendant of William, lord of Les Biards in 1082 (AN, L 967, no. 137; L 974, no. 918; *Ctl. Couture*, nos. XVII (*GC*, xi, instr., cols. 107–8), CLXVI–CLXVII; cf. Pouëssel 1981, 49–56).

[213] AN, L 973, no. 828 (William le Gras, seneschal of Mortain, witnesses an act of Count John at Mortain, 1193–4). For William le Gras, see Vincent 1998, 145–6; he held a messuage at Le

of Mortain formed an important part of comital revenues, no viscounts appear at Mortain after 1135.[214]

Even in times of a separate comital administration, ducal justice was assumed to have an important role. In the reign of Richard I the bishop of Avranches wrote to William fitzRalph, 'seneschal of all Normandy', to inform him of the alms made just outside the count of Mortain's castle of Le Teilleul.[215] The count's seneschal announced other alms made before him 'in the count's court, in full assizes before the lord king's barons', who included representatives of the chief families of the county.[216] As we have seen, however, the court of the lord of Fougères was an effective alternative forum for dispute settlement, at least in those localities within the county where he held lands.[217] Nevertheless, Mortain is the only Norman county in which the count's seneschal is recorded with an active judicial function and issues acts on the count's behalf. In part this may be due to the inevitable absences of the counts of Mortain for long periods: Stephen and William of Blois, John Lackland and Renaud of Boulogne all had vast estates elsewhere and nurtured ambitions to match. It is also an indication of the extent to which the local aristocracy maintained local order in this corner of Normandy, often, as in the examples of the Avenel and Heussé families, across several generations. The events of 1204 had little appreciable impact upon the county's administration.[218]

The county of Evreux

In the county of Evreux we find more ducal interference than at Eu but less than at Mortain.[219] Not long after the Capetian subjugation of Normandy, an inquest was held to determine the customary relationship between Evreux, as the *caput* of the honour of Evreux, and the count's castle of Gaillon.[220] The immediate context is important: after King Philip's capture of Gaillon in 1193 or 1194, he had conferred it upon his

Neufbourg de Mortain before 1199, perhaps acquired while seneschal of the town (AN, L 979, no. 89).

[214] For the aid, see *MRSN*, i, 10; ii, 539; Nortier 1970, 232. However, the counts retained the 'viscount's aid' at Coutances in the thirteenth century, and a viscount and *vicomté* at Cérences (*ibid.*, 230; *MRSN*, i, 30; ii, 540–1).

[215] AN, L 976, no. 1146 (gift of Robert de St-Patrice).

[216] AN, L 976, no. 1128 (partly ed. in Haskins 1918, 187 n.179): William Avenel, seneschal of the count of Mortain, confirms the gifts of Robert *pincerna* and his brother William, 'in presentia mea in curia comitis, in plenaria asissa [*sic*] coram baronibus domini regis'. The witnesses include Richard de Fontenay, here called 'ba.[lliuo]', and Fulk de Husson.

[217] Above, pp. 51–3. [218] See pp. 458–60.

[219] For its extent, see *RHF*, xxiii, 714–15 (*Registres*, 298–9), 635–6; Crouch 1986, 72–3 (Map), although the count also had considerable jurisdiction in the city of Evreux itself.

[220] *Layettes*, i, no. 797 (original); *Registres*, 95–6 (*CN*, no. 120); Powicke 1961, 198.

mercenary captain Cadoc, who had successfully defended it against Richard I in 1195. Now, with all Normandy under Capetian rule, Cadoc had apparently clashed with one of the minor barons of the honour, Gilbert d'Autheuil, and the knights wished to clarify the castellan's rights in the castelry. In view of Cadoc's reputation as a rapacious mercenary, they probably intended to limit them as far as possible, in particular any powers of life and limb that he held over them.[221] Cadoc's predecessor as castellan, a local knight called Geoffrey de Barquet, revealingly stated that every judicial duel (*bellum*) was to be held at Evreux, and all 'justice to destroy a man'.[222] The count of Evreux therefore wielded great judicial authority including what in the thirteenth century would become known as *haute justice*: in other words, the authority normally reserved to the duke as the 'pleas of the sword'.

The counts of Evreux were not alone in enjoying such broad powers of justice within their lands; since the eleventh century many of the great abbeys had done so as well.[223] Even knights were known to hold the pleas of the sword on occasion, although not with impunity.[224] In the early thirteenth century it was not unknown for the ruler of Normandy to confer the right to hold the pleas upon a great ecclesiastical establishment or prelate. 'Since we ought to venerate the churches of Rouen above all the other churches of Normandy, and to love and keep it as the mother of all the churches of Normandy and as the one from which we and our predecessors received the honour of our dukedom', King John stated in 1200, 'we have granted to the archbishop of Rouen and his successors all the pleas of the sword and their justice forever, whether or not the church of Rouen had that right before.'[225] In September 1199 he also resolved a three-way dispute over high justice in the city and *banlieue* of Lisieux, dividing the pleas of the sword between himself and the bishop while denying any rights to the self-styled hereditary viscount of Lisieux, in accordance with the findings of a local inquest; but the great inquest

[221] *Registres*, 96 (dated *c.*1215 by Baldwin). For Cadoc, see below, pp. 173–4, 211, 452–3; for his defence of Gaillon in 1196, see *Philippidos*, 135 (v, lines 258–67). At Gaillon, he founded a collegiate church which Gilbert d'Autheuil endowed: ADE, G 184, acts of Gilbert (1208) and of Cadoc (*c.*1205), edited in Le Brasseur 1722, *Preuves*, 9–10, and Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 148 (*Ctl. Louviers*, i, no. CIX), respectively; cf. *ibid.*, i, 145–7, for the family of Autheuil.

[222] *Registres*, 96. [223] Haskins 1918, 27–30.

[224] E.g. *MRSN*, i, 21: Ralph de Montgomery has been amerced for falsely holding the pleas of the sword (*bailliage* of Argentan, 1180).

[225] *RN*, 2–3 (*Registres*, 484): 'De placitis ad spatam pertinentibus sic erit: quia ecclesia Rothom(agensis) supra omnes alias [ecclesias] Norm(annie) venerari debemus, diligere et tueri sicut matrem omnium ecclesiarum Norm(annie) et sicut illam unde ducatus nostri honorem accepimus, et antecessores nostri, sive ipsa ecclesia Rothom(agensis) jus habuit prius in placitis illis, sive non: nos ad honorem Dei et Beate Virginis concessimus ipsi Archiepiscopo et successoribus suis in perpetuum omnia placita illa, et omnem justiciam placitorum.' Cf. Richard I's more restricted grant (*RN*, 1–2).

concerning ducal rights over the Norman church of 1205 shows that rights of high justice at Lisieux remained a bone of contention under Philip Augustus.[226] Nevertheless, the right to pleas of the sword was an important privilege for the counts.

In practice, however, the organisation of justice in the county was less clearcut than the jurors at Gaillon asserted. Certainly the comital court was an active body, both in the county of Evreux itself and in their other Norman lands such as the honour of Bavent near Caen.[227] In some places, however, the counts had alienated their rights of high justice to their monastic foundations.[228] Moreover, despite the claims of the Gaillon inquest, not all duels had been removed from Gaillon to Evreux before 1193: the justices of Count Amaury I (1118–37) had certainly held a duel in the count's hall at Gaillon at his behest in about 1123.[229] More importantly, in the late twelfth century the count's courts did not wield unchallenged judicial competence in the county: although there was no longer a ducal fortress at Evreux as in the reign of Henry I,[230] litigants sometimes turned to the officials at nearby ducal fortresses to secure greater legal protection for their settlements. In 1180, the *bailli* of Nonancourt accounted for a selection of judical amercements in the county of Evreux amongst the revenues of the *prévôté* of Nonancourt. A priest from Amfreville had paid the *bailli* to record a duel which had taken place in the count's court, which suggests that the count's authority was not robust enough, and the priest felt it advisable to secure the confirmation of a ducal official as well. The *bailli* had also intervened to exact a debt which had not been paid by Amaury, the future count of Evreux, and charged the creditor for the privilege.[231]

The death of Count Amaury III during the Third Crusade left the county in ducal hands during the minority of his son Amaury IV, until the city fell to Philip Augustus in 1199.[232] The revenues of the county

[226] *Rot. Chart.*, 19 (*Registres*, 481–2); *Layettes*, i, no. 785.

[227] BMRO, Y 201, fol. 18v: Count Simon of Evreux announces the resolution of a *placitum* in his court concerning a fief at Varaville near Bavent. For Varaville and the honour of Bavent, see ADC, H 7760, H 7761 (*RRAN*, ii, no. 1020, ed. no. LXXVIII, p. 328); *Registres*, 285. *Layettes*, v, no. 82: Count Amaury III makes peace (*pacificavi*) between Simon de la Motte and Asceria *de Belveer*, concerning a sergeanty in the Forest of Evreux (1181 × 87?).

[228] Haskins 1918, 29 n.112.

[229] ADE, H 711, fols 130v–131r, no. 407 (Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 138–9).

[230] Cf. Orderic, vi, 148.

[231] *MRSN*, i, 76–7. *Anfrevill'* is either Amfreville-sur-Iton (ar. Evreux, cant. Louviers), or Amfreville-la-Campagne (ar. Evreux, ch.-l. du canton).

[232] *MRSN*, i, 151 (1195); ii, 413, 462–4 (1198). Direct comparison between the rolls of 1180 and 1195 or 1198 is impossible, since Nonancourt was the centre of Norman administration in the region in 1180 but was in French hands after 1193. Evreux was briefly in French hands in 1193–4, and until her death in 1198 Amaury III's widow had custody of parts of the honour: see *MRSN*, i, 139, 151; ii, 434; *Ann. Mon.*, i, 56.

were accounted at the Exchequer, but the rolls show little sign of the count's justice. In 1198, the ducal custodian, Richard d'Argences, had spent 32*s*. 2*d*. in administering justice, but he did not account for any profits which indicated the count's *justitia hominis destruendi* such as chattels or escheats, and only one fine was entered in the roll.[233] Hence, while there is a considerable contrast between the scattered references to the county in 1180 and the extensive accounts recorded in 1198, there was little indication that the count's court had been active as the chief judicial authority in the county.

The duke also demonstrated his authority freely in the county by confirming the possessions of religious houses, including alms of the counts of Evreux themselves, although very few such acts survive.[234] Indeed, the rulers of Normandy had a more active part in alms there: Empress Matilda refounded the Cistercian abbey of La Noë just outside Evreux;[235] and a dispute between the canons of Chartres and their *prévôt* for their lands at Vraiville in the north of the county was resolved in the king's court at Montfort-sur-Risle.[236] During the crises of the 1190s, when the count of Evreux was a minor and the see of Evreux was vacant, the seneschal of Normandy did not hesitate to send orders to the citizens of Evreux to organise their defence.[237] In addition, the few recorded cases of comital justice show that Count Simon had bannal rights for the sale of wine within the city, but the cathedral chapter and abbey of Saint-Taurin had exclusive rights over its tenants, and the seneschal of Normandy's efforts to organise the defence of the city in 1193–4 sparked off disputes over the bishop's jurisdiction and ducal aids taken from the bishop's men.[238]

Jurisdictions in the county were complicated still further by the presence of another secular power apart from the duke of Normandy and count of Evreux. In the eleventh and early twelfth centuries the counts

[233] *MRSN*, ii, 462–4; Powicke 1961, 206–8.

[234] PRO, c64/17, m. 7 (transcript courtesy of Nicholas Vincent and the *Acta of Henry II* project): confirmation of Henry II for Evreux Cathedral (1162 × 63) includes gifts of Count Simon of Evreux at Quittebeuf, Avrilly and Arnières. No duke appears to have issued a general confirmation of the cathedral's possessions. For a general confirmation of Richard I for St-Taurin (1195), see above, pp. 44–5.

[235] For the refoundation of La Noë, originally established at *Natatoria* by Richer de l'Aigle and his men, see *GC*, xi, instr. col. 133 ('1144'); *RRAN*, iii, no. 607, correcting the date of Matilda's act to 1166 × 67; Chibnall 1991, 187; Power 2001b, 449–50.

[236] BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 2231, no. 1 (chirograph, 1171): 'in curia siquidem incliti regis Anglorum Henrici apud Montemfortem a ministris eiusdem curie firmiter definitum est'.

[237] *RHF*, xxiv.1, *Préface*, *preuves* nos. 21, 22 (*Registres*, 67–8); Deck 1960, 319–20; Powicke 1961, 98.

[238] Dor 1992, 247–9 (edition of ADE, G 123, pp. 381–2, nos. 461–3); *CN*, no. 61, for the dean's bannal mill and *bonnarii* (or *bannivi*); *Registres*, 67–8.

had organised a *vicomté* at Evreux,[239] and another at Varaville near Caen. From about 1137, however, the *vicomté* of Evreux was held by Count Waleran of Meulan, who acted as lord of part of the city, and as viscount had other rights over the citizens, as well as a wine-tax levied from the knights of the *vicomté* of Evreux.[240] In theory, the viscounts were the mainstays of Norman local justice, and although the judicial aspects of the *vicomté* at Evreux are unknown, a letter of Count Robert II of Meulan to his viscount of Evreux and the 'ministers of the *vicomté*' suggests that they were the main conduit of his authority.[241] The office may also have conferred control of the tower of Evreux, rebuilt by Henry I, for Waleran consolidated his position in Evreux at the expense of the counts of Evreux during the minorities of Counts Amaury II (1137–40) and Simon (1140–*c.*1146).[242] Following the decline of Waleran's power after 1153, the counts of Evreux once more achieved a premier position in the city, but at the beginning of the thirteenth century one of Waleran's younger sons, Roger de Meulan, held the *vicomté* and a fief at Evreux worth 100 *li.* per annum, substantial enough for Philip Augustus to wish to exchange the *vicomté* with him in 1204.[243] That same year there were two or three viscounts at Evreux, men of lowly status compared with Roger, a descendant of Charlemagne and Henry I of France.[244] The counts of Meulan also retained a considerable lordship in the suburbs and environs of the city until the fall of Count Robert II.[245] All in all, in the twelfth-century city and county of Evreux, the jurisdiction of the count of Evreux was compromised by that of the duke and his officials, the bishop, dean and chapter, and the viscount.

[239] ADE, H 793, fol. 57r.

[240] Crouch 1986, 34, although the *vicomté* of Count Amaury I of Evreux whom Crouch mentions (n.29) was not at Evreux but at Varaville in the honour of Bavent (ADC, H 7760; BN, ms. lat. 10086, fol. 45r). Cf. ADE, H 91, fol. 77r: the grant of a house at Evreux to Bec was confirmed by Count Amaury I (1118–37 × 38) and exempted by Count Waleran 'ab omnibus consuetudinibus vicecomitatui meo pertinentibus' (1137 × 66). Le Prévost (1862–9, i, 495–6, act of Count Simon of Evreux for St-Evroul, 1140 × 81) mentions the *consuetudines* of the count of Meulan over a house at Evreux. For the wine-tax (*vinagium*) see ADE, G 122, fols. 17v–18v, nos. 67–8, 70; cf. *CDF*, no. 311, which incorrectly has *comté* where the manuscript reads 'vicecomitatus'.

[241] ADE, H-dépôt Evreux, G 7, p. 3, no. 6 (1166 × 99): 'R. comes Mell(en)t vicecomiti Ebroic', et fidelibus, et amicis, et ministris de vicecomit(atus) Ebroic'.'

[242] Torigni, i, 197; Crouch 1986, 34.

[243] *Registres*, 198 (*CN*, no. 116); *Layettes*, i, no. 736. For Roger, see Power 2001a, 129–30. For payments and alms from the *vicomté* amongst the French royal castellan's expenses at Evreux in 1202, see Lot and Fawtier 1932, 97, CLXXIII–CLXXIV; cf. *Registres*, 188–9 (*CN*, no. 117).

[244] BN, ms. lat. 9213, no. 1 (Mar. 1203, o.s.): sale before the viscounts *Malus Christianus*, William d'Alençon, and possibly also Christopher *Porpensez*. For Roger's lineage, see Crouch 1986, 10–12.

[245] ADE, H 793, fols. 57r–61r, no. 28, at 60v (*GC*, xi, instr., col. 141); BN, ms. lat. 5464, no. 31 (Cativet, cne. Bonneville-sur-Iton, and Jumelle, cne. Oissel-le-Noble), probably 1201 (cf. no. 39).

Despite their common origins and outward similarities, the three Norman counties differed from one another in important ways in the twelfth century, including in their respective judicial privileges. Long-standing freedom from ducal interference meant that the county of Eu was a cohesive entity which hardly appears in the records of ducal administration. The county of Mortain was far more accustomed to absentee lords and to ducal officials and this was reflected in its much greater integration into the system of ducal justice. The county of Evreux, prior to its annexation to the Capetian domain in 1199, occupied as much of a midway position between the other two counties in terms of its relationship with ducal administration as it did geographically. The viscounts provide a good example of how the counties had evolved separately. At Evreux the viscounts, the counts of Meulan, were both hereditary and powerful until Philip Augustus exchanged the *vicomté* with Roger de Meulan for two of the chief manors of the county, in the flush of his success in conquering Normandy. At Eu, in contrast, they were minor, revocable officials, although the *vicomté* was the chief form of domain organisation at Eu. At Mortain, the viscount's aid in the Vale of Mortain was an important part of the count of Mortain's revenues but the viscount hardly ever appears after 1135 except at Cérences in the Cotentin. The officer common to all three was the seneschal, but only at Mortain does he appear as an important judicial figure, a testimony to the relative absence of the count there compared with Eu or Evreux. All three counties nurtured cohesive gentry communities who continued to regulate local affairs in spite of the travails that all three comital dynasties experienced.

ANGEVIN GOVERNMENT ON THE BORDERS OF NORMANDY AND MAINE

Angevin government in Maine

On the southern borders of Normandy, the agents of ducal government faced other Angevin officials in the county of Maine. Angevin rule in Maine throws into stark relief the much greater scope of Angevin rule in Normandy and reveals the administrative significance of the frontier between the two provinces. The county's troubled history in the eleventh century had left much power with a handful of magnatial dynasties and the bishop of Le Mans: there were a number of comital towns and fortresses, notably Le Mans, La Flèche, Ballon, Troo, Château-du-Loir and Mayet,[246] and the counts of Anjou had asserted their authority in

[246] Boussard 1938, 21; Louise 1992, ii, 193, 226–7 (Ballon; cf. Howden, iv, 96); *Actes de Henri II*, ii, nos. DXLV, DCLXXV (Mayet, Le Mans, Château-du-Loir); *Layettes*, i, no. 412 (Troo, La Chartre);

the county during the first half of the twelfth century, but most of Maine was divided into a few great lordships where the count generally held few domains, but occasionally acted as arbiter. Royal acts for the abbey of Savigny reveal the basic differences between Angevin rule in the two provinces. Dwelling close to the boundary of the dioceses of Avranches and Le Mans, the monks of Savigny would have had a keen sense of which authorities could best protect their abbey's property. Henry II confirmed all the gifts to the abbey in the diocese of Avranches;[247] no royal act survives for the abbey's property in the diocese of Le Mans, however, except for alms from the kings' own domains around Domfront which William the Conqueror had annexed to Normandy. When the monks wished to strengthen their title to the lands and rights given to them in northern Maine they invariably turned either to the bishop of Le Mans or, where applicable, to the lords of Mayenne, who issued general confirmations of Savigny's property in their lands in every generation,[248] and oversaw countless endowments for the abbey in their court, right up to the very borders of the dioceses of Le Mans and Avranches.[249]

In contrast to Normandy, Angevin administration of Maine relied upon a few key officials to govern the province, but as in Normandy or England, the courts over which these officials presided were described as the *curia regis*. In the course of the twelfth century the seneschal of Anjou emerged as the chief figure in Maine.[250] For much of the reign of Henry II, this was Stephen de Marçay, also known as Stephen de Tours.[251] There was a seneschal of Le Mans or Maine but he was clearly under the authority of the seneschal of Anjou;[252] his authority was considerable,

RN, 62 (La Flèche), 68 (La Chartre), 80 (Troo); ADSA, H 439, H 449 (La Flèche); see also the arrangements for the dowers of the Angevin queens (*Rot. Chart.*, 74–5 (but cf. 128); Cloulas 2000, 90–2). For comital weakness in the eleventh century, see Latouche 1910; Barton 1995, 40–53; Lemesle 1999, 17–42.

247 *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. LXXX; ii, no. DXCI (1177 × 82).

248 AN, K 24, nos 2^2 (Juhel I de Mayenne, 1158), 16^7 (Geoffrey II, 1168) (*Mon. Hist.*, nos. 555, 614); L 972, nos. 686, 710 (Juhel II, 1190 and vid. (1241, o.s.) of act of 1207).

249 E.g. AN, L 971, no. 609: Riulf de Landivy rehearses a number of gifts at Landivy, adding that 'hoc autem totum postea recordatum est ad maiorem certitudinem et confirmationem in curia domini Iuhelli de Meduana, ipso presente et assensum prebente'. Riulf also describes an exchange made by some of his men at Savigny, 'presente Willelmo Pel de Lou, sinescallo (*sic*) Iuhelli domini Meduane, quem ad hoc ipsum dominus Iuhellus miserat' (late twelfth century).

250 For this official, see Boussard 1938, 113–28.

251 *Actes de Henri II*, intro. vol., 459–63; Boussard 1938, 53–4, 114–17.

252 *RRAN*, iii, no. 1006 (*Burgundus*, seneschal of Le Mans, 1146); BES, *Livre Rouge du Chapitre de Sées*, fol. 76v (act of William bishop of Le Mans, witnessed by Stephen, the king's seneschal, and Ralph seneschal of Le Mans, 1175); *LCSV*, nos. 275, 340 (Joscelin *de Alneto*, 1191–4); *Ctl. du Mans*, no. CCCCLXVIII (act of Stephen, seneschal of Anjou, witnessed by Geoffrey Mauchien, seneschal of Le Mans, 1187). The superior position of the seneschal of Anjou in Maine is clear from the agreements between William des Roches and the king of France in 1204 (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 829, 840; *Layettes*, i, no. 723).

nevertheless, for on the eve of the Third Crusade the count of Sées assumed that the 'seneschal of Maine' would intervene in his lands if his eldest son took undue advantage of his father's absence.[253] Like so many other aspects of the dynasty's continental lands, the best evidence for the Angevin régime in Maine dates from its closing years. During the short reign of King John in the county, the post of seneschal of Le Mans was held by Geoffrey Mauchien, perhaps a descendant of the Payn Mauchien who had been keeper of the tower of Le Mans in 1146.[254] Geoffrey is known to have played an active judicial role in Maine: he heard pleas in and near Le Mans, at Auvers near Sablé and, on behalf of the seneschal of Anjou (possibly the lord of Sablé, William des Roches), in the *curia regis* at Ballon, the ducal fortress midway between Alençon and Le Mans.[255] He also witnessed the concord that ended a quarrel between the count of Sées and the monks of Saint-Vincent du Mans.[256] His judicial authority extended up to the very borders of Maine with Normandy: in a dispute concerning the church of Saint-Pierre-des-Nids near Saint-Cénery, Geoffrey was ordered to bring the offender to a lay court to enforce compliance if the ecclesiastical judges, both of whom were from Normandy, could not do so in a church court.[257] He also raised tallages from the city of Le Mans, and King John, in a letter to Geoffrey Mauchien and to Brice the Chamberlain, seneschal of Anjou, referred to the '*bailliage* of Le Mans' in their charge.[258] Even as the king wrote (17 May 1203), his position in Maine was collapsing; but Geoffrey the seneschal, who had first accepted Arthur of Brittany in 1199,[259]

[253] ADC, F 5047.

[254] For Payn, see *RRAN*, iii, no. 1006; *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CCCCXVII. The office of constable of the royal tower of Le Mans still existed in 1200 (*Enquête de 1245*, 30), so was evidently distinct from, and presumably subordinate to, that of seneschal. At an unspecified date a certain Payn Mauchien, seneschal of Le Mans, was holding the *curia regis*, according to *LCSV*, no. 91, an act of 'I.', Queen of the English. If she was Isabella of Angoulême, as Chédeville, the editor, suggests, it must date from 1200–3, but in view of Isabella's youth at that time, it is more likely to have been an error for Eleanor of Aquitaine (cf. *ibid*., p. 150 *(a)* and n.1), in which case it should be dated either 1155–73 or 1189–1203 (the people involved, including Geoffrey Mauchien, suggest the latter). If the queen's initial is wrong she could also be Berengaria of Navarre, lady of Le Mans from 1204.

[255] *Ctl. St-Victeur*, no. XXV (Le Mans, 1184); *Ctl. Trappe*, 326–7 ('coram nobis, vice senescalli apud Baladonem placita tenentibus, publice in curia domini regis', s.d.); *LCSV*, no. 331 (Le Mans, Mar. 1203; cf. nos. 275, 340); *Ctl. Couture*, no. CLX (Auvers, probably Auvers-le-Hamon, cant. Sablé, s.d.); *Ctl. Vivoin*, 131–2, no. II (concerning Rouillon, cant. Le Mans, s.d.).

[256] *Ctl. Couture*, no. CLXII (s.d., 1191 × 1202).

[257] *RN*, 37, 41; both entries are enrolled as 'Anjou'. The papal judges were the abbot of Hambye and the prior of the abbey of St-Séver near Vire. St-Pierre-des-Nids had lain under the authority of the duke of Normandy in 1050 (*RADN*, no. 122, p. 291).

[258] *Rot. Pat.*, 29 (*ballivia Cenom*').

[259] *Charters of Duchess Constance*, 123, no. A11 (*Ctl. du Mans*, no. IX).

escaped from the wreck of Angevin fortunes unscathed to serve the Capetian régime.[260]

It is likely that the Manceau magnates enjoyed far greater autonomy than their Norman counterparts, and many of the surviving acts concern localities close to the small number of comital centres, especially the city of Le Mans itself; but no lordship in northern Maine was completely immune from Angevin justice. A dispute between the canons of Sées and the viscount of Beaumont over customs exacted in his lands was heard before Stephen de Marçay and the bishop of Le Mans.[261] In the Talvas lordship of the Saosnois, a dispute over Malèfre, south of Alençon, between the abbey of Perseigne and a prominent baron of the Talvas lands called Robert Samson was first heard before Count William Talvas, then in the court of Eleanor of Aquitaine; the count was an active participant in the proceedings, and after its resolution the case was rehearsed in the count's court.[262] The Angevin princes also occasionally confirmed Talvas acts concerning the Saosnois, while Count John of Sées promised to secure the confirmation of the king of England for his pact with the monks of Blois at Mamers.[263] The fact that the Malèfre case was not simply resolved in Count William's court indicates that Angevin judicial authority was intruding into the great lordships of Maine, and the Angevin rulers were sometimes prepared to interfere in the Saosnois more aggressively.[264]

Perhaps the most potent magnates on the Manceau–Norman border were the lords of Mayenne. Despite their power, however, the seneschal of

[260] He was one of the *viros providos et discretos* who oversaw a compromise at Le Mans in 1204 (*Ctl. St-Victeur*, no. XLVII), and was described as the *bailli* of William des Roches, seneschal of Anjou, in 1208 (Baldwin 1986, 433, 525 n.73). Cf. BMM, ms. 473, fol. 289v: the official of Le Mans states that the late Geoffrey Mauchien granted vineyards at La Quinte (cant. Conlie) to St-Vincent du Mans, a gift now challenged by Peter *de Garreleria*, kt, who claims to be Geoffrey's heir (1228; for the gift itself, see *LCSV*, no. 82). Yet men called Mauchien appear at Le Mans in 1250 and 1270: *Ctl. du Mans*, nos. CCLIX, DLV.

[261] BES, *Livre Rouge du Chapitre de Sées*, fol. 79r (1175).

[262] *Actes de Ponthieu*, no. LXXX (*Ctl. Perseigne*, no. II) (1154 × 71). William Talvas had a bastard son called Robert Samson, but there was another family of this name (*Actes de Ponthieu*, nos. LXXXIII, XV). The Robert Samson in the Malèfre case had a brother called Geoffrey, suggesting that he was not the count's son.

[263] *Actes de Henri II*, ii, Suppl. no. XXII (confirming *Actes de Ponthieu*, no. LXXXIII); ADSA, H 298. A purported act of Arthur confirming the property of Perseigne in the Saosnois (*The Charters of Duchess Constance*, no. A14) appears to have been heavily interpolated: see Power 2001a, 452 n.50.

[264] See below, p. 235, for Henry II's 'restoration' of Marollette to one of his Norman *curiales*. In the 1180s the same king heard a dispute between the canons of Le Mans and William de Coesmes over the church of Ancinnes at Le Mans (*Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. DCCXLIX; cf. *Ctl. du Mans*, nos. CXXVIII–CXXXII); no mention is made of the Talvas counts, although Ancinnes had once lain under their authority (above, n. 151).

Anjou, Stephen de Marçay, intervened here on occasion. Late in the reign of Henry II the priory of Mayenne sought Stephen's help as seneschal of Anjou in recovering its English possessions, which Walter, uncle of the young Juhel II, lord of Mayenne, was unjustly withholding.[265] If the verbosity and narrative character of this act suggests that such intervention was a rare event, the appearance of Stephen's nephew Bernard Calo as seneschal of Mayenne, a position that had normally been held by the lord of Mayenne's own men, suggests that the Angevins were interfering in a more permanent way.[266] On one occasion, Bernard even described himself specifically as *senescallus et custos terre Juhelli de Meduana ex precepto domini regis*.[267] Exactly why Juhel's lands were in royal custody under a royally appointed seneschal is not stated. In 1166, in the time of Juhel's father Geoffrey, Henry II is said to have crushed a threatened revolt in Maine by treating baronial castles there as he pleased; perhaps Mayenne was amongst those affected.[268] It is also possible that the lordship came into Henry's hands after Geoffrey's death in *c.*1170, since his son Juhel II was a minor, or after the Young King's revolt which many of the knights of Mayenne joined; but the presence of an Angevin seneschal may also testify to the three periods of conflict between this mighty baron and his Plantagenet masters in 1189, 1199–1201 and 1202–4.

Other Angevin officials appear in the lordship, providing further indications of periodic Angevin intervention at Mayenne, although it may have been restricted to Juhel's minority or the periods of conflict mentioned above. When Bernard Calo issued an act concerning alms to Savigny at La Garde, it was witnessed by a certain William d'Azay,[269] who in another act concerning the same alms described himself as *famulus domini regis*; he confirmed them with the express consent of Juhel de Mayenne, which suggests that he did not control the lordship for Juhel's childhood alone.[270] For a time William d'Azay was in effective control

[265] *Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. DLV (*Ctl. Manceau*, ii, 30–1) (1179 × 89). The seneschal states that Walter de Mayenne has already ignored numerous royal letters.

[266] AN, L 977, no. 1254 (*Bern' Chalonis nepos Stephani de Turon'*); undated, but later than no. 1252 (dated 1174), *pace* Guilbaud (1962–3, lxix, 375–6, no. 18), who dates no. 1254 to *c.*1171. None of Bernard's acts at Mayenne can be dated from the script more closely than to the late twelfth or very beginning of the thirteenth century.

[267] AN, L 974, no. 850 (s.d.): Bernard confirms alms at Oisseau near Gorron (Guilbaud 1962–3, lxix, 375, no. 16); cf. no. 849, in which Juhel de Mayenne confirms the same gifts.

[268] Torigni, i, 361.

[269] AN, L 970, no. 537 (Guilbaud 1962–3, lxix, 375, no. 17). La Garde, cant. Landivy, cne. Montaudin (*Dict. topog. Mayenne*, 141).

[270] AN, L 970, no. 538: 'ego G(ui)ll(elmu)s de Azaio famulus domini regis, concessione prefati Juh(elli) de Meduana presenti carta confirmo'. The act was witnessed by 'J. clerico regis'. Guilbaud (1962–3, lxix, 380–1, no. 38) dates it to before 1187.

of justice in the lordship on behalf of the seneschal of Mayenne (perhaps Bernard Calo): a chirograph concerning alms for Savigny at Brives was drawn up 'in the court of Mayenne before William d'Azay, the seneschal's deputy'.[271] A letter of King John to a William d'Azay in July 1202 is one of the rare pieces of evidence for accounting procedures under the Angevin kings in the Loire provinces: the king acquits William of his outstanding debts from an unspecified account as long as he serves him faithfully. The letter indicates that William was a *famulus* of one of the Angevin kings, although it carries a hint of menace. Was William being employed once more to control the lordship of Mayenne?[272] It is tempting to identify the addressee of King John's letter with the Tourangeau knight William d'Azay, who was active on behalf of Philip Augustus in Anjou and Touraine after 1203 and eventually became the royal *bailli* or seneschal of Touraine and Poitou (*c.*1209–*c.*1218).[273] It should be remembered that Stephen de Marçay also hailed from Touraine, not far from Azay-le-Rideau, and a certain William d'Azay was *prévôt* of Loches in the reign of Richard I.[274] William d'Azay appears, then, to have been a protégé of Stephen de Marçay and his nephew Bernard Calo. The strong attachment of a group of interrelated Tourangeau officials to the Angevin dynasty after 1204 was to be a determining factor in English politics for many years afterwards;[275] yet for several decades successive Angevin kings had been using a similar knot of men from Touraine to dominate the fiercely independent lordships of northern Maine just to the south of their Norman lands, where there was no tradition of strong princely rule.

[271] AN, L 968, no. 230: 'Facta est autem iamdicta concessio in curia Meduane coram Guill'mo de Azeio, tunc temporis gerente uicem senescalli'; William sealed the chirograph. Guilbaud (1962–3, lxix, no. 32) dates it to 1161 × 87. Had the seneschal of Anjou been intended, the act would surely have specified this.

A William d'Azay was to receive 10 *li.* under the terms of the will of Maurice de Craon, Juhel's stepfather (*c.*1189): BN, Coll. Touraine VI, no. 2135. A William *de Aceio* was also the chief witness to an act of Guérin de St-Berthevin at St-Berthevin in 1174: AN, L 975, no. 1005 (Guilbaud 1962–3, lxix, 376, no. 20); *Aceium* could refer to Assé-le-Riboul, however. For Guérin, an important knight in the lordship of Mayenne, see Pichot 1995, 152, 158, 174, 180.

[272] *RN*, 56.

[273] *Registres*, 314 (*RHF*, xxiii, 685), 72–3 (*Inquisitiones*, no. 27); *RHF*, xxiv, I, 159*, 204 ('Querimoniæ Turonum, Pictavensium et Santonum', no. 1303); Baldwin 1986, 236–7, 433.

[274] Boussard 1938, 53–4. BN, Coll. Touraine VI, no. 2153: act of William des Roches (1201) reporting a dispute heard at Loches before Gerard d'Athée, representing Robert *de Tornebou* (*rectior* Thornham), then seneschal (1195–99), and William d'Azay, *prévôt* of Loches. The English royal *balistarius* William d'Azay who first appears in England in 1215 was clearly a different person (*Rot. Claus.*, i, 192, 433ff).

[275] Vincent 1996, 28–41.

Conflicting jurisdictions: the castles of the Passais

The intervention of the Angevin dynasty or its seneschals in the main part of the lordship of Mayenne seem to reflect periods when it was in royal hands, whether through minority or misdemeanour. However, the northern confines of the lordship immediately to the north of the town of Mayenne had a far more unstable relationship with Angevin administration, for they passed in and out of the Norman system of government organised from Caen. Most of the Passais, the district around the great fortress of Domfront, had been continuously under Norman rule since the 1050s, except for the years when Domfront had been held by Geoffrey of Anjou against Stephen;[276] but at its southern extremities lay three castles, Ambrières, Gorron and Châteauneuf-sur-Colmont, which were contested between the lord of Mayenne and the duke of Normandy for more than a century-and-a-half.[277] William the Conqueror had first erected a castle at Ambrières in the mid-1050s in an attempt to curb the power of Geoffrey I de Mayenne, and Gorron was a castle of the count of Mortain in 1082;[278] but both strongholds later passed into the hands of the lord of Mayenne, probably in the reign of Robert Curthose. Henry I extorted the two fortresses from the young Hamelin de Mayenne in *c.*1120 in return for lands in Devon and constructed a third, henceforth known as Châteauneuf-sur-Colmont, but Juhel, Hamelin's brother and successor, extorted them in his turn as the price of support for Geoffrey of Anjou's invasion of Normandy in 1135.[279] In the wake of Juhel's death Henry II resumed them in 1162.[280] In the period 1180–98 the revenues from these castelries were being accounted at the Norman Exchequer, but Richard I's sudden death in 1199 enabled Juhel II de Mayenne, a staunch adherent of Arthur of Brittany, to recover them for his dynasty.[281] The fortresses were never brought back under Norman administration: King John succeeded in retaking Ambrières and Gorron, only to yield them to Juhel in return for hostages as the price of peace in 1201.[282] In effect, the frontier of Normandy and Maine had shifted northwards. In

[276] For the subjugation of the Passais under William the Conqueror, see Bates 1982, 255–7; Bouet 1983, 75–7; Louise 1992, i, 301–5, 312–17, 369–84. For Domfront in 1135, see Orderic, vi, 454; *GND*, ii, 274.

[277] See, in general, Power 1995, 186–8.

[278] William of Poitiers, 50–4; Boussard 1952, 261 (*Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 215, p. 681), 270–1; Guillot 1972, i, 80–1; Louise 1992, i, 368–9.

[279] *Bk. Fees*, i, 86, 97; *GND*, ii, 250, 274–6. For the identification of Châteauneuf (cant. Gorron, cne. St-Mars), see Pichot 1995, 137 n.41. Hollister (2001, 256, 291, 294) suggests that the count of Anjou briefly seized Gorron during 1123–4.

[280] Torigni, i, 334, 335.

[281] *MRSN*, i, 23–4, 220–3; ii, 353–6, 368; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 607. In 1180 Gorron was accounted as part of the county of Mortain (*MRSN*, i, 9).

[282] *Rot. Pat.*, 2; *Fœdera*, i, 1, 84–5; Power 1995, 187–8; Power 1999a, 128 and n. 66.

1247, Gorron and Châteauneuf-sur-Colmont still lay in the jurisdiction of Maine and under the seigneurial dynasty of Mayenne.[283]

What was the impact of the transfer of these castles between seigneurial and ducal administration in 1162 and in 1199, and hence upon Angevin power and authority in the region? The Angevins had previously integrated the southern Passais into their fisc, for Richard I's custodians levied tallages and loans from the entire *bailliages* of Ambrières and Gorron, not just the towns, exactions which were accounted at the Norman Exchequer.[284] If these war impositions were levied throughout the Angevin lands, then Ambrières and Gorron would have been taxed in this fashion anyway, regardless of whether they were ducal domains or in the hands of the lord of Mayenne; unfortunately, no accounts survive for the administration of Mayenne. King John also lost the ducal forest of Fosse-Louvain, which had formed part of the domain of the duke of Normandy since the early twelfth century but which Arthur and King Philip had awarded to Juhel's castelry of Ernée.[285] The judicial evidence furnishes more significant indications of the harm done to John's authority. Before 1162 the execution of justice in these *bailliages* lay with the lord of Mayenne: in the 1150s the bishop of Le Mans oversaw an agreement at Ambrières between Guy de Laval and the prior of Arquenay, which was made in the presence of Juhel I de Mayenne.[286] While the exaction of tallages and loans, and the terms *bailli* and *baillia* all reflect the Norman system of government at Gorron and Ambrières, the *baillis* showed little control of justice in these districts: they accounted for expenses incurred 'in doing justice' in 1195 and 1198, but no profits of justice were recorded.[287] This absence of extensive judicial revenue, in contrast to many parts of the duchy including at the nearby fortress of Domfront, reduces the function of the ducal *baillis* to mere constables, as if Henry II's resumption of the castles had not been followed by their absorption into the ducal system of justice in the way that the Alençonnais was in 1166. Yet at least one lay contract was performed in the *curia regis* at Ambrières before a local baron, Hugh de Couterne, presumably then castellan for the king of

[283] *RHF*, xxiv.i, 87–8, nos. 168, 171–2, 179 (*Querimoniæ Cenomannorum et Andegavorum*), heard at Mayenne. AN, L 970, nos. 543–4: Dreux de Mello, lord of Loches and Mayenne, and his wife Isabella, lady and heiress of Mayenne, grant 100 *s. mançais* from Gorron to the nuns of Mortain (1239); Isabella repeated this in 1250, after Dreux's death (L 970, no. 546, and L 979, nos. 53, 54, 70).

[284] *MRSN*, e.g. i, 223; ii, 355.

[285] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 607; for Henry I's gifts from Fosse-Louvain to Savigny, see *GC*, xi, instr. col. 111 (cf. *CDF*, no. 792; *RRAN*, ii, no. 1015). Fosse-Louvain belonged to Juhel's daughter Isabella in 1256 and to his grandson Alan d'Avaugour in 1265 or 1275 (AN, L 975, nos. 990, 991).

[286] Cf. *Ctl. Manceau*, i, 35–7 (Ambrières, *c.* 1152 × 58).

[287] *MRSN*, i, 222; ii, 354.

England.[288] This suggests that when the three castelries lay in ducal control between 1162 and 1199, they were subject to all the standard procedures of Norman government. Before and after this period of ducal control, however, the lords of Mayenne exercised justice there, and even when the castles were in royal hands the dispossessed lords probably represented an alternative source of redress to the local inhabitants. The continuity of their lordship from the mid-twelfth to the mid-thirteenth centuries may be seen in the parish of Désertines near Fosse-Louvain, where successive lords of Mayenne appear regulating local affairs, confirming grants and resolving disputes there, with no involvement from the Angevin or Capetian kings.[289]

To pass from southern Normandy to the great Manceau lordships was to move from a region where the prince and his officers interfered quite regularly in local affairs, to one where they did so much more spasmodically. The history of the Passais demonstrates that the zone of transition itself was not always clearly defined; it also shows how closely tied up 'government' was with the prince's control of particular domains, not least the fortresses of the region and their perquisites.

THE PERSONNEL OF DUCAL RULE

A final aspect of Angevin government to consider is the people whom the dukes of Normandy placed in command of the duchy's frontier. One of the distinctive features of the Angevin 'empire' was its core of trusted household officials whom Henry II and his sons sent to all corners of their many lands.[290] Normandy and England in particular shared a cadre of royal *familiares*, many of whom had also inherited lands or connections in both countries. To class them as 'English' or 'Norman' is difficult and sometimes misleading, although contemporaries were quick to do just that: either Saher II or Saher IV de Quency was seneschal of Nonancourt in the last years of the reign of Henry II, but Saher IV was derided as an unreliable Englishman when he surrendered Vaudreuil to the French in 1203.[291] Saher was by no means the only Angevin official from England

[288] AN, L 967, no. 85: *Erchembaudus de Frosleio* grants Hugh *Gereius* his rents and gardens at Ambrières, in the presence of Hugh *de Corterna* (late twelfth century). For Hugh de Couterne, see above, n. 125, and Sanders 1960, 20n., for his time as lord of Bradninch (Devon). In 1225 he or a namesake was lord of Torcé (cne. Ambrières): ADM, H 211, fols. 3v–4v.

[289] AN, L 969, nos. 345 (act made before Juhel I, with his consent), 349 (Juhel II confirms property in his *haia* of Colmont near Dompierre, cne. Désertines); BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 69 (compromise mediated by Louis, count of Sancerre and lord of Mayenne, 1256).

[290] Cf. Le Patourel 1965, 296–8; Holt 1975, 229; Gillingham 2001, 75–7, 82–5.

[291] *Hist. des ducs*, 97; Powicke 1961, 162. For Saher II and Saher IV de Quency, see Painter 1957, 4–8; Holt 1984b, 20–2.

who was given an important command on the Norman frontier, at a time when the seneschal of Normandy, William fitzRalph, hailed from Derbyshire. Gilbert Pipard held the *vicomté* of Exmes in 1180, and the castles of the Vexin were under the aegis of William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, between 1184 and 1189.[292] While William was by then count of Aumale in right of his wife and had inherited substantial lands in both Upper and Lower Normandy, he was nevertheless regarded as English, for the monk of his patronal house of Walden gives us the following succinct description of the earl's career.

> He was a brave man, a fine soldier, and universally respected. For that reason he spent less time in England among his people than in Normandy where he guarded the fortresses and castles and fortifications which had been entrusted to him by King Henry, those in particular which were stronger than the others and situated on the frontiers.[293]

William de Mandeville's activities on the Norman frontier were matched by those of other warriors whose wealth was concentrated in England. In the succeeding reigns William Marshal played an important part in the defence of Arques (1202–4) and the earl of Salisbury held Pontorson against the Bretons (1204), while, most famously of all, the great northern English baron Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester, led the defence of Château-Gaillard against the king of France in 1203–4.[294] Nor was this practice invented by the Angevin dukes: in 1123 Henry I's castellan of Gisors was Robert de Candos, whose family came from central Normandy but who was richly endowed in western England and South Wales.[295] The defence of sensitive frontier castles was also often entrusted to men whose main wealth lay in central Normandy: William de Mortemer, whose lands lay in the western Pays de Caux and the Risle valley, defended Verneuil in 1194,[296] and he put up an equally stiff resistance as constable of Arques in 1202 while he was *bailli* of Caux.[297] William

[292] *MRSN*, i, 103–4 (Gilbert Pipard), 109–12, 118 (William de Mandeville); Keefe 1983, 114–15.

[293] *Book of Walden*, 60–1; Keefe 1983, 113.

[294] Powicke 1961, 253–6. For Roger's extensive lands in central and western Normandy, see *EYC*, vi, no. 20; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iv, no. 1556.

[295] Orderic, vi, 342–4; Sanders 1960, 67, 79; Power 2003a, 205 and n.24. Loyd (1951, 26–7) identifies Candos with a hamlet near Montfort-sur-Risle. Robert certainly adopted the district of Gisors as his home, for he and his wife founded a priory at Beaumont (cant. Gisors, cne. Bernouville): see Gallagher 1970, 158, 160.

[296] *HGM*, ii, 10473–80 (iii, 138 and n.4); Powicke 1961, 101. For William de Mortemer's defence of Verneuil, see also CUL, ms. ii.vi.24, fol. 46v, an early-thirteenth-century history of the Norman dukes (cf. Meyer 1886, 39–56). For his lands in Caux, see ADSM, 9 H 29; 18 HP 5; BMRO, Y 51, fols. 52v–53r; *RHF*, xxiii, 642; for his lands in the honour of Montfort-sur-Risle, ADSM, 18 HP 5; *Registres*, 293.

[297] Powicke 1961, 152.

de Soliers, who came from the vicinity of Caen where he founded the abbey of Cordillon, was constable of Moulins in 1180, fulfilling a judicial as well as a military role there.[298] Richard d'Argences, who also came from near Caen, farmed the honour of Evreux in 1198 during the minority of Count Amaury IV; he put down roots there, for although he represented King John in the inquest which divided the Evrecin in 1200, he deserted to Philip Augustus in 1202 and joined the garrison of Alençon with other men of the Evrecin in 1203. He and his descendants continued around Evreux, where Richard I had first installed him, under the Capetians.[299] Two men with associations with the far west of Normandy, Bertrand de Verdun (also prominent in England and Ireland) and Fulk Paynel, appear as constables of Ivry (1177×93) and Alençon (1180–4) respectively, and Ralph de Verdun, constable of Tillières in 1180, was presumably Bertrand's brother of that name.[300] Another knight from the south-western corner of Normandy, William de Husson, was constable of Sées in 1175.[301]

Yet defence and control of the Norman frontier also relied a great deal upon local men. The custody of the most important fortress of all, Gisors, had been in the hands of men from other parts of Normandy or England, such as Robert de Candos under Henry I and Martin *de Hosa* and the earl of Essex in the reign of Henry II.[302] In 1191, however, Richard I entrusted Gisors to Gilbert de Vascœuil, whose interests extended to Warwickshire and Northamptonshire but whose chief concerns were very much grounded in the Norman Vexin.[303] Gilbert had previously acted as a ducal justice there, together with the Evrecin knight Hugh de Bacquepuis.[304] At another vital frontier fortress, Verneuil, William de Mortemer's garrison in 1194 included Peter de la Rivière, surely the knight of that name who held lands around Verneuil and in the neighbouring Chartrain: in fact, the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* referred specifically to his local knowledge which allowed him to enter and leave

[298] *MRSN*, i, 57; *Ctl. Trappe*, 223 ('ego Guillelmus de Soliis, eo tempore constabularius totius terre de Molins', s.d.); cf. *Actes de Henri II*, intro., 344. For William, see also *ibid.*, 501, conflating father and son; *Redvers Charters*, no. 114 and App. II, no. 15; *GC*, xi, cols. 438–9, and instr., cols. 93–4 (foundation of Cordillon).

[299] Power 2001b, 454–5.

[300] *TAC*, i, 1, 50, 53, cc. LIX, LXI; *MRSN*, i, 18 (Alençon), 84 (Tillières). For Fulk, see *EYC*, vi, 18–21; for Bertrand, see Dace 1999; Hagger 2001, 34–57 (Bertrand), 248 (Ralph).

[301] Below, p. 235.

[302] Orderic, vi, 342–4; *MRSN*, i, 70–2; above, p. 75. *RHF*, xxiii, 259 (cf. 359, 461), implies that *Hosa* was La Heuze (cant. and cne. Bellencombre).

[303] Below, pp. 348–9.

[304] Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 148. Hugh was the seneschal of Count Simon of Evreux (below, pp. 283–4).

the fortress without detection by the besieging French army.[305] The role of Hugh de Couterne at Ambrières in the late twelfth century has also been noted; the Angevin kings no doubt found this knight from the Passais a pliable servant because of his claims to the English, Norman and Manceau lands of his uncle William II de Tracy, lord of Bradninch and one of the murderers of Becket.[306] Hugh acquired the Tracy lands in England in the reign of Richard I, following the death of his cousin William III de Tracy, around the time that he appears holding court at Ambrières: it is noticeable that he lost the Tracy lands soon after Ambrières fell into the hands of Juhel de Mayenne, and even before this he had had to proffer 1200 marks and furnish hostages to King John.[307] Another ducal castellan in the Passais, Hamelin de Torchamp, who held Gorron in 1198 and levied ducal tallages in its *bailliage*, was also from the neighbourhood of the castle that he controlled.[308] Other examples of local men fulfilling ducal offices include Alvred de Saint-Martin, stepfather of the count of Eu, who was constable and *bailli* of Drincourt in *c.*1176–8 and 1180.[309]

Many local men acting for the duke were of a lower rank than the outsiders brought in to govern their homelands. Some were not even knights: Ralph l'Abbé, a burgess of Sées and Argentan,[310] was instrumental in the administration of the Alençonnais and surrounding areas of southern Normandy from 1180 until about 1215, acting as constable or *bailli* of Argentan and Alençon for three Angevin dukes before playing a prominent part in Capetian assizes.[311] Despite his modest origins Ralph rose above the level of local administration: by the reign of King John he was one of the justices both in eyre and in the Norman Exchequer at Caen, where his importance was second only to Abbot Samson of Caen.[312] His son Herbert was even one of King John's candidates for

[305] *HGM*, ii, 10481–90 (ii, 138). For Peter de la Rivière, see ADSM, 9 H 4, p. 88, and 9 H 1787 (Vieux-Verneuil); AN, T 145^{26} (Allainville, cant. Dreux); BN, ms. lat. 5417, pp. 237–8, and *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 674; *Ctl. Trappe*, 262–9, 275, 282–3, 293–4 (St-Christophe-sur-Avre); *Jugements*, no. 16; perhaps also *Rot. Lib.*, 40–1.

[306] Above, pp. 47 n.125, 73–4; Sanders 1960, 20 n.5.

[307] *P.R. 6 Richard I*, 171; *Chancellor's Roll 8 Richard I*, 148; *P.R. 2 John*, 234; *P.R. 3 John*, 215; *P.R. 4 John*, 244, 249, 250, 252; *P.R. 5 John*, 71, 75. Hugh's debts from his proffer continue until 1207 (*P.R. 9 John*, 181), and he owed for the second scutage until 1210 (*P.R. 12 John*, 165). For Hugh's vill of Countisbury (Devon), see *P.R. 1 John*, 192; *P.R. 2 John*, 228.

[308] *MRSN*, ii, 355.

[309] *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, no. CXV; Haskins 1918, 327; *MRSN*, i, 57–8. For Alvred see Loyd 1951, 90–1.

[310] ADC, H 5637, calls him 'Ralph l'Abbé of Argentan' (1196); *Jugements*, no. 113n. (BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 17) has 'Ralph l'Abbé, burgess of Sées' (1213).

[311] Power 1997, 383 and n. 98.

[312] Exchequer (1200–1): e.g. ADC, H 5644; ADOR, H 3333; *RN*, 1, 6, 12. Assizes: ADOR, H 770 (Falaise, 18 Jan. 1200).

the bishopric of Sées in 1202.[313] Richard de la Tour, another burgess of Argentan, also played a prominent part in the administration of southern Normandy under King John as viscount of Argentan.[314] The most successful local man in this region was undoubtedly Guérin de Glapion, who rose from obscure origins in the castelry of Sainte-Scolasse to be constable of Moulins in the war of 1193–6, and then briefly held the seneschalcy of Normandy under King John (1200–1) and Philip Augustus (1204), both of whom showered him with lands.[315]

The frontier magnates, however, were far less active on the duke's behalf. Indeed, the absence of the great magnates is a striking feature of Angevin administration throughout Normandy.[316] Nevertheless, throughout the twelfth century certain important commands were in the hands of a local magnate, and in times of crisis the local aristocracy tended to reappear as they made their latent power felt. When Geoffrey of Anjou completed his annexation of Normandy many ducal charges were in the hands of local magnates. William Louvel of Ivry, for instance, had custody of Nonancourt.[317] The assertion of ducal authority in this corner of the duchy may be seen in the fact that, a generation later, the English baron Saher de Quency was seneschal or *bailli* of Nonancourt and there was a ducal castellan at Ivry.[318] During the troubled reigns of Henry's sons, however, the local aristocracy reasserted its interests. Nonancourt and Ivry themselves rapidly fell into French hands, and so cannot be considered here, but the concentration of power in the district of Exmes during the 1190s is telling. In 1180 the administration of the district of Exmes had been divided between three men, all outsiders: the *vicomté* of Exmes was held by Gilbert Pipard, who had apparently superseded a local magnate, Hugh de Nonant; Robert Pipard rendered account for its dependent *prévôté* of Moulins-la-Marche and Bonsmoulins, and the castellan of Moulins, we have seen, was William de Soliers.[319] In the crisis of the 1190s, however, when the count of Perche was attempting to capture Moulins and Bonsmoulins, all these charges were concentrated in the hands of one local soldier, the future seneschal of Normandy Guérin de Glapion. Further west, the growing power of the baron from the

[313] *Rot. Pat.*, 8; cf. 9, for Ralph l'Abbé's *negotium* on behalf of his son.

[314] *RN*, 24, 30, 61, 72, 85, 105–6; ADC, H 6613: act of Robert de Cuigny witnessed by Richard de la Tour, viscount of Argentan (*c.*1200); H 6636 (cf. *RHF*, xxiv, 1, *preuves*, no. 78), act of William Acarin, dean of St-Sépulcre de Caen, and Richard de la Tour, burgess of Argentan (1225).

[315] Powicke 1961, 173–4; below, p. 278.

[316] See, for instance, the list of Angevin officials in Normandy in Powicke 1961, 68–78.

[317] *Regesta*, iii, no. 283.

[318] *MRSN*, i, 76, 84.

[319] *MRSN*, i, 104–5; for Hugh de Nonant as viscount of Exmes, see BN, ms. lat. 11059, fol. 152r (1157 × 83). Moss (1994, 189) notes that perhaps a third of Norman farms had more than one farmer in 1180, whereas this practice was very rare in England. For Gilbert Pipard, see *EYC*, vii, 16–17.

county of Mortain, Richard of Fontenay, is testimony to the harmony of ducal interests with an ambitious magnate: under King John he successively gained control of the *bailliages* of Mortain, Coutances and Vire as well as the great fortress of Mont-Saint-Michel by 1203.[320]

In general, the selection of the personnel mirrored other aspects of the administration of the Norman marches. Some of the offices of ducal government in the Norman frontier regions were in the hands of the local aristocracy, whether magnates or minor barons and knights, while others, perhaps the majority, were held by men from other parts of Normandy or from England; but the dukes of Normandy did not make greater use of outsiders along the frontiers than in the rest of the duchy. In times of ducal weakness it was natural that the rulers of Normandy had less freedom of action in their choice of agents, but at no time does ducal administration appear completely at the mercy of local powers. Ducal administration was a blend of local and external interests; only after 1204 did the duchy find itself ruled virtually entirely by outsiders, since the king of France kept the reins of power in the hands of a picked handful of *baillis* who were nearly all from the French royal domain.[321] Even then, the Norman aristocracy and erstwhile ducal officials continued to play a very large part in the administration of the duchy.

The administration of Normandy was certainly weakened by the conditions of the frontier. The dukes failed to exact *fouage* in the southern marches, while the regions north-east of the River Béthune seem to have been little troubled by ducal officials. The counts of Eu, Evreux and Mortain had accumulated a number of judicial privileges and maintained the autonomy of their counties with greater or lesser success. Whatever the notional authority of the Norman exchequer court throughout the duchy, the bulk of its business was brought from central Normandy, while in some lordships spanning the frontier litigants preferred to take cases to seigneurial courts outside the duchy. The southern marches in particular acted as a barometer of ducal power: in times of weakness, such as the wars of King Stephen and Geoffrey of Anjou or the Angevin succession crisis of 1199, the ducal domain contracted more visibly there than elsewhere, as a series of castles passed into baronial hands.

Yet the extent of ducal weakness in the marches should not be exaggerated. Military services in the marches certainly had some peculiar characteristics and emphasised the existence of the frontier to all Normans, but the border lords were not exempt from providing the duke with knights

[320] *MRSN*, ii, 548 (Mortain, 1203); *RN*, 120–1 (Mont-St-Michel, 1203); Powicke 1961, 248, 253, 339–40.

[321] For the only exception, John de Rouvray, see Power 1997.

when required. The regions which did not pay *fouage* were nevertheless tallaged heavily by Richard I, and religious houses throughout the duchy regarded the duke as the ultimate guarantor of their rights. Compared to their county of Maine to the south the Angevin kings enjoyed wide fiscal and judicial powers in the Norman marches: indeed, the contested zone around Gorron and Ambrières represented the attempt of the dukes to tighten their control over the northernmost parts of Maine. The Angevins were powerful enough to award the custody of border castles and *bailliages* to officers drawn from central Normandy or England; but the local aristocracy were not so untrustworthy or alienated that the dukes were forced to rely entirely upon outsiders, even if some constables drawn from the neighbourhood, such as Gilbert de Vascœuil, proved unfaithful.

All in all, the growing sophistication of Norman governance in the course of the twelfth century affected the Norman frontier regions; but at the same time, there were no fixed 'marches', only a series of fluid zones which both in peace and wartime might be described as 'the March'. Indeed, the *ad hoc* nature of much of Angevin rulership helped to keep the Norman frontier zones under the dynasty's sway. It was the informality of the Angevin 'empire' that made it entirely possible for the son and heir of the great lord of Gournay to receive a counter-gift at Le Mans for a transaction made in Buckinghamshire, in the presence of a seneschal from Brittany or Anjou and from the hands of a Norman monk.[322]

[322] BCA, Hampton Collection, no. 492815 (microfilm of original deed now in Worcester County Record Office): an unnamed person attests that in his presence at Le Mans 'Hugh [III] son of Hugh [II] de Gournay and Melisende' acknowledged receiving 5 marks at Gournay from Lambert, a monk of Beaubec, on account of Hugh's concessions to Missenden Abbey concerning Broughton (Bucks.) (s.d., *c.*1170). The deed (published in *Missenden Ctl.*, iii, no. 559, as an act of Henry II) is endorsed as the testimony of William fitzHamo (d. 1172), who was seneschal of Nantes but also active in Anjou (Everard 2000, 207). I am most grateful to Nicholas Vincent for drawing this act to my attention.

Chapter 2

CAPETIAN GOVERNMENT IN THE FRANCO-NORMAN MARCHES

THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER IN WESTERN *FRANCIA*

In most of western *Francia* a very different set of conditions existed from the neighbouring regions of Normandy. The power of the Capetian dynasty had undoubtedly waned in the eleventh century, as the royal domain, the king's itinerary and the effective reach of the royal court all contracted drastically. The eleventh-century Capetian kings were frequently constrained to campaign against castellans of quite minor status within only a few miles of the main centres of their power such as Paris, Orléans and Etampes. The diminution in Capetian power may be overstated: Lemarignier attributed changes in royal diplomatic practice from *c.*1030 onwards to a deepening crisis of royal authority, notably the increasing preponderance amongst witnesses to royal acts of minor castellans and knights and a corresponding decline in the number of magnates, but such changes may have reflected the impact of ecclesiastical reform upon the production of documents as much as genuine political collapse.[1] A more telling indication of royal decline is the narrowing geographical scope of royal acts in the eleventh century. Conversely, royal authority was gradually reasserted after 1100, a process which accelerated rapidly from the later years of Louis VII's reign. In the borderlands towards Normandy, however, the processes of royal justice and finance were largely confined to the Beauvaisis, the French Vexin and the Seine valley until after 1200, even though effective royal power extended northwards into the Amiénois from 1185 onwards. Until the middle years of Philip II's reign, there is remarkably little evidence that the king of France participated in ordinary fiscal and judicial administration in the other regions bordering Normandy, especially to the south of the Seine. In consequence, the early gains of the king of France in eastern Normandy not only delivered a massive shock to Angevin rule in the

[1] Guyotjeannin 1997, 11–42; for the changing functions of witnesses, see also Bates 1997. For the more negative view, see Lemarignier 1965, 78–80; in his view, the crucial act was Robert II's diploma for Coulombs (1028), for which, see below, n. 63.

duchy: they also greatly strengthened his direct authority in the western Ile-de-France.

For Norman authors and chancery clerks, the western districts of *Francia* belonged to the *regnum*, *terra* or *feodum* of the king of France.[2] Historians have generally followed their lead in depicting the royal domain as a solid block of territory that abutted the Norman frontier from Gournay to Dreux (or sometimes Verneuil). The *Atlas Historique* of Auguste Longnon must bear some responsibility here; although Longnon's methodology was discredited by W. M. Newman as long ago as 1937, his maps continue to exert a strong influence upon the historical cartography of medieval France.[3] Longnon identified all the region between Paris and the borders of Normandy as the French royal domain because the kings had retained the counties there. The kings unquestionably retained effective power across these regions, which formed the nucleus of their *regnum*;[4] they travelled across it with ease, whereas before 1193 they did not normally proceed west of Dreux except in war against the Normans, and the ford of Saint-Rémy-sur-Avre near Nonancourt, where they sometimes parleyed with the Angevin rulers, represented the usual western limit of their itineraries.[5] Nevertheless, within *Francia* royal power and authority was far from monolithic, and along the Franco-Norman frontier it varied considerably from district to district.

The very concept of the *regnum Francie* represented a collection of rights and claims rather than a coherent territorial entity.[6] In twelfth-century French royal acts its extent was inherently ambiguous. The kings of France sometimes issued ordinances concerning the whole of their 'realm' without stating what they meant by this term, leaving the historian none the wiser.[7] In 1190, before going on crusade, Philip Augustus made arrangements for the affairs of his *regnum* and *terra*, and ordered his *baillis* to appoint responsible men in all his *potestates*, but his ordinance

[2] E.g. *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 46–7 (*terram regis Franciæ*); *Rot. Chart.*, 58, referring to the 'fief of the king of France' where the dukes of Normandy might expect to make war.

[3] Newman 1937, ix–xv, criticising the reconstruction by Longnon 1922, 35–6.

[4] Cf. Barthélemy 1992b, 99 n.2.

[5] E.g. *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 104–5 (Christmas 1189).

[6] C. T. Wood 1967; Adams 1993.

[7] See, for instance, Louis VII's act concerning the Jews (1144) and the 'statute of Soissons' proclaiming a general peace (1155): *RHF*, xvi, 8 (no. xix); xiv, 387 (Luchaire 1885, nos. 136, 342); Giordanengo (1989, 298–9) argues that these acts reflected papal and Imperial influence respectively. The ordinance of Soissons also followed closely upon Louis' visit (*en route* to and from Compostela) to the Midi, a journey that must have reinforced this former duke of Aquitaine's sense of the extent of his 'realm' and also brought him into contact with the reviving influence of Roman Law: see Sassier 1991, 253–65.

gives no indication of the extent of that 'land' or those 'powers'.[8] The king's contemporaries had varying concepts of what this *regnum* comprised. It could certainly be used for the whole kingdom, particularly to distinguish it from the Empire. Nobody doubted that the diocese of Langres lay partly in the 'kingdom' of Louis VII and Philip Augustus, partly in the Empire of the Hohenstaufen.[9] Yet in a different context Robert of Torigni observed that, 'The *pays* of Bellême belonged to the *regnum Francie*, not the duchy of the Normans.'[10] Three quarters of a century later the will of Louis VIII stated that his son would succeed him in his *regnum*, but then proceeded to draw a distinction between *totum regnum Francie* and *totam terram Normannie*.[11] The inherent ambiguity of the concept of *regnum* may be seen in Philip's stance over the ancient dispute between the sees of Dol and Tours: to the king, Brittany represented 'the farthest parts of our *regnum*', but the archbishopric of Tours, as a regalian see, formed part of the royal *regnum* in a much narrower sense.[12]

Moreover, unlike the dukes of Normandy, the kings of France often made confirmations in regions where they had no real power, drawing on the gleam of their royal authority as well as their descent from the kings who had once wielded real authority over these regions: if a petitioner secured a royal act, it could aid him in a local dispute even if the king could not back up his *acta* with effective justice or arms. Even Philip Augustus, who introduced a far more pragmatic approach into royal treatment of the barons and their castles, could also make pronouncements in this regal tradition. Royal confirmations must therefore be treated with

[8] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 345: 'regni negocia'; 'negotia terre nostre'; 'precipimus ut baillivi nostri per singulos prepositos in potestatibus nostris ponant quatuor homines prudentes'. For the extent of royal domain lands and rights before 1180, see Newman 1937, 94–5, 131–9, 161–74 and map, 'Louis VI: carte laïque'; Pacaut 1964, 120–38; and for the terminology used in royal acts, see Leyte 1996, 102–8. For the ordinance of 1190, see Baldwin 1986, 101–4, 137–9.

[9] See, for instance, *PL*, cxxxviii, col. 320; *RHF*, xvi, 140–1; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 772.

[10] *GND*, ii, 264.

[11] *Layettes*, ii, no. 1710; C. T. Wood 1967, 123–4; for the will, see also Lewis 1981, 161–2.

[12] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, nos 136 ('in ipso partes extreme regni nostri usque ad oceanum requiescunt'), 148 ('regnum nostrum turpiter imminuere ac mutilare contendit ecclesia Romana', which threatened 'inter regnum et majores regni principes materiam secessionis et guerram perpetuam'), 149 ('Contra Turonensem ecclesiam, que nostra est, erigere conatur apostolica sedes in Britannia Minore Dolensem archiepiscopum et integritatem regni nostri'); see Baldwin 1986, 69–70, 359–61, and Conklin 1995, 255–60, both of whom note the role of Stephen, bishop of Tournai, in composing these letters. Coulson (1984, 14–15, 18–30) notes Philip Augustus' more pragmatic approach in comparison with his predecessors'. Gervase of Canterbury, i, 336, asserted that in 1186 Brittany was 'de dominio regni Franciæ', owing to prior agreements between Henry II and the Capetians.

particular circumspection in assessing the scope of Capetian authority in, for example, the Languedoc.[13]

The widest recognition of French royal authority was the homage of the barons of *Francia* to the king of France. In 1159, Count Simon of Evreux rescinded his homage for his French castles to Louis VII, whose treaty with Henry II the following year stated that the count would hold his castles from Louis 'as the other barons of France hold their castles in peace'.[14] Baronial homages gave the king important rights in *Francia* with great political implications. During the absence of Louis VII on the Second Crusade, Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis was ordered by his distant royal master to ensure that the heirs of two dead crusaders, Manasser de Bulles and Dreux de Mouchy, received their inheritance: the king's authority over successions evidently covered the Beauvaisis, where the lords of Bulles and Mouchy were two of the chief magnates.[15] When Simon d'Anet and his son John de Bréval died without direct heirs, Philip Augustus did not hesitate to appropriate their strategically located fortresses of Bréval and Anet.[16] Louis VII and Philip Augustus also both occasionally claimed the right to control the marriages of great noble widows.[17] There is little sign that these essentially extraordinary occurrences followed any established precedent; in any case, such rare events were distinct from routine administration of justice and finance.

Although baronial homages suggested to contemporaries that the king of France governed all *Francia*, ordinary administration was much more restricted. Few lands between the Parisis and the Norman frontier castelries were in royal hands, and this had important consequences for both finance and justice: the direct authority of the dukes of Normandy and kings of France was nowhere contiguous except in the Vexin and, to a lesser extent, the Beauvaisis, as well as around Dreux until 1152. The fragmentation of French royal authority along the Norman frontiers was particularly apparent west of Dreux in the Chartrain and Perche, where the counties had been alienated from the royal domain; a string of independent lordships lay between Chartres and Normandy, owing nothing to the count of Blois, and little to the French king.[18] But even in the

[13] See, for instance, the series of acts of Louis VII concerning Maguelonne (Luchaire 1885, nos. 340, 366, 446, 771), and for Philip Augustus, see Baldwin 1986, 68–9, 312–13. It is true that the first of Louis' acts was issued when Louis passed through the region on his return from Compostela. For the tradition in which these acts were conceived, see also Giordanengo 1989, 283–94.

[14] *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CXLI: 'sicut ceteri barones Francie castella sua quieta habent'. Note that Louis numbered the earl Warenne amongst his barons when describing his death during the Second Crusade (*RHF*, xvi, 495–6).

[15] *RHF*, xv, 500 (Luchaire 1885, no. 228). [16] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 424.

[17] See 238–40. [18] Chédeville 1973, 39–42, 286–8.

regions to the east of the Eure where the king had retained the counties, royal administration was very limited when compared to its Norman counterpart.

THE FRENCH ROYAL DOMAINS ALONG THE NORMAN FRONTIER

A brief description of the main centres of Capetian power will serve to make clear the extent of the royal *terra* in the regions bordering Normandy. Before the reign of Philip Augustus the city of Beauvais was almost the most far-flung royal outpost in north-western *Francia*.[19] There were also scattered royal domains and rights in the vicinity: in the Forest of Thelle, which separated the Beauvaisis from the French Vexin, the *vidames* of Gerberoy granted land at Quéneger to the abbey of Mortemer-en-Lyons with the consent of Louis VII, 'to whose fief it belongs'.[20] Further south, royal power had expanded westwards to the border River Epte in the late eleventh century, in the wake of the disappearance of the counts of Amiens-Valois-Vexin in 1077. Philip I took over the fortresses at Pontoise, Chaumont-en-Vexin and Mantes, which were then conferred upon successive junior members of the royal dynasty. In the 1090s Philip gave Mantes and the county of Vexin, including Pontoise, to his eldest son, the future Louis VI, which the prince then used as a border command against the Normans under William Rufus.[21] In 1104 Louis renounced Mantes in favour of his half-brother Philip, the eldest of Philip I's sons by his bigamous marriage to Bertrada de Montfort, on the occasion of the boy's marriage to the heiress of Montlhéry, but the younger Philip soon lost the town, described by Suger as 'in the very heart of the realm', in punishment for his intrigues against his elder brother.[22] In 1127 Louis VI granted Mantes and the French Vexin, with its fortresses of Pontoise and Chaumont, to William Clito, as bases from which to claim Normandy.[23]

[19] Before 1185 the only other known royal domains to the north-west were the isolated port of Montreuil-sur-Mer and rights at Abbeville, Saint-Valéry and Saint-Riquier: Pacaut 1964, 30, 132, 135; Fossier 1968, ii, 683; *Layettes*, i, no. 451. However, Fossier (2000, 272–3, 276) points out that overreliance upon the royal records may lead us to underestimate the role of the Capetian kings in Picardy, since royal records have suffered so many losses, and the kings repeatedly returned to these areas; the abbey of Corbie was also effectively an agent of royal influence.

[20] ADE, H 653: acts of the *vidames* William II and Peter III (1169) and of Enguerrand de Trie (1169; cf. *Ctl. Pontoise*, 363), both stating that the gifts were made with the concession of Louis VII, 'de cujus feudo terra est' (1169). The original gift had been made by the *vidames*' fathers, respectively Helias II and Peter II, and confirmed by Louis VII before 1146 (*Papsturkunden, Normandie*, no. 38).

[21] Orderic, iv, 264; *Annales de Louis VI*, nos. 4–5. For Orderic, Mantes itself was part of the Vexin (cf. iv, 74).

[22] Suger, 36, 122–4, describing Mantes and Montlhéry as 'in ipsis regni visceribus'. Orderic, vi, 54, states that the young Philip had received Pontoise and the *pagus* of the Vexin in *c.*1103. See *Annales de Louis VI*, nos. 27, 32; A. W. Lewis 1981, 50–4.

[23] Orderic, vi, 370.

Thereafter Mantes remained a centre of Capetian authority, reinforced by the foundation of the nearby *bourg* of Montchauvet.[24]

Apart from Mantes, the king's domain between Dreux and the Seine, the area known as the Méresais, was very restricted, even though the king had not alienated the counties. Other royal domain centres included Saint-Léger-en-Yvelines (until 1204) and Poissy; in addition, the fortress of Dreux was an integral part of the Capetian domain from the mid-eleventh century until 1152, when Louis VII conferred it upon his brother as an apanage.[25] Otherwise, a cordon of lordships separated Norman territory from the Capetian domain lands from Poix and Gerberoy in the north to La Roche-Guyon and Rosny on the Seine, and extending south through Bréval, Anet, Nogent-le-Roi and Montfort-l'Amaury. Royal offices had formed the basis of many of the lordships in this buffer zone, but with time the interests of aristocratic inheritance replaced the traditions of royal authority, whether by accident or design. The castelry of Nogent-l'Erembert (Nogent-le-Roi) had originated around a *vicomté* established on the lands of the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés by the early eleventh century, and this in turn probably dated back to the mid-tenth century when Hugh the Great, duke of the Franks and lay abbot of Saint-Germain, conferred many of the abbey's estates upon his followers.[26] The lords of Montfort may have originated as *grierii* of the Forest of Yvelines, where in the reign of Robert II (996–1031) Amaury I founded his dynasty's power by fortifying Montfort and Epernon; they similarly benefited from the appropriation of property from Saint-Germain-des-Prés, in this case at Beynes, which they had fortified by the twelfth century.[27] Possibly the Montforts established themselves in this way with royal consent and connivance, but some other lordships certainly evolved in spite of royal authority: the castellans of Bréval, for instance, carved out their lordship by exploiting the disorder of the Franco-Norman borderlands.[28]

[24] *Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 257 (foundation of Montchauvet).

[25] See below, 91, 93–5 (Dreux), 97 (St-Léger).

[26] Devroey 1989, 461; for the *vicomte* of Nogent in 1028, see *RHF*, x, 617–19.

[27] *RHF*, xi, 275 and note (*e*) (cf. Rhein 1910, 26–7); *Polyptyque de St-Germain*, ii, 223; Motte-Collas 1957, 68. The *grierius* was variously a forest official or one with use of another's forest (Ducange, iv, 118, 111; Niermeyer, 476; Rhein 1910, 115). An inquest of *c.*1160 stated that the lords of Montfort were the king's *grierii* of the Forest of Yvelines (*Registres*, 51; for the date, see Dor 1992, 242–3), and the reverse of their seals depicted a huntsman (e.g. BN, ms. lat. 5441, I, pp. 256 (Simon III, count of Evreux: see frontispiece), 259 (Simon V de Montfort, 1208). No source explicitly attributes their origins to this office, however, even though an ancestral forester was a common motif in genealogical literature (e.g. *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 26–7; *GND*, ii, 266–8; cf. *RHF*, xi, 275, for the founder of Montlhéry).

[28] Robert II d'Ivry (d. *c.*1087) had held Bréval, but according to Orderic it was his son, Ascelin Goel, who fortified it before 1090 (*Complete Peerage*, viii, 209 (a); Orderic, iii, 208–10; iv, 290, and cf. vi, 46).

Even where the king did hold considerable domains, he often shared his rights with local lords. At Mantes, the customs levied from boats on the river or for passage across the Seine were shared with the lords of Rosny, Maisons and La Roche-Guyon, and the count of Meulan, and the lord of the viscount of Mantes was the count, not the king.[29] Where the Capetians retained domains at Montchauvet and in the Forest of Yvelines, notably at Saint-Léger and Rambouillet, the rights of the lord of Montfort-l'Amaury as good as equalled those enjoyed by the kings.[30] The *bourg* of Montchauvet was founded jointly by Amaury de Montfort, count of Evreux, and Louis VI of France in about 1123; both king and count were to pay a rent to the abbot of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, on whose land the castle was built.[31] While not even the counts of Evreux would have regarded the kings of France as their mere equals, the terms in which this relationship was subsequently couched show the French king acting as if a mere count of Paris. The customs of Montchauvet allowed for war between the king and count, in which the burgesses of the town were to be neutral, and in 1164–5 a grant of Louis VII at Montchauvet required the assent of the abbot of Saint-Germain and count of Evreux as the king's *coparticipes*. Perhaps it was to escape being on equal terms with Simon V de Montfort that Philip Augustus leased his half of Montchauvet to his chamberlain Bartholomew de Roye, Simon's brother-in-law, in 1205.[32]

The most striking difference between the Capetians and the rulers of Normandy was the small number of castles in the ruler's hands. The districts east of the Eure were heavily castellated, and it is likely that many of the key fortresses had been founded in the tenth and eleventh centuries as part of a single defensive system facing towards the dukes of Normandy and counts of Blois.[33] By 1100, however, almost none of the strongholds between Poissy and Normandy was a royal castle, and their principal function was as the centrepieces of baronial inheritances. Yet in

[29] For exactions of the Poissy lords of Maisons from river traffic at Mantes, see ADSM, 18 HP 1 (Le Valasse); *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, no. CXXXIII; *Ctl. Vaux-de-Cernay*, i, no. LXXXXIV; *Ctl. Bonport*, no. VIII; *Ch. St-Wandrille*, nos. 97, 95 (II), which also shows those of Guy de la Roche at Mantes. For customs levied there by the Mauvoisins of Rosny, see ADSM, 18 HP 1; for the counts of Meulan at Mantes, BMRO, Y 51, fol. 10r (river customs); Crouch 1986, 59–60.

[30] Newman 1937, 131–2, 135–8, 161–2, 169–70, for the domains of Louis VI and Louis VII in this region.

[31] *Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 257 (*Ch. St-Germain*, i, no. LXXXIV); the burgesses' customs are known from their confirmation by Louis VII (1167) and Philip Augustus (1202–3): Luchaire 1885, no. 535; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 732 (*Ch. St-Germain*, ii, nos. CXXXIX, CCCIX). For the context of Montchauvet's foundation, see Lefèvre 1980, 196–7.

[32] *Ch. St-Germain*, i, no. CXXXVII (Luchaire 1885, no. 500, ed. p. 422); *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 886 (cf. iii, no. 1376).

[33] Lefèvre 1980, 197–9.

contrast to the dukes of Normandy, the kings of France did not compete with their barons for control of castles, and so the Capetian fisc did not fluctuate nearly as much in this regard. Although Louis VI fought with and eventually crushed the castellans of much of the Ile-de-France, the French kings appear loath to take castles into their direct domain in the regions close to the Norman frontier. Instead they relied upon enforcing right of entry to aristocratic fortresses, for which Philip Augustus preferred to exact pledges and promises rather than confiscating them.[34] Only with the annexation of Anet and Bréval in 1192 did the king of France acquire a castelry in the region where he was the sole lord, soon to be followed by his conquest of Norman border castles.[35] Hence Philip's early conquests along the Norman frontier not only undermined ducal power in Normandy: they also greatly altered the balance of power between the king and the nobles of western *Francia*.

FISCAL EXACTIONS

The king of France's fiscal rights in the regions east of the Norman border seem to have mirrored the superficial strength and underlying weaknesses of royal authority in this region: rare examples of general taxes reflected the ultimate authority of the king of France in his *regnum*, but customary exactions were much more localised and hemmed in by seigneurial rights. General taxes were levied in 1137 when Louis VI wished to send an army to Aquitaine, in 1160 after Louis VII had thwarted the Angevin expedition against Toulouse, in 1173 when Louis VII supported the Young King's rebellion, and in 1188 to finance the Third Crusade, the 'Saladin tithe' which Philip Augustus later abjured on account of its unpopularity.[36] The geographical extent of such levies remains unknown, however. Ralph de Diceto thought that the tax of 1173 was exacted from everyone 'throughout Gaul': 'no one was immune', he averred. Philip Augustus stated that the levy for the Crusade had been extracted from the moveables of the 'churchmen and princes of our realm'; that 'realm' certainly extended beyond the royal domain, for the tax was collected in the lands of the count of Champagne as well.[37] In the 1190s the king of France

[34] Coulson 1984, esp. 32.

[35] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, nos. 417, 424. Other acts concerning Anet and Bréval followed their acquisition by the French king (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 515, 654; iii, nos. 1205, 1345), and the domain there was surveyed in detail: *Registres*, 207–10 (*CN*, no. 1079). Anet was henceforth a favourite residence of Philip Augustus.

[36] *Chr. Morigny*, 66 ('Imperialis itaque edicti taxacione ubique publicata'); Torigni, ii, 178 ('de omni terra sua'); Diceto, i, 372; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, nos. 229, 252; E. A. R. Brown 1973, 15–16.

[37] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 252: 'Cum, ad restitutionem Terre Sancte, ecclesiasticorum et principum regni nostri rerum mobilium tam ab ecclesiasticis quam laicis personis semel exacte fuerint'.

also despoiled the churches of his realm to 'defend his realm', but Rigord of Saint-Denis, who reports this, gives no hint as to the geographical extent of Philip's demands, although he made it clear that the affected area excluded the *potestas* of Richard I.[38]

The early Capetian registers and audits testify to the limited extent of King Philip's war levies in the areas immediately bordering Normandy. The best documented of all his extraordinary taxes was the *prisia servientum*, a levy of sergeants or supplies and money which towns and abbeys in his lands were required to provide in time of war. The oldest record of this tax has been dated to 1194–5, when it was levied in the regions bordering Normandy at Mantes, Poissy, Chaumont, Pontoise, Meulan, Beauvais and Amiens.[39] All were royal towns at this date except Meulan, where Count Robert had lately established a commune on the same terms as King Philip's grant to the burgesses of Pontoise, purportedly one of several signs of Capetian favour to towns because of the military exigencies of the Norman frontier. Since the count had nominated the king as guarantor of the commune's rights, it is not surprising to find that the burgesses of Meulan had similar military obligations to the inhabitants of royal towns.[40] However, two other seigneurial communes close to the Norman frontier, Dreux and Poix, were omitted from the *prisia servientum* altogether. A commune had purportedly existed at Dreux since the

Ctl. Yonne, ii, no. CCCLXXXV, act of Count Henry II of Champagne (1188): 'cum secundum constitutionem domini regis Francorum Philippi et baronum regni, ad succursum terre Jherosolimitane, in terra canonicorum Senonensis ecclesie, que est in comitatu meo, decimationes acciperim'.

[38] Rigord, 128–9: Philip seized all the churches in his *terra* belonging to bishoprics or abbeys that lay *sub potestate regis Anglie*; one of his declared aims was *regni Francorum ab inimicis strenua defensio*.

[39] *Registres*, 259–62, 604 (map); Audouin 1913, 12–17, who argues that the inclusion of Les Andelys in this list is a later addition, probably made in spring 1204; Baldwin 1986, 171–3. The list has been dated to the period between the loss of King Philip's 'chapel' in the rout of Fréteval (May 1194) and his formal acquisition of Pacy (Jan. 1196), but it appears to have been amended several times before its inclusion in the king's Register *A*. Pacy appears in the Capetian accounts of 1202–3 in a related inventory of places supplying sergeants to the royal army, for which see Audouin 1913, 19–34; Lot and Fawtier 1932, 15–20, CXLVII–CXLIX.

Audouin identified another commune, 'Villeneuve-en-Beauvaisis', as Villeneuve-le-Roi (now Villeneuve-les-Sablons, ar. Beauvais, cant. Méru), but that village was founded by Philip Augustus only in 1196 and on the express understanding that no commune would be established there (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 527, 530; *CN*, no. 1056; *Layettes*, i, no. 445). *Dict. topog. Oise*, no. 2495 (cf. no. 3773), and *Registres*, 604 (map), prefer the more easterly settlement of La Neuvilleroy (ar. Clermont, cant. St-Just-en-Chaussée), founded before 1179 (Luchaire 1885, no. 771); cf. Lot and Fawtier 1932, CXLVIII.

[40] *Registres*, 460–2 (cf. BN, Coll. Vexin III, pp. 15–16), 'dominum nostrum Regem Francorum volumus esse confirmatorem et garantizatorem huius scripti, ita quod si homines predicte communitatis in aliquo voluerint ab eis que scripta sunt resilire, vel nos ipsi voluerimus contraire, dominus rex hec omnia faciat inuiolabiliter obseruari'. For the commune of Pontoise, see *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 233 (1188). It is possible, however, that the manuscript listing the *prisia servientum* list was amended to include Meulan when King Philip seized the town in 1202. For royal leniency towards communes in western *Francia*, see Luchaire 1911, 267–8.

time of Louis VI, and its burgesses were obliged to send provisions to the royal army.[41] In contrast, the inhabitants of Poix, to whom Walter Tirel had granted a commune in 1173 without reference to royal authority, apparently had no such obligations.[42] The *prisia servientum* was far more conventional than the crusading tax and suggests that the king of France could make few direct demands upon the lordships of the western Ile-de-France: the communal levies were for the most part based upon the king's own domain. As the domain expanded, so, too, did the royal communes, for example when Louis VIII conferred communal privileges upon the burgesses of Beaumont-sur-Oise, recently added to the royal domain, in 1223.[43]

John Baldwin has amply demonstrated that the exploitation of the royal domain lands fundamentally altered in the 1190s;[44] yet in the Capetian accounts of 1202–3, so important as a guide to royal administration, the activities of royal *baillis* near the Norman border south of the Seine remained very circumscribed. One *bailli* was active at Mantes, another at Meulan,[45] and a third conceivably at Chartres,[46] while the *bailli* of Paris paid 15 *li. parisis* to the lady of Montfort-l'Amaury, perhaps in remittance of an aid.[47] There were royal *prévôts* or *prévôtés* at Anet, Bréval, Saint-Léger, Mantes and Meulan.[48] Philip's recent conquests in Normandy also figure prominently in the accounts, sections of which were specifically denoted *Recepta Marchiarum*. These 'receipts in the marches' concerned all the chief castles that the king of France had acquired in Normandy since 1193, as well as the fortresses in adjacent parts of *Francia* which formed his chief bases for his campaign, such as Anet and Chaumont.[49] It is impossible to know, however, if royal administration had a wider scope than the king's immediate domains and fresh conquests. Philip's

[41] Dreux: *Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 424. In 1180 the commune was to provide its count with three carts when he went *in expeditionem regis* (BN, Coll. Doat CCXLVIII, fols. 230v–232r, ed. in Duchesne 1631, 237–8).

[42] *Chartes de Coutume*, nos. 19, 64.

[43] Douët d'Arcq 1855, no. CXCIX, especially 170, § XIX (*Layettes*, ii, no. 1621; Petit-Dutaillis 1894, 461, no. 91).

[44] See especially Baldwin 1981. For the increase of royal wealth under Philip Augustus, attested by Conan of Lausanne, see Benton 1967, Pacaut 1968, and Baldwin 1986, 54, 353–4.

[45] Lot and Fawtier 1932, CXLIX (Matthew Pisdoë at Mantes), CXCVII (Alelm Hescelin at Meulan).

[46] Baldwin 1986, 128–30 (Hugh de Gravelle), apparently based on Lot and Fawtier 1932, 65, CLI, a payment of the bishop of Chartres: but it is as likely to have concerned the royal lands in the diocese of Chartres, such as Dourdan, as the episcopal city itself.

[47] Lot and Fawtier 1932, 66, 173, CLVI, CLXXXII (*bis*). There is no indication whether the lady in question was the mother of Simon V de Montfort, Amice of Leicester, or his wife Alice de Montmorency.

[48] Lot and Fawtier 1932, e.g. CXLIII (Meulan), CXLV (Bréval), CXLVII (Anet), CLXIX (St-Léger), CLV (*preposita* of Mantes); Baldwin 1986, 125–8.

[49] Baldwin 1986, 196–205.

income in 1202–3 was supplemented by payments from the countess of Blois and the bishop of Chartres,[50] but despite tremendous alterations in the geographical extent of the French royal domain and in the prestige and activity of the French king's court, in 1202 the royal revenues were very limited and patchy in those districts south of the Seine which bordered Normandy.[51] Dreux, which had once formed the chief royal domain in the district and where a century earlier the king's income had included judicial fines,[52] had now passed into the hands of the counts of Dreux.

North of the Seine, royal *baillis* were active in 1202–3 across the recently annexed county of Meulan as well as the French Vexin. Peter Mauvoisin, a scion of one of the chief lineages of the Seine valley, levied a tenserie (*tensamentum*) in the French Vexin,[53] but the exactions of Alelm Hescelin, whom Lot and Fawtier described as *bailli* 'from Meulan to the Norman frontier', were in fact confined to the valleys of the Oise and Seine.[54] The accounts of another *bailli*, Renaud de Béthisy, concern a band of royal cities, towns and estates along the Oise valley, especially in the districts of Senlis, Noyon and Compiègne: they affected several of the leading nobles in the eastern Beauvaisis, but did not penetrate into the western Beauvaisis.[55] Consequently the Beauvaisis, like the western Méresais, appears devoid of direct royal fiscal exactions apart from the communal obligations of the city of Beauvais; presumably the bishop was taking the remainder of the district's revenues.[56] The lack of royal revenues from the western Beauvaisis contrasts strongly with the Norman lordships of Gournay, La Ferté-en-Bray and Gaillefontaine to the west, where the king's officers raised money from numerous places and landowners in 1202–3.[57] Further north still, the only place near the frontiers of Normandy where

[50] Baldwin 1986, 66, CLXXVII; 65, CLI. Catherine, countess of Blois by marriage, was also countess of Clermont and lady of Breteuil-en-Beauvaisis in her own right.

[51] Baldwin 1981, 317–37; for comparisons between the Capetian and Norman accounts, see Holt 1984; Barratt 1999.

[52] *Ctl. St-Père*, i, 253: act of Landry fitzGilbert (at Dreux, pre-1102), stipulating that if his heirs broke his agreement with St-Père de Chartres concerning an oven at Brezolles (*in vico Bruerolensi*), they should pay 30 *li.* of gold to the king's treasury (*fisco regis*). Presumably the fine was paid to the royal revenues at Dreux.

[53] Lot and Fawtier 1932, CLXXVI.

[54] Lot and Fawtier 1932, 255, CXCVII (Villeneuve-les-Sablons, cant. Méru), Mantes, Jumièges (for its lands in the Beauvaisis?), Tessancourt (cant. Meulan), *Fraxini* (Fresnoy-en-Thelle, Oise, cant. Neuilly-en-Thelle?), CCIII (Meulan).

[55] Lot and Fawtier 1932, CLXXVII: those affected included Catherine, countess of Blois and Clermont, her kinsman the butler of Senlis, several members of the Mello family, and the Norman lord Richard de Vernon, whose father King Philip had endowed around Senlis in compensation for his loss of Vernon.

[56] Lot and Fawtier (1932, CLXXVII) include payments to and from the chapter of Beauvais, but these may well relate to its lands in the Oise valley, notably Villers-St-Paul, upstream from Creil.

[57] Lot and Fawtier 1932, CLVII–CLXI, CLXXXIV–CLXXXV, CCV–CCVII.

the king exacted revenue was his newly acquired *prévôté* at Amiens (on one occasion called the '*prévôté* of Ponthieu and Amiens'), where the *prévôt* fulfilled the functions of a *bailli*.[58]

The patchy nature of French royal revenues suggests that the royal fisc was very constricted in the districts close to the Norman duchy, although it is worth noting that sizeable areas of Normandy also leave little or no trace in the Norman exchequer rolls. The much less detailed Capetian records may conceal many exactions raised in wartime across a wide part of *Francia*. Nevertheless, the paucity of King Philip's recorded exactions in the westernmost parts of *Francia* contrasts with the heavy taxes levied by his officers across the *Marchie* of Normandy, lands which the king had seized since 1193; more importantly, it contrasts with many other parts of the Capetian *regnum*. In fiscal terms Philip's acquisition of the easternmost parts of Normandy between 1193 and 1202, although very modest in territorial terms, revolutionised royal revenues along the borders of France and Normandy.

JUSTICE AND CONFIRMATIONS

While the fiscal evidence for the qualitative difference between the eastern regions of Normandy and the western parts of the Ile-de-France is ambiguous, the disparity is much clearer in judicial matters. While religious houses had a clear sense of where the duke of Normandy's confirmatory authority ceased, they showed less certainty about where the authority of the French king began, except along the Epte where the Norman and French Vexins met. Despite the great changes taking place in the French royal administration in the 1190s, Capetian confirmations still mainly concerned the king's domains. In those parts of *Francia* closest to Normandy, south of the Seine at least, the execution and profits of justice were very limited: none of the royal revenues from judicial fines (*expleta*) came from these regions.[59] No royal act concerned Anet and Bréval between the accession of Philip I in 1060 and the escheat of the two castles to Philip Augustus in 1191–2.[60] Eleventh-century French kings had confirmed alms granted at Montfort-l'Amaury itself,[61] but in

[58] Lot and Fawtier 1932, CXLV, 183–4.

[59] Lot and Fawtier 1932, 57, 242 (s.v. *expleta*): these were recorded in the king's recent acquisitions in Flanders, the Amiénois and Normandy, but also in the southern Parisis and Orléanais.

[60] *Actes de Philippe Ier*, no. VIII; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, nos. 417, 424. However, the French court did pass judgment in a dispute concerning lands of the lord of Bréval in 1162–3: see below, pp. 98–9.

[61] *Actes de Philippe Ier*, no. LXII, including the grant of churches at Montfort to St-Magloire de Paris (1072). Most other Capetian general confirmations for St-Magloire are late-twelfth-century forgeries (*Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 451, and pp. 424–7): see next note.

the twelfth century no authentic royal confirmation mentions lands in that lordship.[62] The only royal act concerning the castelry of Nogent-le-Roi between the reign of Robert II and the end of Angevin Normandy was issued by Louis VII at Nogent in 1160, in favour of the nearby abbey of Coulombs. It is quite possible, however, that the king had temporarily seized the castelry from Roger de Tosny during the recent war, just as he had taken over the lands of the count of Evreux and other allies of the king of England.[63]

The changing pattern of royal deeds concerning Dreux illustrates the limited scope of royal confirmations. From the reign of Henry I of France (1031–60) until the mid-twelfth century this fortress and its immediate surrounds formed part of the king's own domain. Numerous royal acts concerned the *castrum* and churches of Dreux itself;[64] others dealt with property or rights in the Forest of Croth (Dreux), even including the priory of Croth on the 'Norman' bank of the River Eure,[65] and a cluster of lands extending from Dreux south-eastwards towards the district known as La Gâtine, on the edge of the Forest of Yvelines.[66] The lands of the lords of Châteauneuf were not exempt.[67] Royal justice around Dreux was not confined to empty promises, for Louis VI heard a case

[62] *GC*, vii, instr., cols. 69–70 (Luchaire, no. 426), a spurious but near-contemporary act in favour of St-Magloire de Paris (1159 × 60), confirms tithes in the *potestas* of Montfort and the Forest of Yvelines (which the kings shared with the lords of Montfort), as well as the *villa* of Guiperreux (dépt. Yvelines, ar. and cant. Rambouillet, cne. Hermeray). *Actes de Louis VI*, ii, 424–7, dates the forgery to 1174 and notes that Guiperreux appears in royal forgeries from the reign of Robert II onwards.

[63] For different copies or notices of this act, see BN, ms. lat. 17048, pp. 431–3; ms. lat. 17031, pp. 11–12; ms. fr. 24133, p. 103; Luchaire 1885, no. 442; *Ordonnances*, xvi, 323–4, where it is wrongly attributed to Louis IX. Louis VII's act confirms a diploma of Robert for Coulombs (*Actes de Robert II*, no. 72; *GC*, viii, instr., cols. 296–7, and *RHF*, x, 617–19); Lemarignier 1965, 68–9. For the political context of 1159–60, see below, pp. 346–7.

[64] E.g. *Ch. St-Germain*, i, no. LXII (*Actes de Henri Ier*, nos. 17, 114); *Actes de Louis VI*, i, nos. 42–3, 146; ii, nos. 303, 326, 424.

[65] *Actes de Philippe Ier*, no. VIII (cf. Musset 1957–8, 38, and *Actes de Louis VI*, ii, 67 n.5); *Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 405 (gifts of Hugh II de Châteauneuf). The Forest of Dreux was called the Forest of Croth in the Middle Ages (*Dict. topog. Eure-et-Loir*, 61).

[66] *Actes de Henri Ier*, nos. 29, 53 (*Mon. Hist.*, no. 279; BN, ms. lat. 17048, p. 445); *Ctl. N.-D. Chartres*, i, no. XIII (*Actes de Robert II*, no. 88); *Actes de Philippe Ier*, nos. II–III, XII; *Actes de Louis VI*, i, nos. 146, 235; ii, no. 405; *Ordonnances*, xvi, 322–3 (Luchaire 1885, no. 50, dated 1138 or 1139 but in fact possibly after 1140). Places named include Faverolles, granted to Coulombs by Gervase I de Châteauneuf (*c.*1125); Ecublé (cant. Châteauneuf), Crucey (cant. Brezolles), Charpont (cant. Dreux), Marville-Moutiers-Brulé and *Brolium Guernerii* near Saulnières, all south of Dreux; Goussainville, Orval (cne. Goussainville), Broué, Serville and Abondant; Bois de la Charmoie (cant. Rambouillet, cne. La Boissière-Ecole?) and Bois du Tuilay (cne. Faverolles); and La Gâtine, described as 'circa Drocas, que circa Auduram est', including Le Mesnil-Obton, Germainville, La Musse and Marolles (cne. Broué). ADEL, H 1261, pp. 84–5, 273, assists the identification of several of these localities.

[67] Below, pp. 99–101.

against one of the minor Franco-Norman barons of the region.[68] In about 1152, however, Louis VII conferred the town and castelry upon his brother Robert; and royal involvement in the 'county' of Dreux all but vanished thereafter.[69] Over the next seventy years only three extant royal acts concern Dreux: Louis VII confirmed two acts of his brother, namely his grant of the *castellaria* of Dreux as dower to his second wife in 1154 and his agreement with the abbey of Jumièges over his castle of Bû;[70] and in 1183–4 Philip Augustus renewed Louis VI's confirmation of the possessions of the abbey of Coulombs in and around the town.[71] Even these occasional royal acts were of little consequence in practice. When Count Robert constructed his castle upon the manor of Jumièges at Bû, the abbot complained to the pope, at whose command the dispute was heard before the bishop of Chartres at Nogent-le-Roi, and resolved through episcopal mediation; the role of Louis VII was limited to approving the pact made in the episcopal court.[72] King Philip's confirmation for Coulombs was soon superseded by an act of Count Robert II.[73] Nor did the kings seek to reassert their authority in Dreux: after Simon d'Anet's lands came into the hands of Philip Augustus through default of heirs, the king abandoned Simon's rights in Dreux to Count Robert II in return for payments in kind nearer to Anet.[74] Otherwise, the counts administered Dreux without royal interference until Robert III promised Philip Augustus right of entry to Dreux, just before the king's death.[75]

Many of the royal acts concerning Dreux and its environs were in favour of the abbey of Coulombs, which lay in the Tosny lordship of Nogent-le-Roi between Dreux and Chartres. A comparison between the royal acts and the abbey's other muniments is instructive for what the former omit. It comes as no surprise that the Capetian acts fail to confirm possessions at Muzy, close to Dreux but on the 'Norman' side of the Avre, or at Blaru near Vernon, where the monks turned to the duke of Normandy for confirmation;[76] but they did not mention Coulombs' possessions at Bréval either, or its priory in the Montforts' fortress at Houdan. For these

[68] *Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 337 (Fulk or Foucaud de Marcilly).

[69] A. W. Lewis 1981, 62–3. Torigni, i, 269–70, describes the apanage as the castle, not county, of Dreux: see below, p. 214.

[70] Duchesne 1631, 234–5; *Ch. Jumièges*, i, no. LXXX (1158) (Luchaire 1885, nos. 312, 416).

[71] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 102.

[72] *Ch. Jumièges*, i, nos. LXXIX (s.d.), LXXXI (1158).

[73] ADEL, H 1261, pp. 84–5 (1186).

[74] AN, J 218, no. 1 (*Layettes*, i, no. 656): the count renounced his dues at Rouvres (cant. Anet) and received whatever the king possessed at Dreux 'de possessione Simonis de Aneto' (1202).

[75] *Layettes*, i, no. 1581. A dispute between the count of Dreux and chapter of Chartres (1212) was heard in the court of the archbishop of Sens (*Ctl. N.-D. Chartres*, ii, no. CCV).

[76] Above, p. 49.

'French' lands, the monks appear to have been satisfied with individual confirmations from local magnates such as John de Bréval or Simon de Montfort, without recourse to the king.[77]

THE ADVANCE OF THE FRENCH ROYAL COURT IN WESTERN *FRANCIA*

Between the Seine and Perche

Although still restricted in its scope, the judicial authority of the king of France was expanding in the second half of the twelfth century, both within and beyond *Francia*. There is ample evidence that the kings reasserted their authority along the banks of the River Seine towards Normandy. When Louis VII and Suger visited Chartres in 1150, the city's 'paupers' (perhaps the lepers of Grand-Beaulieu) brought unspecified complaints against Ralph Mauvoisin, but most probably these concerned Rosny-sur-Seine, the chief lordship of the Mauvoisins.[78] In 1169 we find the same king overseeing a concord between the monks of Saint-Wandrille and the lord of Marly concerning the manor of Le Pecq, on the Seine opposite the royal palace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye.[79] From the reign of Louis VI onwards the kings of France confirmed acts of the counts of Meulan concerning that county,[80] and Count Robert II chose Philip Augustus to be the guarantor of his grant of a commune to the burgesses of Meulan in about 1188.[81] In that year Philip Augustus also offered his protection to the inhabitants of Mureaux, on the opposite riverbank.[82]

The greatest royal intrusion was reserved for the customs levied from the traffic using or crossing the River Seine itself.[83] In 1177 Louis VII's lengthy privilege for the monks of Saint-Wandrille granted free transit to the abbey's vessels on the Seine 'as far as our justice extends': in other words, towards the Norman border.[84] The king's words were

[77] ADEL, H 1261, e.g. pp. 246, 352, 440; cf. Dor 1992, 547–56. [78] *RHF*, xv, 525, no. CX (1150).

[79] See *Ch. St-Wandrille*, nos. 102 (cf. nos. 104, 106): concord between St-Wandrille and Theobald (lord of Marly and brother of Bouchard de Montmorency) made 'timore et amore domini regis' (Luchaire 1885 no. 572).

[80] *Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 405, p. 344. ADSM, 18 HP 1 (Louis VII, 1179): 'Sciant etiam vniuersi quod libertatem passagij quam eisdem fratribus apud Mellentum R. comes Mellenti fidelis noster donauit, benigne et misericorditer concedimus et confirmamus, sicut in eisdem comitis carta continetur.' See also *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 476; ii, nos. 478, 512.

[81] Above, n. 40. [82] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 232.

[83] In general, see Holt 1975, 256–7.

[84] *Ch. St-Wandrille*, no. 107: 'quantum se extendit iustitia nostra'. The phrase also appears in the forged act of Childebert III (no. 2), upon which the act of Louis VII appears to have been based, although in a Merovingian context it would have been meaningless. In 1162 Louis exempted the wines of Le Valasse 'per posse nostrum' (ADSM, 18 HP 1).

backed by action. When two of the chief lords of the Seine valley, Guy de la Roche and Gazo de Poissy, claimed to be levying customs from the ships of Saint-Wandrille at Mantes by the authority of the count of Meulan, the count wrote to Louis VII and his 'barons and justices' to refute their assertion. After an inquest before the king's *prévôts* and *famuli* at Mantes, Gazo admitted his fault in Louis' presence at Pontoise, and renounced all customs at Mantes and his port of Maisons-sur-Seine.[85] The count of Meulan also implored the king of France to ensure as his lord that the monks of Fécamp were not troubled for tolls at Mantes, Meulan and throughout the count's fief.[86] In the 1170s and 1180s other Norman abbeys secured the confirmation of their privileges along the Seine through royal intervention or influence.[87] The rivalry between the Angevins and the Capetians itself could influence the grant of customs privileges towards the Norman frontier, for it brought the king of France to the westernmost parts of his *regnum*: when, immediately after his conference with Henry II near Gisors in March 1186, King Philip visited La Roche-Guyon, Guy de la Roche chose to remit all the customs which he took at the castle from the boats of both Jumièges and Saint-Wandrille in the king's presence.[88] These acts therefore not only demonstrate the significance of trade on the Seine, which paid scant regard to the Norman frontier. They also testify to the intrusion of royal authority into the great lordships that relied so heavily upon control of the great river valley for their power, most forcefully demonstrated in 1153 when Louis VII

[85] *Ch. St-Wandrille*, nos. 95 (II), 97 (both 1166 × 78). Gazo's father had made a similar renunciation in Louis' presence in 1147 (*ibid.*, no. 80). Guy's fate in the matter is not known.

[86] BMRO, Y 51, fol. 10r, no. 22 (1170 × 83): 'precor igitur dominum meum regem Francorum set et vniuersos ad quos hac carta peruenerit: ne ullo modo patiantur Fiscann' Ecclesie naues aut baccos de pretaxato theloneo aut consuetudine in meo uexari feodo'. The act was witnessed by Henry the Young King and William Marshal and may therefore date from the revolt of 1173–4.

[87] BMRO, Y 51, fols. 10r (s.d.), 20r (1171): William Mauvoisin of Rosny renounces his custom over Fécamp's ships on the Seine, in the presence of Louis VII in Paris.

ADSM, 18 HP 1 (vidimus of *bailli* of Gisors, 1284, n.s.): Louis VII confirms the count of Meulan's grant to the monks of Le Valasse of free passage at Meulan (Senlis, 1179). Bec: *Neustria Pia*, 482 (Luchaire 1885, no. 713).

Ch. Jumièges, ii, no. CXIII (Luchaire 1885, no. 665): Louis VII confirms Jumièges' privileges at Mantes (1174). *Ibid.*, ii, no. CXXXIII: Gazo de Poissy and his wife Jacqueline renounce their rights of exaction at Mantes from the ships of Jumièges before Philip Augustus and his seneschal, the count of Blois (Paris, 1182). Jacqueline was probably the daughter of the viscount of Mantes (*Ctl. Pontoise*, 437).

[88] *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, no. CXLI; *Ch. St-Wandrille*, no. 112. The acts are worded almost identically and both are dated 15 March 1185 (o.s.): almost certainly 1186 (*pace Catalogue*, no. 125; cf. no. 124, ed. pp. 496–8, the act of Margaret of France issued at the Gisors conference, dated 11 Mar. '1185'). For the royal meeting, see Diceto, i, 40 (dating it to 10 March 1186); *Gesta Henrici*, i, 343–4, which says 'as Lent was approaching', i.e. before 26 Feb. 1186; Howden, ii, 308, has 'after Christmas'; Cartellieri 1899–1922, i, 189.

chastised the young Richard de Vernon for plundering merchants who had been under royal promises of safe-conduct.[89]

Away from the Seine valley, however, the competence of the royal court remained largely restricted to the royal domain until the last years of the reign of Philip Augustus. While the duke of Normandy was working to bring all resolution of disputes into his court, barons of adjacent French regions could still contemplate the use of war to this end.[90] The evidence is too meagre to show if the French king or his agents held assizes away from his domain estates in the districts between the Seine and Perche; but local lords and religious houses wielded justice over the most serious pleas to a much greater degree than in the duchy of Normandy. To the abbey of Coulombs, for instance, Louis VI confirmed a piece of land 'with all justice, namely in blood and ban, in tallage, in duel and all forfeits and laws'.[91] It was the count of Dreux, not the king of France, who later gained the right of punishment in these lands, while the monks of Coulombs retained the justice.[92] In about 1160, after the war between Louis VII and Count Simon of Evreux, an inquest carefully stated the judicial rights of the king and lord of Montfort in the great Forest of Yvelines in accordance with the peace treaty; the castle of Saint-Léger-en-Yvelines was the seat of royal power in the district, but both king and lord held rights in the forest, and these extended to shared justice. The text of the inquest awarded the profits of blood-justice in the forest to the lord of Montfort as *grierius regis de Aquilina*.[93]

Where royal justice did occasionally hear cases in this part of western *Francia*, they mostly concerned properties bordering royal estates. On the fringes of the Montfort lands, Count Simon fell foul of royal justice in the 1140s when he and one of his men demanded services from lands at a place called Soligny that belonged to the priory of Longpont. Louis VII summoned the count to appear before him in Paris, where the young

[89] Torigni, i, 272; Lambert of Waterlos, 'Annales Cameracenses', *MGH*, *SS*, xvi, 525.

[90] See pp. 178–80.

[91] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 102 (*Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 405): Philip Augustus rehearses Louis VI's confirmation of the Gâtine near Coulombs to that abbey 'cum omni justitia, videlicet in sanguine et banno, in tallia, in duello et omnibus forisfactis et legibus'. This phrase is not in the original grant of this property to Coulombs by the abbot of Meung, and since Philip's act did contain some interpolations, it may have been added later (*Actes de Louis VI*, i, no. 146, p. 302 n.3; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 102, p. 127 n. *c*; Lewis 1981, 251 n.77); but it is found in another act of Louis VI (*Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 375, p. 285; cf. i, no. 96).

[92] ADEL, H 1261, pp. 84–5, notice of agreement between Robert II of Dreux and Coulombs, concerning Le Ménil, Germainville, Broué and La Musse (1186): 'toutte la justice apartiendra ausdits moynes et chanoines auec les forfaitures, et a la punition audit Seigneur de Bu'.

[93] *Registres*, 50–2 (redated by Dor (1992, 243–7) to *c.*1160); for the treaty, see *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CXLI, p. 252; for royal and comital rights in the Forest of Yvelines, see *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, nos. 34, 38, 45, and *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 102 (*Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 405); Lefèvre 1980, 194–7; above, n.27.

count was accompanied by his more influential kinsman, Count Waleran of Meulan, and the latter's cousin Bishop Rotrou of Evreux. Longpont lay under the shadow of the royal castle of Montlhéry while the disputed property lay far from the count's main lands; its proximity to royal castles may explain the king's interference.[94] On another occasion, the king of France wrote to Count Simon ordering him to partition the contested land at Soligny.[95] In 1176 Simon, castellan of Neauphle, caused the death of a man called Simon de Maurepas. It was Louis VII who negotiated an agreement between the dead man's family and his killer in his court: in atonement, Simon de Neauphle granted some of his lands in the lordship of Montfort to the priory of Bazainville. Count Simon came to the king's court in Paris to confirm the gifts to the priory, but the king's interference in the lordship on this occasion was otherwise very limited: it was the count's court that was expected to protect the alms.[96]

On other occasions, the competence of the royal court was augmented by ancient royal grants rather than recent blood-feuds. Louis VII's confirmation of the possessions of Saint-Wandrille in the dioceses of Beauvais, Amiens, Paris and Chartres, regardless of the lordship or domain in which they lay, owed much to a forged act of the Merovingian king Childebert III.[97] In 1162–3 the abbot of Saint-Germain-des-Prés accused Simon d'Anet of levying unjust exactions from the abbey's lands between Bréval and Montchauvet, in infringement of a (genuine) diploma of Robert II. The monks brought King Robert's deed to the court of Louis VII as heir and guarantor of the grant; the king summoned Simon d'Anet before him and several of his leading barons, and after two hearings this court found for the abbot.[98] No doubt Simon's recent support for Henry II against the king of France did not stand in his favour.[99] Yet the

[94] *Ctl. Longpont*, no. CCLVI. Longpont-sur-Orge, dépt. Essonne, ar. Palaiseau, cant. Montlhéry; Poeck (1986, *Urkunden*, 2 n.18) identifies *Soliniacum* as cne. Marolles-en-Hurepoix (Essonne, cant. Arpajon), near Montlhéry, but his index places it at Molières (cant. Limours), much closer to the count's castle of Rochefort-en-Yvelines. Luchaire (1885, 518) mentions a Soligni, cant. Chevreuse, cne. St-Rémy-lès-Chevreuse (adjacent to Molières).

[95] *Ctl. Longpont*, no. CCCXLVIII.

[96] Brasseur 1722, preuves, 6 (BN, ms. lat. 5441, I, p. 256; Dor 1992, 85–6, no. 33); Luchaire 1885, no. 706. For the family of Neauphle, which held Neauphle itself from the counts of Meulan, see Crouch 1986, 20.

[97] *Ch. St-Wandrille*, no. 107 (cf. no. 2); Luchaire 1885, no. 729.

[98] *Ch. St-Germain*, i, no. CXXVII (Luchaire 1885, no. 457); Pacaut 1964, 168, 170–1. The named barons present were Stephen de Sancerre, Hervey de Gien, Guy de Châtillon, William and Dreux de Mello, and William and Guy de Garlande. The chief places affected were Longnes and the *potestas* of Dammartin-en-Serve (both cant. Houdan), near Montchauvet; for the deed of Robert II, see *Ch. St-Germain*, i, no. LII (*Actes de Robert II*, no. 85). Philip I had intervened at Dammartin on the abbey's behalf in 1082: *Ch. St-Germain*, i, no. LXIX (*Actes de Philippe Ier*, no. CVI); Motte-Collas 1957, 77–8.

[99] Torigni, ii, 178–9.

scope of royal justice should not be exaggerated. Although Simon's trial may seem to demonstrate the expansion of royal justice, there is no proof that he observed the royal sentence. Simon's testimony shows that he had successfully contested his rights over these lands in the royal court with the previous abbot of Saint-Germain, so the Capetian court had already exercised jurisdiction over this district;[100] but when Pope Alexander III visited Paris a few months later, the monks of Saint-Germain sought his confirmation of the court's judgment, and the pope's reissue of his own ratification in 1168 does not inspire much confidence in the effectiveness of King Louis' court.[101] In fact, the dispute was eventually resolved by private compromise between a later abbot of Saint-Germain and Simon d'Anet and his son more than twenty years later.[102]

To the south and west of Dreux and Nogent lay the lordships of Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais, Brezolles and La Ferté-Arnaud, and the counties of Chartres and Perche. In these regions the twelfth-century Capetian kings exercised almost no direct justice, and they hardly ever issued acts for them such as confirmations of ecclesiastical property, even though the see of Chartres was a regalian bishopric. In 1193–4 the cathedral chapter sought King Philip's approval for its arrangements with the bishop of Chartres over its rural ministries in the Chartrain, and in 1207 he mediated between the same chapter and the countess of Blois; while in 1210 he intervened in a particularly bitter dispute between the citizens and chapter, punishing the countess's officials who had sided with the populace. Nevertheless, royal justice appears reactive rather than directed by a conceived policy of aggrandisement: Philip went to Chartres in 1210 in the guise of a pilgrim and his intervention in the chapter's rural affairs was no doubt assisted by the minority of the count of Blois between 1205 and 1212.[103] Royal judicial actions or confirmations concerning the lordships of the lords of Châteauneuf and Brezolles were also extremely rare. As long as the castelry of Dreux was in royal hands, the affairs of Châteauneuf and Brezolles occasionally found their way to

[100] *Ch. St-Germain*, i, no. CXXVII: 'Simon respondit se de eisdem querelis in curia regia litigasse alio in tempore cum antecessore ejus abbate Gofrido [1153–*c.* 1155], et per judicium curię id ipsum obtinuisse.'

[101] *Ch. St-Germain*, i, nos. CXXVIII, CXLIII.

[102] *Ch. St-Germain*, ii, nos. CCXXXVII, CCLXIX (cf. no. CCCXVI).

[103] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 463; iii, nos. 967, 1142, 1153; *Catalogue*, no. 1235, ed. p. 516; *Ctl. N.-D. Chartres*, ii, no. CCIII, a long and very informative narrative of the dispute of 1210 which equates the infringement of the chapter's privileges with *lèse-majesté* (cf. Werner (1978, 274), who notes Philip's use of a pilgrimage to reduce comital power). The minority of Theobald VI effectively began in 1202, when his father Count Louis (d. 1205) departed on crusade, and ended in 1212 (*ibid.*, iii, no. 1259). The king also confirmed the chapter's agreements over rights of *viaria* in the lands of the Gallardon family (1212–13), made in the king's court at Melun (iii, nos. 1255, 1278; *Ctl. N.-D. Chartres*, ii, no. CCVI).

the Capetian court. In the eleventh and early twelfth centuries the kings of France confirmed acts of the lord of Brezolles, Albert Ribaud, and his neighbour Gazo I de Châteauneuf,[104] and localities in the lands of their successors occasionally appear in royal acts of confirmation.[105] In 1131 the abbot of Coulombs asked Louis VI to judge a case concerning Prudemanche near Brezolles, which a household knight of Hugh II de Châteauneuf had granted to the abbey of Coulombs.[106] With the cession of Dreux to Robert of France, however, the royal court ceased to deal with cases from Châteauneuf and Brezolles; and the counts of Dreux did not wield the same authority within the two lordships as their royal predecessors.

After 1152 the Châteauneufs' lands were effectively independent of Capetian justice and finance, and the possessions of the family's chief foundations, the abbey of Saint-Vincent-aux-Bois and the priory of Belhomert, were confirmed chiefly by the lords of Châteauneuf themselves; the only other confirmatory authority was the bishop of Chartres.[107] Yet the lords of Châteauneuf were consistent supporters of the kings of France in their struggles against the dukes of Normandy and suffered repeated devastation of their lands as a result. They did not shun the French court,[108] and Hugh II's son Hugh III (d. 1196 × 9) and grandson Gervase (d. 1212) were sureties for Philip Augustus with Richard I, respectively at Messina (1191) and Tillières (1194).[109] Perhaps immunity from royal administration was a reward for the dynasty's political support in such a sensitive area. Only after the annexation of Normandy in 1204 did Capetian officials begin to meddle in the affairs of the Châteauneuf lordships: not the royal agents from the Ile-de-France to the east but the *baillis* of southern Normandy to the north, who were based at the nearby fortress of Verneuil. No doubt the *baillis* were encouraged to intervene after the partition of Châteauneuf and Brezolles between the sons of Gervase de Châteauneuf in 1212, the minority of Gervase's grandson

[104] *Actes de Philippe Ier*, nos. II, III (acts of Albert Ribaud in presence of Henry I (*c.*1056) and Philip I (1060), in the king's hall at Dreux). BN, ms. lat. 17048, p. 445 (*Actes de Henri II*, no. 53): *Gatho filius Radulfi Barbati*, probably Gazo de Châteauneuf, grants Charpont (cant. Dreux) to Coulombs.

[105] *Actes de Philippe Ier*, nos. II–III (Crucey, cant. Brezolles; Boufigny, cne. Brezolles; *Fontanis villa*, probably La Fontaine, cne. Brezolles); *Actes de Louis VI*, i, 235 (Faverolles, cant. Nogent-le-Roi); *Actes de Philippe Ier*, no. XII (Ecublé, cant. Châteauneuf). *Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 405 (Marville-Moutiers-Brulé, cant. Dreux; *Brolium Guernerii*, cant. Dreux, cne. Saulnières; also Carrières, probably cne. St-Jean-Ribervilliers).

[106] *Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 313 (*Annales de Louis VI*, no. 484).

[107] ADEL, H 3907 (inventory of St-Vincent acts); original charters, e.g. H 3914 (St-Vincent), H 5195 (Belhomert), reinforce this impression.

[108] BN, ms. lat. 17048, p. 445 (ADEL, H 1261, p. 343), and Merlet 1865, 12: Hugh confirmed Charpont to Coulombs, while on his way to the court of the king of France at Hautes-Bruyères (1143). At this date Dreux was still in royal hands.

[109] *Dipl. Docs.*, no. 5, 15; Howden, iii, 260.

John from 1230 and the division of the lordship of Châteauneuf between several heirs in the mid-thirteenth century; but the evaporation of the Norman threat must be the primary explanation for the expansion of Capetian authority into this corner of the Chartrain plain, for the loyalty of the lords of Châteauneuf no longer needed to be carefully cultivated.[110] In the late thirteenth century it was the *bailli* of Verneuil who negotiated the king's purchase of Châteauneuf and Senonches, finally bringing this part of the Châteauneuf inheritance under direct Capetian rule, although the junior branch of the dynasty survived at Brezolles.[111]

Still further west, royal confirmations in Perche were unknown before the Capetian annexation of Normandy.[112] When Count Geoffrey III of Perche (1191–1202) acquired Marchainville (dioc. Chartres) from the abbey of Saint-Evroul, he swore to seek the confirmation of the king of France, the archbishop of Sens and the bishop of Chartres, as the ultimate authorities over Marchainville, and of the king of England, the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Sées, presumably as the authorities over Saint-Evroul (although the abbey actually lay in the diocese of Lisieux). Yet there is no indication that either royal act was ever granted.[113] Nor did King Philip issue a similar act, in favour of Le Mans Cathedral, which Count Geoffrey also promised to secure from the king of France.[114] At this moment, Philip was exploiting the rivalry of John and Arthur to intrude the power of his court much further west,[115] but only after 1204 did French jurisdiction encroach upon Perche, in a similar way to Châteauneuf and Brezolles but assisted by the minority of Count Thomas. In 1212 the *bailli* of Verneuil, Bartholomew Drocon, was holding the *curia regis* in Bellême, but in tandem with a local baron, Fulk Quarrel, who in 1214 appears as the king's *bailli* for the Corbonnais and Bellême.[116] The advance of Capetian justice was matched by

[110] Disputes heard before the *bailli* of Verneuil: ADEL, H 2310, no. 3 (Ivo de Vieuxpont, lord of Courville, against the priory of Chuisnes, 1239); H 1261, p. 153 (Coulombs against the lord of Tillières, concerning Allainville near Dreux, 1243). See also H 419 (act of the *vicomte* of Verneuil concerning Brezolles, 1288).

[111] *CN*, nos. 990–1; cf. nos. 972–4.

[112] *Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 442 (*Layettes*, i, no. 46), Louis VI's well-known confirmation of Cluniac priories including St-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou (1119), is a forgery.

[113] Romanet 1890–1902, i, 205–7; ADOR, H 702, H 708; BN, ms. lat. 11055, fols. 36v–37v, no. 37; fols. 63r–64v, nos. 110–11; Thompson 2002, 121–2. Neither cartulary of St-Evroul contains any such act of Philip Augustus. Perhaps the bishop of Sées was overseeing the diocese of Lisieux while the latter see was vacant (1200–1?); it is also true that he was one of the two bishops for Perche, the other being the bishop of Chartres.

[114] *Ctl. du Mans*, no. XXV; Thompson 2002, 136–7.

[115] Below, p. 111.

[116] *Ch. St-Benoît*, ii, no. CCCXXVIII ('baillivus domini regis in Belimeto et in Corboneto, terram Thomae de Pertico tunc temporis per ballum tenentis'); *Ctl. Perche*, no. 42; *RHF*, XXIV.I, 125*–126*; Power 1995, 189; Thompson 2002, 155. In 1217 Count William of Perche, bishop of

more overtly military measures. In 1209 royal soldiers were garrisoning Bellême.[117] In 1211, the year of the Dammartin revolt in Normandy, and in 1217, when Count Thomas was about to join Prince Louis' expedition to England, Philip Augustus required the count to give sureties for the castle of Marchéville.[118] In such piecemeal fashion the kings of France came to intervene in the affairs of Perche, until in 1226 the male line of the counts ended, Perche was divided between numerous claimants, and Louis VIII added Bellême and Mortagne to the royal domain.[119]

The French Vexin, Beauvaisis and Ponthieu

Immediately north of the Seine lies the French Vexin, where Capetian justice became far more pervasive during the twelfth century than in the regions south of the Seine towards the Chartrain and Perche. Once Philip I and Louis VI had absorbed the county of the French Vexin into their domains, Norman and Capetian administration rubbed shoulders along the River Epte. A number of French royal acts for this district show that the administrative authority of the kings of France extended across the whole county and ran to the very banks of the border river.[120] By 1091–2 even so great a magnate as the archbishop of Rouen was expected to attend the royal court at Paris, Beauvais or Senlis, or the king's pleas throughout the Vexin, on account of his fief in that county.[121] The role of Capetian justice at a local level was well attested almost a century later when, following a dispute between Jumièges and the men of Genainville in the western French Vexin, the constable of the Vexin divided the wood of Genainville between the monks of Jumièges and the inhabitants of Genainville on the orders of the French king.[122] Other acts of almsgiving to Jumièges concerning the same locality were rehearsed before the seneschal of France, Count Theobald of Blois, at Paris and Senlis respectively, on the first occasion in the presence of

Châlons, granted a *fief-rente* in Perche to Bartholomew Drocon, whose brother Gerard, a clerk, also acquired land at Conturbis near La Trappe (*ibid.*, 161, 280–1, 290–1; cf. 462).

[117] *QN*, no. 218; cf. no. 152.

[118] *Layettes*, i, nos. 1008, 1207; Coulson 1989, 74; Thompson 2002, 154–5. For the identification of Marchéville (Eure-et-Loir, cant. Illiers-Combray), see below, pp. 132–3.

[119] For the division and heirs of Perche (1226–57), see *Layettes*, ii, nos. 1771–4, 1931, 2064; iii, no. 4354; Romanet 1890–1902, i, 60–2; ii, nos. 8–15, 17–20, 22–5, 27–9, 39; *QN*, no. 121; Thompson 1995, 30–2.

[120] See Green (1984, 48) for the close association of the French Vexin with the Capetian dynasty.

[121] *Actes de Philippe Ier*, no. CXXVII.

[122] *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, no. CXLIII (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 243) (1186); *RHF*, XXIV, I, 116* (Walter de Courcelles, constable of the Vexin).

Philip Augustus himself as well.[123] As seneschal, Count Theobald had been overseeing justice in the French Vexin for over thirty years by then; for their part, the royal constables of the Vexin occur as judicial officers on other occasions early in Philip's reign.[124]

North of the Vexin, royal judicial authority became ever more visible in the city of Beauvais between the mid-eleventh and mid-thirteenth centuries, despite successive clashes between the king or his officers and the city's castellan, chapter, bishop and commune. By the reign of Philip I (1060–1108) royal pleas were being regularly heard in the city, and in the opening decades of the twelfth century Beauvais came increasingly under royal influence, not least because Louis VI curbed the powers of the hereditary castellans of Beauvais in 1115.[125] Thereafter the kings of France issued confirmations, and they or their justices heard disputes concerning Beauvais and its immediate environs,[126] although the castellans continued to have a role in judicial processes.[127] In 1151 it was the commune's turn to have its wings clipped, for Louis VII went to the city to decree that all justice there belonged to the bishop alone; but in practice its guarantor was the king.[128] In the 1190s strife between the bishop and commune forced Philip Augustus to intervene in person,[129] and by the last years of Bishop Philip's episcopate the city's affairs lay primarily in royal hands, as the bishop's weakness during a dispute between the canons and the king in 1214–15 rudely demonstrated.[130] Nevertheless, the bishops continued to claim all justice within their city until 1233, when a bitter conflict between the rich and the poor of the city provoked Louis IX into marching on the city with an army drawn largely from other communal militias. Formally proclaiming his ban in open disregard of traditional episcopal rights, the king ignored the bishop's appeals to Louis VII's charter and set about imprisoning the troublesome burgesses

[123] *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, nos. CXXXIII (1182), CXLII (1186); cf. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 172. For the judicial functions of the royal seneschals, mainly north-east of Paris, see Baldwin 1986, 465 n.29.

[124] *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 648 (Luchaire 1885, no. 355), act before Count Theobald and Hugh de Champfleury, respectively seneschal and chancellor of Louis VII, concerning Fontenay-St-Père; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 216 (unnamed constable, 1187); *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, no. CLXVII (Hugh de Maudétour as constable, 1193, o.s.). Baldwin 1986, 431–2.

[125] *Actes de Louis VI*, i, no. 108; Guyotjeannin 1987, 113–15.

[126] *Actes de Louis VI*, i, no. 215; ii, no. 269; *Annales de Louis VI*, nos. 279–80; Luchaire 1885, no. 565 (ed. pp. 431–2).

[127] Guyotjeannin 1987, 114 and n. 210, 148–9: see, for instance, BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1921, fol. 51r–52r (1116 × 18); ADOI, H 24 (act of Bishop Odo II, 1134).

[128] *Ordonnances*, xi, 198 (Luchaire 1885, no. 265).

[129] *Documents sur les villes*, no. XXIX (inquest of 1235), p. 75: the juror stated that these events occurred during King Philip's war with Richard I, thirty-six years earlier (cf. Guyotjeannin 1987, 134–5). However, the bishop was a captive in Normandy between 1197 and 1199.

[130] Labande 1892, 277–9 (no. XIV); Guyotjeannin 1987, 135.

and destroying their houses.[131] 'Yet more atrocious and appalling events would have unfolded had we not imposed this royal remedy', the king proclaimed; and he roundly asserted that the bishop had forfeited his rights of justice.[132] Only then did the kings of France become the chief judicial power in the city.

Away from Beauvais itself, however, royal authority was far less in evidence: only a handful of royal deeds before 1200 concerned the areas west of the city towards the Norman marches. On the eve of his crusade Louis VII confirmed a pledge made by Hugh Tirel of Poix to the bishop of Beauvais to fund the expedition, and in 1162 the mutual and overlapping responsibilities of the episcopal and royal courts can be clearly seen in the resolution of a dispute between two of the magnates of the Beauvaisis.[133] Two Cistercian abbeys in the district also benefited from royal acts: at the end of his reign Louis VI confirmed the foundation of a monastery at Beaupré, a few miles north-east of Gerberoy, and Louis VII confirmed the granges of the neighbouring house at Lannoy, including the grange of Belval in the district of La Montagne on the very fringes of Normandy.[134] Lannoy and Beaupré were also amongst the Cistercian houses that received promises of protection from Philip Augustus before his departure on crusade, and he renewed his protection for Beaupré in 1200.[135] Here the confirmatory authority of the king of France came close to abutting that of the duke of Normandy, as it did in the Vexin; but it was rarely invoked, and most acts of confirmation came from the bishop of Beauvais or the local nobles who curtailed episcopal power – but who viewed their bishop as one of the French territorial princes.[136] The episcopal administration was robust enough to survive the captivity of its bishop between 1197 and 1199, when the treasurer of Beauvais

[131] *Documents sur les villes*, nos. XXVII–XXIX, from which the editor dated Louis IX's intervention to Feb. 1233; Pontal (1965, 7–11) prefers a date of Feb. 1232 and maintains that the bishop invoked the charter of Louis VI, although its terms resemble those of Louis VII's act more closely. All the chronicles give 1233 as the date of the dispute.

[132] *Documents sur les villes*, no. XXVIII: 'in damnum villæ et personarum detestabilius et horribilius ac inestimabiliter ebulliisset, nisi, providente Domino, regale apposuissemus remedium, qualiter sit processum'.

[133] *RHF*, XVI, 10 (Luchaire 1885, no. 215), 41–2 (Peter de Gerberoy and Sagalo de Milly).

[134] *Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 389 (1137); 'Ctl. Lannoy', no. XXVI (Luchaire 1885, no. 455). For the location of Belval (cant. Formerie, cne. Monceaux-l'Abbaye), see 'Ctl. Lannoy', nos. XVIII–XIX (ADOI, H 4846, H 4914); for La Montagne, see Bauduin 2000, 132–7.

[135] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 347; ii, no. 636.

[136] Cf. BMRO, Y 13, fol. 104v–105r: act of Helias and Peter de Gerberoy dated 1154, 'in Francia regnante Ludouico rege, Beluaco principante Henrico pontifice'. Bishop Henry was the brother of Louis VII; the phrase is primarily a representation of his secular power as lord of the two *vidames*, for Menantissart, the property in question, lay in the diocese of Amiens. Since the act was for the abbey of Foucarmont, it may consciously imitate similar phrases commonly used for the dukes of Normandy.

Cathedral is found judging a dispute concerning a fief at La Montagne on the bishop's behalf.[137]

Under Philip Augustus, it is possible to document the creeping advance of French royal justice in the region, as much through local initiative as royal aggression, in a similar fashion to the Chartrain, although in the north it was helped by the dramatic expansion of the royal domain there from 1185 onwards.[138] The royal justices appear increasingly intrusive along the valleys of the Oise and Thérain, the arteries of the Beauvaisis, in much the same way that their authority had expanded along the Seine a generation earlier.[139] By 1216 the king was also regulating customs levied from merchants in the county of Beaumont-sur-Oise.[140] Little by little, Capetian influence spread from these valleys across the Beauvaisis and plains of Picardy. It is apparent in the ever-widening scope of the acts of Philip Augustus, whose annexations of Norman territory around Gournay and Gaillefontaine also affected the adjacent parts of the Beauvaisis: in 1202, for instance, the king committed the castle of Simon de Beaussault at Formerie to the bishop of Beauvais, Philip de Dreux, even though Formerie lay in the neighbouring diocese of Amiens.[141]

The Capetian advance is also visible in the increasing number of appearances of royal agents in charters from the region. In March 1204 Walter Tirel, heir of one of the greatest families in western Picardy, endowed the abbey of Le Gard near Picquigny with property near Poix, the chief castle of Walter's father; the witnesses included Guérin de Beaurain, whom the act described as *famulus domini Regis*.[142] By 1208 the king himself had taken the burgesses of Poix under his protection, in return for an annual payment of 10 *li*.[143] In 1217, when local landowners claimed property belonging to the abbey of Foucarmont at Menantissart, a few miles south of Poix and Aumale, the dispute was resolved in the presence of the bishop of Beauvais and some royal *baillis*.[144] Since Menantissart,

[137] 'Ctl. Lannoy', no. CXX: 'Ego Robertus Belvacensis thesaurarius, vices agens domini Belvacensis eo tempore in captione detenti quo scriptum hoc factum fuit'; Guyotjeannin 1987, 164. The case concerned property claimed from the monks of Lannoy in the fief of the viscount of Aumale. For a similar act concerning the environs of Beauvais (1198), see *Ctl. St-Lazare Beauvais*, no. 16.

[138] E.g. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, nos. 9, 231, concerning Plessis-Godard, cant. Neuilly, cne. Fresnoy-en-Thelle (1180) and Mouchy (1188). For the northwards expansion of the royal domain, see below, pp. 406–12, and Map VIII.

[139] *RHF*, xxiv, I, 53*–57*, documents the activities of royal *baillis* around Senlis and Compiègne but also Amiens (cf. n. 144 below).

[140] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iv, no. 1446.

[141] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 714; *Pouillés de Reims*, ii, 533, 575.

[142] ADSO, 13 H 5, pp. 362 (Mar. 1203, o.s.), 344 (confirmation by Walter's father and namesake): alms at Risleux, cant. Poix, cne. Fricamps (see Fossier 1968, ii, 505, 785).

[143] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1059; *Ordonnances*, vii, 602–6.

[144] BMRO, Y 13, fol. 108v (act of Peter de Sarcus): the challengers were Ralph *Patol* and his sons, and Peter was presumably their lord. Menantissart (cant. Grandvilliers, cne. St-Thibault) was a grange of Foucarmont.

like Formerie, lay in the diocese of Amiens, the bishop of Beauvais participated for overtly secular reasons: as the act of 1217 suggests, he and the king were profiting from the extinction of the *vidames* of Gerberoy, whose lands had mostly escheated to the king and bishop.[145] Very probably the unnamed *baillis* were Renaud de Béthisy and Giles de Versailles, whose activities had hitherto been concentrated around Senlis and Compiègne but who in March 1217 forced the mayor and commune of Beauvais to do fealty to their ageing bishop as well as to the king.[146] As at Bellême a few years earlier, the appearance of royal *baillis* indicated that the courts of the king of France had now become the chief judicial authority in these regions; but as in Perche, the annexation of Normandy had been a cause as much as a consequence of the spread of Capetian judicial power.

North of the Beauvaisis, Capetian justice petered out much as it did west of Chartres, although occasional acts demonstrate that it was not completely ignored.[147] Seigneurial administration there was not necessarily more rudimentary than the king's: the written records of castle-guard for the *vidames* of Amiens, lords of the castle of Picquigny (1190), may well have provided the inspiration for the records of fiefs and services that the king's clerks inserted into the royal registers after 1204.[148] Along the north-eastern borders of Normandy the counts of Ponthieu and Eu and the lord of Saint-Valéry had devised elaborate arrangements to control conflict and war damage in this politically sensitive region,[149] and the administrative structures that evolved along the border can be seen in an act concerning the property of the abbey of Notre-Dame d'Eu at Saint-Quentin-en-Vimeu in 1162. The act of the donor, William de Mers, was sealed by the 'princes of the land', the counts of Ponthieu and Eu and Renaud de Saint-Valéry; no representative of the duke of Normandy or king of France was present.[150] Since Saint-Quentin lay just north of Eu on the coastal plain of Ponthieu, it is a sign that the administrative

[145] *Pouillés de Reims*, ii, 533, showing that Menantissart was encompassed by parishes in the diocese of Amiens; Guyotjeannin 1987, 134, 141–3, 150, 159. The bishop was presumably Philip de Dreux (d. 4 Nov. 1217), custodian of the nearby castle of Formerie between 1202 and 1210: his successor Milo was elected on 19 Dec. 1217 (*GC*, ix, 740).

[146] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iv, no. 1466; *RHF*, xxiv, i, 53*–57*.

[147] E.g. Luchaire 1885, no. 755: Louis VII adjudicates a dispute between the abbeys of St-Riquier and Valloires (Domart-en-Ponthieu, 1179).

[148] Baldwin 1986, 295.

[149] *RHF*, xxiii, 718.

[150] ADSM, 6 H 41 (damaged original; ed. from an incomplete copy in *Ctl. Ponthieu*, no. v); now St-Quentin-la-Motte, ar. Abbeville, cant. Ault). The act calls the two counts and the lord of St-Valéry and his son 'principibus terre'. Also present were Enguerrand, steward of the count of Ponthieu, and William's stepfather Guérin, who were the lords of the property, as well as the count of Eu's steward and viscount of Foucarmont, and the beneficiary, the abbot of Eu. For the gifts of William de Mers to Notre-Dame d'Eu, see ADSM, 6 H 37 (acts of William de Mers (1199), and his *nepos* and heir, Simon d'Ault (1208), both ed. from inaccurate copies in *Ctl. Ponthieu*, nos. iv, xxx).

authority of the count of Ponthieu extended to the limits of Normandy, a situation which continued after the end of the Angevin régime in the duchy;[151] but it was the count of Eu, not the duke of Normandy, whose authority was most immediately visible to the south of Ponthieu.

This last example is a reminder that the differences between the relative uniformity of ducal justice and the patchwork character of French royal justice may be more apparent than real, a product of the uneven survival of the evidence. Nevertheless, royal justice in the Beauvaisis and the districts between Dreux and the Seine seem much more comparable to Angevin justice in Maine than Normandy; there was even less royal involvement in judicial affairs before 1204 in the Chartrain, Perche or Ponthieu. Looking further afield, we find striking parallels between western *Francia* (apart from the French Vexin) and another region of fragmented jurisdictions at the fringes of a more homogeneous administration: the Welsh March. Rees Davies has noted that seigneurial jurisdiction in all England might have evolved in this fashion, had not the Common Law become the chief obstacle to the fragmentation of jurisdictions.[152] Within the *terra regis Francie*, royal justice was extensively reorganised by Philip Augustus from 1190 onwards,[153] but its effects have left few discernible traces upon the localities between the Seine and Perche or north of the French Vexin until after 1204. Perhaps only under Louis IX did the uniformity of royal justice begin to match that of England or Normandy;[154] until then, Norman traditions of justice contrasted with the far more localised and fragmented practices of western *Francia*, where large tracts of territory had little contact with royal officers or the procedures of the royal court.

From 1193, meanwhile, the king of France took over parts of Normandy with strong traditions of ducal assizes, which his officers appear to have maintained more or less intact, as a case from the Norman Vexin, heard at Gisors in the 1190s before King Philip's *baillis*, demonstrates.[155] In 1202–3 the king of France derived much profit from judicial revenues in the parts of Normandy which he had seized from the Angevins:

[151] *Actes de Ponthieu*, no. CLXXXI: Count William of Ponthieu took the possessions of the canons of Eu, particularly at St-Quentin, under his protection (1207).

[152] R. R. Davies 1971, 29. [153] Baldwin 1986, 137–44.

[154] Cf. Cheyette (1969, 297–9) for the harmonising effect of Capetian hegemony upon local law. After the restoration of the Norman exchequer court in 1207, its judgments appear to embrace most of the duchy.

[155] BN, ms. lat. 5441, I, pp. 99–100 (ed. Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 552, but poorly punctuated): 'Ego Willelmus Jocelini Crispini filius cum Gaufredo priore de Velleio coram Balliuis de Gisortio in curia Domini Philippi Regis Fr.' disceptaui quasdam consuetudines et in ecclesia de Coldreto et in terra eorum hereditario iure reclamabam . . . quas prior inficiabatur.' Coudray, cant. Etrépagny, and Vesly, cant. Gisors. Since it is clear from the text that William's father Joscelin, the lord of Neaufles and Dangu, was still alive, the act is much more likely to be from 1193–6 than after 1202, although the date of his death is unknown.

the *expleta* at Evreux amounted to 800 *li. angevins* and 489 *li. parisis*.[156] Like his Angevin counterparts, the king of France chose to govern the Norman marches with a mixture of local people and outsiders: in 1200 the 'justices' at Gisors originated from the French Vexin,[157] and at Evreux, too, the indigenous Norman population continued to provide lesser officials such as the viscounts,[158] but the most powerful, such as Hugh Branchard, castellan of Evreux in 1199–1200,[159] and William Poucin, a *bailli* in the embryonic *bailliage* of Gisors in 1202,[160] were both from outside the region. Although the titles of Philip's early *baillis* do not associate them with a particular locality,[161] the officials controlling Gisors and the Evrecin also wielded authority over the adjacent parts of *Francia*, from which some of them were drawn: in 1196 the king's 'justices' and the knights of the 'Vexins' held assizes at Gisors that dealt with cases from the French as well as the Norman Vexin.[162] Perhaps more significantly, the extension of the French royal courts into the affairs of the marches abutting Norman territory was matched by attempts to intrude their jurisdiction into the internal affairs of the duchy: King Philip's court was therefore attempting to break down the barrier between Norman and French power.

THE INTRUSION OF THE FRENCH COURT INTO NORMANDY

Since the time of the Conqueror, the dukes of Normandy had generally managed to exclude the kings of France from any part in the peaceful administration of Norman affairs,[163] although propagandists for the twelfth-century Capetian kings nurtured the idea of royal authority over the duchy. The *Historia Gloriosi Regis Ludovici* portrayed the final stages of the Angevin conquest of Normandy as Louis VII's award of the duchy

[156] Lot and Fawtier 1932, 185, CLXXX (totals of sums accounted before and after All Saints' Day).

[157] Peter de Neuilly and Eustace de Hadancourt (probably Neuilly-en-Vexin, dépt. Val d'Oise, cant. Marines and Hadancourt-le-Haut-Clocher, cant. Chaumont): below, n. 162.

[158] E.g. BN, ms. lat. 9213, no. 1 (Mar. 1203, o.s.): sale by Philip *de Castello* to Walter Branchard, archdeacon of Evreux, before the local knights Stephen and Robert de Dardez, the viscounts *Malus Christianus* and William d'Alençon (*dalencon*), and the *prévôt* Walter d'Epaignes (*de Hispania*). It is unclear whether a third witness, Christopher *Porpensez*, was also a viscount.

[159] Power 1999a, 126 n.54; ADE, H-dépôt Evreux, G 7, p. 22, no. 45, an act of Hugh de Bacquepuis, 1200, witnessed by Hugh Branchard, castellan of Evreux, and his brother Walter (see previous note).

[160] *RHF*, xxiv, I, 116*. [161] Baldwin 1986, 128.

[162] *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, no. CLXIX (cf. *RHF*, xxiv.I, 116*; Baldwin 1986, 127–8, 224): 'in plenaria assisa coram justiciis domini regis Francorum Phylippi secundi et baronibus Vilcassini ad Sanctum Audoenum de Gisorz, postea coram domino rege Francorum P(hilippo) II^{O} . . . testibus Petro de Nuillie, Eustachio de Hadencort, militibus et justiciis Vilcassinorum'.

[163] Discussions of the Norman duke's obligations to the king of France, begun by Lot (1904, 177–235), include Lemarignier 1945, 74–113; Lemarignier 1965, 118, 173–6; Hollister 1976, 17–57; Bates 1982, 8–15; Bates 1999, 404–6, and from a very different perspective, Searle 1988, *passim*.

to the count of Anjou and his son as if they were humble petitioners in his court; and on one occasion Count Geoffrey found it expedient to avow that he was ready to serve the king and perform his will.[164] Some Anglo-Norman chroniclers acknowledged that the king of France nurtured ancient claims to lordship over Normandy as part of his realm, and that certain members of the Anglo-Norman nobility were prepared to accept that claim in theory.[165] It comes as no surprise, then, that the early acquisitions of Philip Augustus encouraged him to intrude his authority deeper into the duchy. When his court declared Normandy and Anjou forfeit in 1202, Philip Augustus had been seeking to make that forum the ultimate authority in the duke of Normandy's lands for more than a decade; in so doing, Philip was undermining the judicial 'frontier' of Normandy as vigorously as he sapped its military defences.

Before Philip Augustus reached adulthood it is striking how little authority the court of the kings of France wielded over the dukes of Normandy. In 1152, Duke Henry of Normandy may have been summoned before the French king's court on account of his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine; if so, he successfully ignored it, although his ensuing war with Louis VII was one of the hardest of Henry's career.[166] Rigord claimed that between 1183 and 1186 Henry II repeatedly refused to be judged by Philip's court over his dispute with Margaret of France, widow of Henry the Young King, who claimed Gisors as her dowry; the monk of Saint-Denis also alleged that the envoys of Henry II and his son Richard later promised to abide by the judgment of the French king's court.[167] Thereafter, since the king of France failed to exploit his own

[164] 'Historia Ludovici', 161 (1170 × 74): 'Gaufridus, comes Andegavorum, et Henricus, filius ejus . . . regem Ludovicum adierunt et ei de Stephano, Anglorum rege, conquerentes, monstraverunt quod ipse eis injuste jura sua auferebat, videlicet regnum Anglie et ducatum Normanie. Unde rex, volens omnes juste ac rationabiliter, sicut regiam majestatem condecet, manutenere et unicuique jus suum conservare, cum magno exercitu Normanniam aggrediens, manu forti eam cepit, quam Henrico, filio comitis Andegavorum, reddidit et eum pro eadem terra in hominem ligium accepit.' For the text's date, see Spiegel 1978, 50–2. See Count Geoffrey's letter to Abbot Suger (*RHF*, xv, 494, kindly drawn to my attention by Susan Drewett).

[165] E.g. Orderic, vi, 256 (Louis VI accuses Henry I of invading Normandy, 'quæ de regno meo est'); *Hyde Chronicle*, 300, 309 (William Rufus and Henry I rebel against the claims to lordship of Philip I and Louis VI); 316 (the earl Warenne promises to resist Louis VI 'licet enim antiquæ dominationis jure noster sit dominus'). I am grateful to Elisabeth van Houts for sharing with me her redating of this narrative to the mid-twelfth century, i.e. 40–60 years after the events described. Hollister (1976, 45–6) notes that Henry of Huntingdon and the *Brevis Relatio* both stridently put the opposite view.

[166] See especially Petot 1978, 42 n.51, and Martindale 1992, 31–2; for the war, see Norgate 1887, i, 393–5; Warren 1973, 44–8; Crouch 2000, 250–3. Cf. 'Historia Ludovici', 162: 'Henricus, Normannie per manum regis dux effectus, ultra modum superbiens, ante dominum suum regem Ludovicum defecit a justicia.' This statement is not associated directly with Henry's alleged condemnation in Louis' court for his marriage to Eleanor.

[167] Rigord, 77–9; Powicke 1961, 82n.

disputes with the rulers of Normandy to extend his power, Philip's chief strategy was to offer his court as a forum for quarrels arising within the Angevin lands.

Between 1191 and 1204 the Angevins or their partisans acknowledged that the French court had some sort of competence within their lands on at least five known occasions. At the treaty of Messina, Philip Augustus expressed his desire that Richard I should perform the services that he owed to the French king, and that any sons of Richard should hold their shares of the Angevin inheritance from the French king, instead of the younger doing homage to the elder.[168] In July 1193, during the captivity of Richard I in Germany, the Seneschal of Normandy made a truce with the French, the terms of which stipulated that Richard should acknowledge the 'services and justices' which he owed to the French king, and that the king of England's men should plead against the rebel Count John of Mortain in the French court.[169] Six months later, John agreed to hold the Angevin lands from the French king, fulfilling the required services and justices in the French king's court.[170] In the event, Richard's return from captivity put paid to John's promises and Philip's ambitions; but the agreements of 1193–4 show how the king of France was seeking to extend the authority of his court over the lands of the Angevin princes as if they were recalcitrant subjects.[171] He again succeeded in intruding his court into the dynasty's affairs in early 1199, when he stirred up dissension between the now reconciled brothers: John vindicated himself only by proving his innocence of accusations of treachery in the French court.[172] The following year, John agreed to pay Philip a relief for his succession to Richard's lands, and his hopes of securing papal support in the next war were badly compromised because he had previously accepted the jurisdiction of the French king's court;[173] the same court also allegedly decided whether Arthur should do homage to his uncle for Brittany.[174]

[168] *Dipl. Docs*, no. 5. [169] Howden, iii, 217–19.

[170] *Layettes*, i, no. 412. Cf. Powicke 1961, 97.

[171] A supposed letter of the bishop of Beauvais, recorded in Roger of Howden's chronicle, portrays Richard I as a contumacious rebel (Howden, iv, 21–2). For its possible authenticity, despite its contrived appearance, see Lohrmann 1973, 212–13. The Austrian 'Pseudo-Ansbert' and William the Breton were just as damning: 'Historia de expeditione Friderici Imperatoris', *MGH*, *SRG*, n.s. v, 98, 100; *Philippidos*, 142 (v, lines 445–9). See also *Ann. Jumièges*, 89, for King John's 'rebellion' against Philip Augustus in Poitou in 1206.

[172] Howden, iv, 81. Coggeshall, 99, and *Life of St Hugh*, ii, 137–8, both suggest that no reconciliation had been effected when Richard died.

[173] *Layettes*, i, no. 578; *Letters of Innocent III*, 61–2 (letter of 31 May 1203?); at the same time, this letter was less than sure about Philip's right to interfere in relations between John and his men. In 1202, when Arthur of Brittany laid claim to Aquitaine, he agreed to submit the likely dispute with the king of Castile over Gascony to the judgment of the French *curia regis* (*Layettes*, i, no. 647).

[174] Coggeshall, 101.

Philip did not succeed, however, in making his court the ultimate authority for the Norman barons as well as the ducal dynasty. There are hints that practice was moving in that direction: in 1199, King Philip confirmed Arthur of Brittany's grant to Juhel de Mayenne of Gorron and Ambrières, which had been under Norman administration since 1162;[175] in 1200 Philip also ratified an agreement made in his presence at Vernon between King John and the countess of Saint-Quentin, which concerned Chambois near Argentan. A French royal act concerning Normandy was consequently enrolled on the charter roll of a king of England.[176] If Roger of Howden is to be believed, Philip Augustus intervened in Normandy to make peace between King John and his subjects, the Lusignans, during their first, short-lived rebellion in the spring of 1201, for the French king raised John's sieges against the Lusignan castles, including the count of Eu's castle of Drincourt in Normandy.[177] But this intervention in the duchy's affairs was exceptional, not least because it had its origins in the affairs of Aquitaine. The only usual sanction for the Norman barons against ducal authority was rebellion;[178] before 1204 they never peacefully pleaded in the French court, even though some assisted the French king in war.

In only one instance did all concerned parties agree that a Norman baron should be subject to the French court. In 1196, the earl of Leicester quitclaimed the fortress of Pacy to the French king and promised not to attempt to recapture the castle; he also agreed to be judged by the French court if he broke this promise. Three of the most prominent 'French' barons of the frontier regions were sureties for his appearance at the French *curia regis*, rather than Norman barons, and Richard I consented to this arrangement, in terms that allowed the king of France to take action against the earl's Norman lands if Earl Robert broke the agreement.[179] The terms for the cession of Pacy awarded some rights over the earl's Norman lands to the French king, unless his *guerra publica* with Richard I resumed.

Ralph of Coggeshall's well-known account states that in April 1202, the 'magnates of the realm' (*proceres regni Francorum*) summoned King John to face judgment by his peers in his lord's court, on account of his refusal to obey his lord's demands in the Lusignan dispute. John refused to come to Paris, citing the 'ancient custom' (*antiqua consuetudo*) that entitled him to parley merely 'on the borders of the kingdom and duchy' (*inter utrosque fines, regni scilicet et ducatus*), but his excuse was deemed insufficient since he was also 'count' of Aquitaine:

[175] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 607.
[176] *Rot. Chart.*, 96 (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 635); cf. 64.
[177] Howden, iv, 160–1; Powicke 1961, 144; Power 1999a, 125.
[178] Cf. Haskins 1918, 190.
[179] *Layettes*, i, nos. 431, 433–40; Power 2001a, 125–35. For the sureties, see below, pp. 259–61.

Eventually the court of the king of France gathered and judged that the king of England should be deprived of all his land which he and his forebears had held from the kings of France until then, because for a very long time they had disdained to fulfil almost all the services which those lands owed, and they nearly always refused to obey their lord. And so King Philip gladly accepted and approved the judgment of his court.[180]

The novelty of the authority which the court of Philip Augustus attributed to its royal master is only too apparent, for, as we have seen, the king of France had hardly ever made such a claim until the last years of Henry II's reign. Moreover, as the agreement over Pacy in 1196 demonstrates, the Capetian monarchy had barely begun to meddle in Norman affairs when John's Poitevin troubles triggered the fall of the duchy. In judicial terms, the Franco-Norman 'frontier' stood up well to pressure from the French court until the very last days of Angevin Normandy.

[180] Coggeshall, 135–6: 'Tandem vero curia regis Franciæ adunata adjudicavit regem Angliæ tota terra sua privandum, quam hactenus de regibus Franciæ ipse et progenitores sui tenuerant, eo quod fere omnia servitia eisdem terris debita per longum jam tempus facere contempserant, nec domino suo fere in aliquibus obtemperare volebant. Hoc igitur curiæ suæ judicium rex Philippus gratanter acceptans et approbans . . .' For discussion, see Cartellieri 1899–1922, iv, 1, 99–108; Petit-Dutaillis 1924–5, cxlvii, 164–78; Lemarignier 1945, 109–13; Powicke 1961, 147–8; Warren 1978, 74–5, 263; Van Eickels 1997, 133–4.

Chapter 3

THE CHURCH AND THE NORMAN FRONTIER

One of the striking features of the duchy of Normandy was its similarity in territorial extent to the metropolitan province of Rouen. Before the year 1000 the area under ducal rule corresponded remarkably closely to the ecclesiastical province, which was in turn descended from the Roman province of Lugdunensis Secunda.[1] The idea of Normandy as seven dioceses was so powerful that Rigord summed up the Capetian subjugation of the province as the surrender of the *civitates* of Coutances, Bayeux, Lisieux and Avranches, adding that the *civitates* of Evreux and Sées were already in King Philip's hands. Of all Normandy, the monk of Saint-Denis wrote, nothing now remained except for the *civitas* of Rouen and the *oppida* of Verneuil and Arques.[2]

The importance of the Norman Church for the duchy went much further than mere territorial resemblance: it also formed one of the main planks of ducal power. One of the chief means by which the early rulers of the Normans had expanded and consolidated their authority had been to establish their control over the bishoprics of the region. There was some resistance, of course, and it was not until the mid-eleventh century that the dukes wrested control of the bishopric of Sées from the lords of Bellême.[3] Another method which the dukes had used to consolidate their power was the founding, refounding or patronising of monasteries within their territory.[4] Ducal favour towards the Church had contributed to the integration of the province's disparate Scandinavian and Frankish subjects and had helped the ruling dynasty to secure recognition from its neighbours as well.[5] The reform of the Norman Church under Duke William II had formed an important part of the reassertion and expansion of his authority within Normandy and in northern France as a whole.

[1] *GC*, xi, cols. 1–2. For the Norman Church under the Angevins in general, see Haskins 1918, 153–4, 170–4; Baldwin 1969, 11–27; Stevenson 1974, 21–52; Power 2002, 78–81; Power 2005.
[2] Rigord, 160.
[3] Bates 1982, 68–70, 78–80; Thompson 1985, 216; Louise 1992, i, 150–61, 286–7, 345–7.
[4] See especially Potts 1996, 147–51, and 1997.
[5] Potts 1997, 134–6.

Since the secular borders of the duchy were far less stable than contemporary ecclesiastical boundaries, the area under the control of the ducal dynasty never corresponded exactly with the ecclesiastical province. This fact had great significance for the nature of the Norman frontier, both in the south and in the east of the duchy. Furthermore, from the late twelfth century the Capetian challenge to ducal rule proved to be as strong in the ecclesiastical as the secular sphere. The significance of the Church for the frontier also extended to the relations between the rulers of Normandy on the one hand and the bishops of northern France on the other, both of the seven 'Norman' sees and of the neighbouring bishoprics.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL STRUCTURES OF THE NORMAN FRONTIER

Ecclesiastical boundaries and princely borders: Perche, the French Vexin and the Passais

Long before the rise of Normandy a matrix of territorially defined dioceses had evolved across northern France. Their origins lay in the civil and tribal divisions of Roman and Merovingian Gaul, but their boundaries were nevertheless susceptible to modification even in the early eleventh century, or so Orderic's story of the realignment of the boundaries of the dioceses of Sées and Lisieux would lead us to believe.[6] It may be significant that Norman localities were rarely identified by diocese before 1066, and the canons of the council of Rouen in the 1040s suggest that some bishops feared encroachment upon their territory from their neighbours.[7] The appearance of numerous diocesan enclaves, mostly of obscure origin, is also a warning that the diocesan borders, though generally ancient, were not totally immutable.[8] By the twelfth century, however, the

[6] Orderic, ii, 26; Louise 1992, i, 130–1, 155, 288–9; Bates 1982, 213. The diocesan boundaries of Angers, Nantes and Poitiers in the Pays de Mauges were certainly redrawn in the mid-eleventh century, a response to the growing power of the counts of Anjou (Guillot 1973, i, 226–33).

[7] Bates 1982, 213, 233 n.86, following J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (53 in 58 vols., Florence and Venice, 1759–98), xix, cols. 752–3: 'Ut nullus episcopus, sive abbas, alterius episcopi vel abbatis honorem supplantare praesumat.' Much depends upon the translation of 'honorem'.

[8] *Atlas de l'an mil*, 34–5. Arnoux and Maneuvrier (2000, 70–2) demonstrate that Cambremer, an enclave of Bayeux within the diocese of Lisieux, evolved from the eighth century, and Musset (1995, 53–4) dates the Norman enclaves to before the Viking invasion. However, Neveux (1995c, 17) dates some enclaves to the early thirteenth century. Only St-Samson near Pont-Audemer, a dependency of Dol, and Etrépagny (dioc. Lisieux), in the Norman Vexin, had any significance for the Norman frontier, the first as the enclave of a Breton diocese within the province of Rouen, the second because it lay in the eastern marches in an area repeatedly claimed by the kings of France.

dioceses were clearly defined and organised, with a hierarchy of dignitaries within each diocese and the partial establishment of territorial subdivisions. Although only the late medieval *pouillés* provide a comprehensive picture of the dioceses' external borders and internal divisions, episcopal confirmations from the central Middle Ages show that the former at least were well established long before 1204. The parish structure itself was also well developed by the early twelfth century,[9] although in the more remote parts of Normandy new parishes were still being formed.[10]

Clearly defined in a linear fashion, often following river courses, and almost universally recognised, the twelfth-century diocesan boundaries can appear as a deceptively easy approximation for the limits of ducal power. Yet the relationship of the diocesan boundaries to the secular frontier is far from simple. The long-accepted view that Norman territory expanded to its approximate boundaries in three simple stages, namely in 911, 924 and 933, has been disproved; the land of the Normans took shape much more slowly and ducal power fluctuated at its limits until the very end in 1204.[11]

For ecclesiastical matters, the history of the Norman frontier in the twelfth century primarily concerns four of the seven sees in the province of Rouen: the metropolitan see itself and Avranches, Evreux and Sées. By 1000 the dioceses of Coutances and Lisieux lay wholly within the area under effective ducal rule; as for the diocese of Bayeux, its southern border marked the limit of the principality until Duke William II conquered the Passais in 1051–2, extending his authority southwards into the diocese of Le Mans. Of the other four sees, Avranches and Evreux also lay entirely under ducal domination by 1100. The diocese of Avranches was only fully incorporated into the duchy at a late date, since Norman expansion appears to have halted initially along the Sélune, in the heart of the diocese.[12] The diocese itself may have expanded with Norman territory from the Sélune to the Couesnon;[13] what is certain is that its border was regarded as coterminous with that of the duchy by 1112, when Ralph de Fougères' foundation act for Savigny stated that the River *Chamba* separated the Forest of Savigny from Maine. It is clear that at Savigny

[9] See especially Fournier 1982, 526–32; Avril 1992, 212–14.

[10] E.g. the subdivision of the *ur*-parish of Carrouges (dioc. Sées), probably in the twelfth century (Louise 1992, i, 63 (map), 64–5). Fournier (1982, 532–4) dubs these new circumscriptions the 'third generation' of parishes. The lack of exact definition of some parish boundaries in heavily forested regions even after 1200 can be seen in an act of Bishop Renaud of Chartres for St-Evroul (1210) concerning Marchainville, near the borders of Perche and Normandy, which mentions assarts 'in omnibus nemoribus et forestis in tota parrochia de Marchesuill(a) et in confiniis eius' (BN, ms. lat. 11055, fol. 63r–v, no. 110).

[11] See above, pp. 10–12. [12] Potts 1990, 140–1, 150–3. [13] Cf. Louise 1992, i, 101–5.

the same stream divided the dioceses of Avranches and Le Mans.[14] The diocese of Evreux, apparently under firm Norman rule by the 940s if not from 911, remained entirely in ducal control until 1193. Thereafter the encroachments of Philip Augustus brought parts of the diocese under French rule, and in 1200 the treaty of Le Goulet left two-thirds of the diocese in King John's hands but awarded the remainder of the diocese, including the city and bishopric of Evreux, to the king of France (who had already seized Evreux for himself).[15]

The history of the remaining two dioceses, Rouen and Sées, demonstrates that treating the duchy as coterminous with the seven 'Norman' dioceses can lead to serious errors regarding the location and nature of the political frontier. The rulers of Normandy made efforts to secure control over the whole of both dioceses, but without lasting success. In the east, the diocese of Rouen extended south-eastwards as far as the River Oise, embracing the whole of the French Vexin, and north-eastwards to within eight miles of the city of Beauvais. William the Conqueror claimed this county in 1087 and his son William Rufus secured some of its castles in 1097–9, but it never formed a permanent part of the duke's territory and was soon annexed securely to the Capetian domain.[16] A measure of the Capetian grip upon the region in ecclesiastical as well as secular matters can be seen in the archbishop of Rouen's recognition of his duties to attend the court of Philip I at Beauvais, Paris or Senlis (with a guarantee of safe-conduct to Chaumont or Pontoise), and to attend the king's pleas in the Vexin.[17] In the south, the district around Mortagne known as the Corbonnais lay in the diocese of Sées but was never brought under Norman rule, and from the late eleventh century it formed an integral part of the county of Perche. In the same diocese lay the lordship of Bellême, which experienced effective Norman rule under its lord Roger de Montgomery and again from 1113 owing to the overthrow of Roger's son, Robert II de Bellême; but the victor, Henry I, soon ceded Bellême to the count of Perche. The rulers of Normandy intermittently asserted rights of homage over the Bellêmois until the end of the ducal period, but for almost all intents the lordship lay outside the duchy.[18] Modern maps depicting the whole diocese of Sées as part of medieval Normandy therefore fail to recognise

[14] *Thes. Anec.*, i, 332: 'sicut ex una parte fluvius, qui vocatur Chamba, ipsam forestam a Cœnomannia disterminat'. Cf. *GC*, xi, instr., cols. 110–11 (*RRAN*, ii, no. 1015). The *Chamba* is now the Ruisseau du Moulin du Pré.

[15] *Layettes*, i, no. 578; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 633 (*Dipl. Docs.*, no. 9); Powicke 1961, 168–70.

[16] Douglas 1964, 357–8; Barlow (1983, 376–81, 393–6; for the status of the Vexin, see Lemarignier 1945, 47–55; Orderic, iv, xxx–xxiv; Bates 1982, 71–2.

[17] *Actes de Philippe Ier*, no. cxxvii (dated '1091', but assigned to 1092 by the editor).

[18] Lemarignier 1945, 62–5; see pp. 360–1.

that the county of Perche was effectively independent of the dukes of Normandy.[19] However, once the Capetian annexation of Normandy in 1204 and the partition of Perche in 1226 had brought almost the whole diocese of Sées into the royal domain, the Percheron districts of the diocese came to be treated as part of Normandy, for certain purposes at least: hence the *Querimoniæ Normannorum* (1247) included depositions from the *vicomté* of the Bellêmois and Corbonnais.[20]

The French Vexin and western Perche were integral parts of the metropolitan province of Rouen but lay beyond the limits of Norman rule. Conversely, by 1100, parts of the diocese of Le Mans, in the province of Tours, lay firmly within the borders of Normandy, chiefly the district around Domfront known as the Passais. William of Normandy seized this territory in 1051–2 and it had come to form an integral part of the duchy by the reign of Henry I, who had himself been the self-made lord of Domfront for a time.[21] To the south of Domfront, the dukes of Normandy disputed the castelries of Gorron and Ambrières with the lords of Mayenne, and so the duke's share of the diocese of Le Mans fluctuated until the very end of Angevin dominion.[22] Meanwhile, to the east, the lordship of La Ferté-Macé and the Talvas fortress of La Roche-Mabile also lay in the diocese of Le Mans, but in the mid-eleventh century they came to be regarded as part of the duchy as the Normans consolidated their control there.[23] Hence until the French Revolution the north-west fringes of the vast diocese of Le Mans formed part of Normandy.

Western Perche, the French Vexin and the Passais were the three chief districts where the borders of the duchy and the ecclesiastical province diverged substantially.[24] There were also several minor variations where ducal rule effectively extended over parishes in 'non-Norman' dioceses. The medieval boundary of the dioceses of Evreux and Chartres followed the River Avre, but although the parishes of Vieux-Verneuil and Armentières-sur-Avre lay south of the river in the diocese of Chartres, they were usually under Norman authority.[25] Between Vernon and

[19] Most of the abundant maps that include western Perche in Normandy appear to be ultimately derived from Longnon (1884–1907, Atlas, Plate XII, maps 1, 2). Examples include Boussard 1955, 197; (1956), cartes 9–10; Warren 1973, 10, 89, 120 (126, 133 use the boundaries of the modern *départements*); Hallam and Everard 2001, 163.

[20] Rigord, 160; *QN*, nos. 111–240.

[21] Orderic, iv, 256–8, 292.

[22] See pp. 72–4, 162–3, 397, 435–8.

[23] Lemarignier 1945, 65–6; Louise 1992, i, 315–16. *RADN*, no. 131, reflects the uncertainty of La Ferté-Macé's position between Normandy and Maine in 1053, but in 1224 it was said to be held *per baroniam de ducatu Normannie* (*Registres*, 166). When La Roche-Mabile was in ducal hands after 1166 its revenues were accounted at the Caen Exchequer (*MRSN*, ii, 18, 114).

[24] Neveux (1995c, 16 (map)) includes a useful schematic depiction of these three discrepancies.

[25] *Pouillés de Sens*, 116–17; *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, nos. CX (archbishop of Sens, 1172), CLVI (bishop of Chartres, 1189), CCXXXI (1201, showing Vieux-Verneuil under the jurisdiction of the commune

Mantes the boundary of the same two dioceses corresponded with neither later customary divisions nor modern departmental boundaries.[26] Other examples can be found at either end of the Norman frontier. In the districts of Aumale and Gournay-en-Bray confirmation charters show great uncertainty about the limits of ducal authority. Ducal acts could include parishes in the dioceses of Amiens and Beauvais, particularly on the plateau of La Montagne which formed the division between the two dioceses,[27] and around Aumale, where the authority of the dukes of Normandy and counts of Aumale extended across several parishes on the east bank of the Bresle.[28] Norman power also encroached upon the whole diocese of Dol: in the 1190s William of Newburgh, referring to the Young King's revolt twenty years earlier, described the *pagus Dolensis* as 'within the limits of the Normans', and but for the resurgence of ducal Brittany from 1203 this little district might well have eventually come to be regarded as part of Normandy.[29]

The main disparities between the duchy and the dioceses posed a challenge for the archbishops of Rouen, the bishops of Sées and Le Mans, the dukes of Normandy, the kings of France and the counts of Perche, Maine and Anjou. The ways in which princes, prelates and their officials responded are largely lost to us, but the evolution of the diocesan divisions, the archdeaconries and deaneries, gives some indication of how the secular frontier influenced ecclesiastical structures.

Archdeaconries and rural deaneries

By the second quarter of the thirteenth century each of the three main discrepancies between the ecclesiastical province of Rouen and the former duchy of Normandy corresponded to a diocesan subdivision: the archdeaconry of the French Vexin, the archdeaconries of Bellême and Corbonnais, and the deaneries of the Passais and La Roche-Mabile. It

of Verneuil and so, by extension, of the duke of Normandy). For Armentières under the authority of Henry I, see *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 538; *RRAN*, ii, no. 1700, ed. p. 373 (no. CCLII).

[26] *Pouillés de Rouen*, 194, 197–8 (*c.*1370): Blaru, Cravent, Val-Comtat and St-Illiers-le-Bois are all now dépt. Yvelines but were parishes of the diocese of Evreux. Crouch (1986, 60–1, 72–3) places Blaru in 'France'; *Philippidos*, 76–7 (III, lines 299–302), names it amongst the villages which Henry II destroyed in a raid against Mantes in 1188, but the same king also issued a letter concerning property there (BN, ms. fr. 24133, p. 133; ADEL, H 1261, p. 335); for the later observance of the custom of Mantes-Meulan at Blaru, see *NCG*, iii, 1, 207. St-Illiers lay in the castelry of Bréval (*RHF*, xxiii, 623h; cf. ADE, H 793, fol. 76v, no. 73, an act of Simon d'Anet).

[27] See above, pp. 42–3.

[28] Lemarignier 1945, 36. For the parishes of the diocese of Rouen east of the Bresle near Aumale, see *Pouillés de Rouen*, 47–8; ADSM, 1 H 66 (1214), 1 H 72 (1184 × 1207), are archiepiscopal acts concerning Morvillers-St-Saturnin (Somme, cant. Poix).

[29] Newburgh, i, 175–6. For Henry II's encroachments upon the region of Dol (1162–4), see Torigni, i, 340, 353.

would be tempting to think that they had been created to defuse tensions arising from the discrepancy between the duchy and ecclesiastical province. In fact, while the Norman frontier certainly affected local ecclesiastical divisions, their history was far more complex.

The traditional functions of archdeacons as the bishop's administrative and legal deputies had been established by the mid-twelfth century, by which time they had already become figures of satire who embodied the Church's most worldly desires,[30] but it is less certain that their offices had become universally attached to specific territories by then. In some regions, such as the diocese of Liège, territorial archdeaconries were taking shape by the tenth century;[31] even in England, where the institution of archdeacon was more or less unknown before the Norman Conquest, one of the largest dioceses, Lincoln, was divided up into archdeaconries before 1100.[32] In Normandy, however, the disruption to the Church during and after the Scandinavian settlement hindered the development of these divisions before the eleventh century. Archdeacons started to appear there only in the wake of far-reaching reorganisations in the Norman cathedral chapters, mostly from the 1040s onwards (and some decades earlier in Rouen).[33] The exact functions of the early Norman archdeacons remain obscure, and it is unclear whether they had assumed jurisdiction over a defined portion of the diocese, or remained primarily members of the chapter who deputised for the bishops in legal matters. It may be that episcopal charters, too laconic in style, simply fail to identify Anglo-Norman archdeacons by the regions which they were already overseeing;[34] after all, Orderic's description of William Giroie's power around Montreuil-l'Argillé and Echauffour shows that archdeacons already had substantial territorial authority there in the early twelfth century and, if the monk's claims are correct, before 1050, perhaps as early as 1020.[35] Nevertheless, David Spear's research into the development of the archdeaconries in the diocese of Rouen urges caution. Although the Council of Lillebonne in 1080 marked an important step in their development, few of the twenty-seven territorial archdeaconries that are

[30] A. H. Thompson 1943, 153–6; Brooke 1985, 2.

[31] Dierkens 1986, 347–57. [32] Brooke 1985, 13–14.

[33] Bates 1982, 209–18; Spear 1995, 82–93. Avril (1992, 217) notes the belated development of archdeaconries and deaneries in some other parts of France.

[34] Cf. Brooke 1985, 13–14.

[35] Orderic, ii, 26: 'Episcopales consuetudines in toto Monasterioli et Escalfoii fundo habebat: nec ullus archidiaconorum ibidem presbyteros eiusdem honoris circumuenire audebat.' Lemarignier (1937, 67–70, 175 n.141) doubts the value of Orderic's testimony as evidence for territorialised archdeaconries so soon after the revival of the bishopric at Lisieux. In any case, many terms for ecclesiastical institutions such as *archidiaconatus* were ambiguous, shifting between or conflating offices, jurisdictions and revenues (cf. Avril 1992, 209–10).

found in the fourteenth-century province of Rouen are named before 1204.[36]

Given these uncertainties, it is striking that the earliest indications of territorialised archdeacons in the province of Rouen occur in frontier districts. In the diocese of Sées an 'archdeacon of Mortagne' appears as early as 1064.[37] In the diocese of Rouen the first cathedral dignitary to be described as archdeacon of a named district may have been Fulbert, archdeacon of the Vexin, in 1135.[38] Before 1200, named territorialised archdeaconries had probably been established across the whole duchy; nevertheless, it can hardly be a coincidence that the territorialisation of ecclesiastical offices proceeded at a more rapid pace in districts where secular jurisdictions were also in dispute.[39] Even so, they long remained in a state of flux: no 'archdeaconry of Mortagne' emerged, for by the episcopate of Bishop Froger (1159–84) the diocese of Sées east of the Sarthe was divided into archdeaconries of Bellêmois and Corbonnais.[40]

The turbulence of border districts could influence local ecclesiastical jurisdictions in other ways as well. When William Giroie allegedly usurped the archidiaconal rights around Gacé, which led to the incorporation of the whole district into the diocese of Lisieux (and to its eventual evolution into the archdeaconry of Gacé), he and his neighbours were probably reacting to the dominance of the bishopric of Sées by their enemies, the lords of Bellême.[41] In 1061, the bishop of Avranches appointed the abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel to be archdeacon in his own

[36] Spear 1984, 33 (districts); (1995), 88–9, 98 (Lillebonne). For the number of archdeaconries, see *Pouillés de Rouen*: Rouen (6, if the French Vexin is treated as a single archdeaconry), Sées (4), Coutances (4), Bayeux (4), Lisieux (4), Evreux (3) and Avranches (2); for the diocese of Rouen, see also *Fasti (Rouen)*, 3–5, esp. 4 (map).

[37] Bates 1982, 125; Spear 1995, 90.

[38] *Ctl. Pontoise*, no. xcv; Spear 1984, 19, 24. The church of Longuesse-en-Vexin allegedly pertained to the *ministerium* of an archdeacon named *Onoratus*, not discussed by Spear, as early as 979 × 989 (*Ch. St-Germain*, i, no. xliv; Lemarignier 1937, 175 n.141). *Pouillés de Rouen*, xi, mentions an 'archdeacon of Aumale' for 1148, but the source (BMRO, y 13, fol. 28v) does not assign the archdeacon, Laurence, to a particular place. By the thirteenth century Aumale was merely a deanery in the archdeaconry of Eu (*RHF*, xxiii, 269–70).

[39] Cf. Bates 1982, 215–16, and Spear 1995, 92.

[40] BN, ms. lat. 11059, fol. 152r: act of Froger witnessed by John prior of Sées and the archdeacons John of the Hiémois, Roger of Sées, Henry of Houlme and Herbert of the Corbonnais (also ADOR, h 1433, a vidimus of Archbishop Rotrou, 1165 × 83). In 1202 a papal letter mentions archdeacons for the Hiémois and Corbonnais: *Reg. Innocent III*, v, no. 68 (70). For the two archdeaconries, see *Pouillés de Rouen*, xliv–xlv, 234–6. Fulk the archdeacon was taking archidiaconal revenues at Bellême in 1117 (*Ctl. Perche*, no. 19).

[41] Chibnall 1958, 105–7; Louise 1992, i, 288–9. Hugh de Nonant, the future bishop of Coventry, appears to have been archdeacon and dean of Gacé in 1179 (*Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, no. 133 and p. 201, note *c*).

abbey: Breton bandits were supposedly endangering the journeys of the inhabitants of the Mont to the bishop's court at Avranches.[42] Whether the plain of the Couesnon was really so barbarous or, as seems more likely, the monks of the Mount had used the proximity of the Bretons as a pretext to consolidate their exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, the agreement of 1061 is a reminder that local ecclesiastical jurisdiction would always be tightly bound up with more secular concerns.

In the French Vexin, Franco-Norman rivalry had grave consequences for the evolution of archidiaconal rights. Here the local seigneurs, the eleventh-century counts of the Vexin, their successors the kings of France, and the local aristocracy all whittled away the privileges of the archbishops of Rouen, notably rights of *archidiaconatus*, presumably because the archbishop was too closely associated with the duke of Normandy.[43] Sometimes a legal fiction might be used to mask the extent of the archbishop's loss. Orderic relates how the priory of Parnes, a dependency of Saint-Evroul, acquired the *archidiaconatus* at Parnes that a local knightly family had held in fief from the archbishop of Rouen,[44] and an act of Philip I (1091–2) confirmed that Count Walter of the Vexin (1035–63) had restored the archdeaconry of the Vexin, 'whether within Pontoise or outside', to the archbishop.[45] Despite King Philip's concession the Capetians kept a tight control over the *archidiaconatus* at Pontoise until 1255; by then royal power over the archbishopric of Rouen was secure enough for Louis IX to cede the archidiaconate to Archbishop Odo Rigaud, who in return agreed to appoint a clerk to reside in his stead at Pontoise and hear ecclesiastical cases pertaining to the town.[46]

Strangely enough, the subdivisions of the diocese of Rouen do not appear to have taken any account of the archbishops' discomfiture east of the Epte until after 1204. The 'archdeaconry of the Vexin' that is recorded as a territorial unit from 1135 embraced the entire Vexin; the appearance of six archdeacons in the diocese as early as 1143 might suggest that the six thirteenth-century archdeaconries (which distinguished the Norman and

[42] *PL*, cxlvii, cols. 267–70, discussed in Lemarignier 1937, 158–60; Bates 1982, 214; Spear 1995, 88.

[43] Lemarignier 1945, 47–55, although elsewhere (1937, 215) he notes that lay appropriation of archidiaconal rights was not unknown in the heart of Normandy in the early twelfth century (cf. Arnoux 2000, 57–8). For the archbishop's primary fidelity, see *Actes de Philippe Ier*, no. CXXVII: 'si vero est de archiepiscopatu, de comite Normannorum teneat, *cujus est archiepiscopus*' (my italics).

[44] Orderic, ii, 152.

[45] *Actes de Philippe Ier*, no. CXXVII: 'totum illud quod pertinet ad archidiaconatum de Vilcassino, sive in castello Ponte Isarę sive extra'.

[46] *CN*, nos. 531–2, 535 (*Layettes*, iii, no. 4167); Lemarignier 1945, 54. Cf. ADVO, G 422: act of 'L. vicarius Rothom' archiepiscopi in Pont' et in Uulcassino Francie' (1263). Between 1248 and 1306 an 'archdeaconry of Pontoise' was inserted into the text of the *pouillé* of 1236 × 44 (*RHF*, xxiii, 305–16).

French Vexins) were already in place, but only late in the reign of Philip Augustus is there good evidence that the Vexin had been divided into its Norman and French constituent parts.[47] A letter of Archbishop Robert Poulain (1208–22) addressed to 'all the deans and priests of the Vexin' suggests that this division had not yet been effected;[48] the first archdeacon of the Norman Vexin is not recorded until 1222, and of the French Vexin only in 1230.[49] Possibly Capetian claims to the Norman Vexin from 1144 had impeded the development of separate archdeaconries. It seems that the archbishops' organisation of archdeaconries in their diocese was not intended to reduce political tensions in the Vexin, but in any case, lay usurpations before the twelfth century had already seriously compromised their authority east of the Epte, leaving archidiaconal rights in the hands of the laity or their favoured monasteries.

The minor diocesan subdivisions, the deaneries, developed at a later date than archdeaconries and served a rather different purpose, since they were primarily groupings of parishes rather than subdivisions of episcopal jurisdiction within a diocese; in central and southern France deans were often called 'archpriests', a title which amply reflects their function.[50] If in northern France the patchwork of deaneries was not complete until the mid-thirteenth century, it may well have evolved more rapidly in districts along the Norman frontier than elsewhere in the province of Rouen, in a comparable fashion to the archdeaconries; by 1195, parts of the diocese of Chartres bordering Normandy were divided into the deaneries of Dreux, Perche, Brezolles and Epernon, the last two approximating respectively to the *mouvances* of the lords of Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais and Montfort-l'Amaury.[51] A dean of Bellême was actively asserting control over ecclesiastical justice as early as the time of Bishop Serlo of Sées (1092–1118).[52] A dean of Aumale appears in 1130 and his office was

[47] Spear 1984, 24, 33 and n.151.

[48] AN, s 5153: Robert writes to 'omnibus decanis, presbiteris, et aliis filiis suis universis per Vic-cassinum (*sic*) constitutis' to state that he has taken the alms of Matilda de Chaumont for the Hospitallers under his protection.

[49] *Fasti (Rouen)*, 58–9, and *Layettes*, i, no. 1573. For the two archdeaconries in the *pouillé* of 1236 × 44, see *RHF*, xxiii, 305–28.

[50] A. H. Thompson (1943), 170–6, showing the latitude of meaning of *archipresbiter*; Lemarignier 1962, 185–7. The term 'rural deans' is also used to distinguish them from the deans of cathedral chapters and collegiate churches; the thirteenth-century term for all territorial deans, urban and rural, was *decanus Christianitatis*.

[51] *PL*, ccxiv, cols. 40–1, no. xlv. However, this act demonstrates that the archdeaconry of Pinserais was not yet divided into the deaneries of Poissy and Mantes, a division which dates from after 1350 (*Pouillés de Sens*, xx, 118–22, 136–7, 156–64, 214–16). Cf. ADEL, h 419, an act of the 'official of the archdeacon of Dreux in the deanery of Brezolles' (1275). Peter of Blois the elder had been archdeacon of Dreux (Southern 1995–2001, ii, 179–81).

[52] *Ctl. Perche*, no. 18 (1092 × 1100?): John, dean of Bellême, and William, prior of St-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême, dispute rights of decanal justice over adultery and other offences.

clearly well established there before the end of the century,[53] as was the office of dean at Drincourt.[54] The seepage of influences along the southern frontier from the duchy's neighbours can be seen in the reference to an 'archpriest' of Evreux in the foundation charter of Estrée, which was issued by Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres and papal legate, and presumably reflects terminology then current in his own diocese.[55]

The ecclesiastical history of the Norman border with Maine is exceptional and requires separate consideration, since until 1230 there were 'archpriests' in the diocese of Le Mans who were equivalent to archdeacons elsewhere. In that year, Bishop Maurice transformed the archpresbyteries into archdeaconries, and the terms of his act indicate that the archpresbytery of the Passais had previously comprised not only the northern, 'Norman' fringes of the diocese around Domfront, La Ferté-Macé and La Roche-Mabile, but also the districts of Evron, Sillé and Javron in the heart of Maine.[56] The archpresbytery of the Passais cannot therefore have been organised as a response to the political conditions of the Norman frontier.

However, within the archpresbytery of the Passais the deaneries of Passais and La Roche-Mabile correspond closely to regions brought under Norman rule at various points before 1204. The deanery of La Roche-Mabile comprised a long line of parishes extending from west of La Ferté-Macé to Saint-Pierre-des-Nids (see Maps III and IV). Sandwiched between the deanery of Javron and the diocese of Sées, this narrow crescent of territory may represent the eastern end of William the Conqueror's encroachments upon the diocese of Le Mans. The deanery had probably formed before 1135, since in that year the advances of Geoffrey of Anjou into Normandy brought the whole diocese of Le Mans under a single ruler once more.[57] In the neighbouring deanery of the Passais the

[53] Spear 1983, 99; ADSM, 1 H 65: act of William abbot of Aumale (*c.*1162 × *c.*1189), witnessed by Richard, dean of Aumale, perhaps the Richard de Rothois who was dean of Aumale in *c.*1190 × *c.*1204 (ADSM, 1 H 23) and in 1202 (Bauduin 2000, 157–8).

[54] ADSM, 8 H 108, act of Countess Isabella, widow of Earl Gilbert of Pembroke, concerning Varimpré (*c.*1175–80): witnesses include Robert du Neubourg, dean of Rouen, and Renaud, dean of *Castellum*, i.e. Neufchâtel-en-Bray (Drincourt). ADOI, H 4850 ('Ch. Lannoy', CCII), act of Geoffrey de Beaussault concerning La Montagne: witnesses include Geoffrey, dean of Drincourt (1188–90).

[55] Le Prévost (1862–9, ii, 429–31), traditionally dated 1144. For archpriests at Chartres, see A. H. Thompson 1943, 173–5.

[56] A. H. Thompson 1943, 173–4; *Ctl. du Mans*, no. CCXXXII; *Pouillés de Tours*, xxx–xxxi, 56; cf. 77–82, which shows that in *c.*1330 the archdeaconry of Passais comprised the deaneries of Passais, La Roche-Mabile, Javron and Sillé. Maurice's act refers merely to the 'territory of Passais', omitting the word *archipresbiteratus*, but an archpriest of the Passais appears in 1222 (AN, L 972, no. 690).

[57] *Pouillés de Tours*, 78 (*c.*1330); Louise (1992, i, 311–17), whose statement that Nids remained in Maine after 1055 (rather than being absorbed into Normandy) seems confirmed by *RN*, 41, where a letter concerning Nids is annotated *And*' ('Anjou', of which Maine now effectively formed part in many respects).

fluctuations in ducal power hindered the alignment of ecclesiastical and secular boundaries: in particular the castles of Gorron and Ambrières, both of which later lay in the deanery, passed back and forth between the rulers of Normandy and the lords of Mayenne in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[58] Since there was a dean of the Passais by 1160,[59] it is likely that the bishops of Le Mans had formed this unit at a time of ducal strength, most probably between *c.*1120 and 1135. Bishop Hugh (1136–44) wrote a letter addressed to the 'deans and priests' of several localities further west along the borders of Normandy and Maine,[60] and Bishop Maurice's act of 1230 shows that the deaneries were well established across the diocese by the time of his episcopate; nevertheless, only in the second third of the thirteenth century do rural deans start to appear as the main agents of ecclesiastical authority in the Passais.[61] Here and elsewhere along the Norman frontier, the establishment of enduring diocesan subdivisions may well not have reached fruition until many years after the end of Angevin Normandy, and secular frontier politics were just one of many influences upon their eventual demarcation.

The impact of the frontier upon ecclesiastical authority

Where the political and ecclesiastical borders diverged significantly, tensions continued until the end of ducal Normandy. In 1198–9 the monks of Chaumont in the French Vexin, a dependency of Saint-Denis, refused to render the services which their ancient predecessors, the canons of Chaumont, had owed to the archbishop of Rouen. They then found

[58] *Pouillés de Tours*, 77–8; Power 1995, 187–8. Louise 1992, i, 165, 303–4, 312–13. Louise recognised the fluctuations of political control in the Passais, but also asserted that the boundary between Normandy and Maine was definitively fixed in 1054, dividing a much more ancient *condita* that corresponded to the later deanery of the Passais. There is no *a priori* evidence for the boundary's demarcation at so early a date, nor for the organisation of the *condita* as a deanery.

[59] For Herbert, dean of Passais, as a witness of three acts of William, bishop of Le Mans, see AN, L 970, nos. 457 (concerning Fougerolles, ar. Mayenne, cant. Landivy, 1160), 495 (probably concerning Le Haut Fresnay, cant. Domfront, cne. Ceaucé, given at Lonlay, 1155 × 86) (*Actes des Evêques du Mans*, nos. 99, 269); *Ctl. Manceau*, i, 35–7 (1152 × 61, also witnessed by deans of Laval, Bazoches and Evron).

[60] BMF, ms. 23, pp. 536–7. Hugh's letter concerned sacerdotal rights in the parishes of La Dorée, Les Désertines and Fougerolles over the men of the nearby abbey of Savigny. Deans were certainly active elsewhere in the diocese before 1200: e.g. *Ctl. Perseigne*, no. CCCLXIII (Mamers, 1191); *Ctl. Evêché du Mans*, i, no. 102 (Javron, 1197).

[61] E.g. AN, L 969, nos. 362–3 (acts of Stephen, dean of Passais, concerning Domfront, 1237–8); no. 397 (writ of Geoffrey, bishop of Le Mans, to the dean of Passais (1235), concerning disputes of Savigny in the deaneries of Laval, Javron, Ernée and Passais) (*Actes des Evêques du Mans*, no. 610). His letter echoes a complaint of Bishop Hamelin (1190–1214) to the deans of Mayenne, Laval, Passais and Ernée against the seneschals of Mayenne and Gorron, on Savigny's behalf (BMF, ms. 23, pp. 609–10).

excuses not to be judged at Tours by the papal judges-delegate, the archbishop of Tours and the bishops of Le Mans and Nantes, and in 1201 they secured the right to have their case heard before three judges from Paris, whom they presumably expected to be more sympathetic.[62] The archbishops of Rouen and bishops of Sées were more successful in exerting their authority in Perche, even in times of Normanno-Percheron conflict: in 1167 both prelates confirmed gifts for the priory of Vieux-Bellême, notwithstanding the war between Henry II and Rotrou III of Perche that year,[63] and Bishop Lisiard of Sées made a similar confirmation in 1194 despite the attacks of Count Geoffrey of Perche upon Normandy at the time.[64] Mortagne and Bellême remained an integral part of the diocese of Sées, and the cathedral chapter held a number of churches in the archdeaconry of Bellême.[65] However, although the canons of Sées acquired the patronage of some twenty-four churches between 1160 and 1198, none of them lay in Perche.[66] The chapter was evidently consolidating its Norman possessions much more easily than in the Perche Séois, which suggests that the political divide was far from negligible. As for the Passais, the bishops of Le Mans exercised their authority there but it may not be a coincidence that relatively few episcopal acts concern the district.[67]

In the late twelfth century the growing fluctuations in secular political control of the frontier regions had obvious ecclesiastical implications. When Louis VII had ruled the Norman Vexin in the 1140s and 1150s, he had appropriated some of the archbishop's rights at Gisors.[68] Now, in the 1190s, Philip Augustus extended his power over large parts of the diocese of Rouen, including the Norman Vexin, Arques, Eu and Aumale, and the Pays de Bray. Archbishop Walter fought tenaciously to defend his rights at Les Andelys against both Philip Augustus and Richard I, and eventually made a very profitable exchange with the kings of England;[69]

[62] *PDN*, i, 212–13; ii, 44, and nos. 117, 120.

[63] *Ctl. Perche*, nos. 227–9; the date is supplied by Froger's act alone. Cf. no. 234, a letter of Countess Matilda, wife of Count Rotrou III, to Archbishop Rotrou, notifying him of a dispute concerning this priory.

[64] BES, *Livre Rouge du Chapitre de Sées*, fols. 73v–75r: ratification by Bishop Lisiard (s.d.) of an act of William de Montgoubert (1194) and confirmation of Count Geoffrey (1194). Other episcopal acts include the confirmation by Bishop Lisiard (1188 × 1201) of La Trappe's possessions in Perche (*Ctl. Trappe*, 400, 403); confirmations for the priory of Ste-Gauburge survive from Bishops John (1122 × 43) and Lisiard (dated 1190): AN, s 2238, nos. 35, 32.

[65] Bidou 1987, 30; BES, *Livre Rouge du Chapitre de Sées*, fols. 73r, 75v.

[66] Bidou 1987, 25, 28–30. One church, Barville near Mortagne, was restored under the auspices of Count Geoffrey of Perche (1191–1202): BES, *Livre Rouge du Chapitre de Sées*, fol. 75r–v.

[67] Above, pp. 123–4 [68] Lemarignier 1945, 51–2 (cf. *RHF*, xv, 698–9).

[69] Diceto, ii, 137–62; Landon 1935, frontispiece, and *RN*, 1–3. For a reassessment of this dispute, see Power 2005.

but there is slight evidence that the archbishop also managed to defend his rights elsewhere in the Norman Vexin against encroachment.[70]

By 1200 the French king had lost most of his early gains in the diocese of Rouen apart from the Norman Vexin and possibly Aumale. Meanwhile, however, he had acquired the bishopric and regalia of Evreux, together with about a third of the diocese. It is well known that he loudly proclaimed the right of the canons of Evreux to elect their bishop – a right enjoyed, he asserted, by 'the other canons of France' – even though no episcopal vacancy existed at the time. Philip's words may have sounded rather hollow, for only six years earlier he had brutally sacked the city, destroying its cathedral and abbeys.[71] Apart from this proclamation, the French king's occupation of large tracts of the territory of the two dioceses may have had few immediate ecclesiastical consequences. The bishop of Evreux seems to have continued to exert his authority in the two-thirds of the diocese that still lay under ducal control between 1200 and 1204, even after war broke out again in 1202. In March 1203, the king of England ordered his constable at Le Neubourg – a fortress in the front line of the Franco-Angevin war that was then raging – to restore a man from near Vaudreuil to his lord, the bishop of Evreux.[72] In 1203 or 1204 the earl of Leicester was able to commit alms granted to Notre-Dame du Désert at Rugles, near Breteuil, into the hands of Bishop Luke of Evreux.[73] During 1203 King John granted Bishop Luke safe-conducts to visit those parts of his diocese that still lay under Angevin rule, and the king of England corresponded with him concerning an advowson at Le Neubourg. Another prelate from the Capetian Evrecin, the abbot of Saint-Taurin, was an advocate for the count of Meulan to restore him to John's favour.[74]

If 'Norman' bishoprics were in danger of losing some of their rights in the 'French' parts of their dioceses, French abbeys with property in

[70] ADE, H 1230: Archbishop Walter's confirmation of the possessions of Fontaine-Guérard (30 Sept. 1204) includes the grant by Guerri de Guitrancourt of the church of Doudeauville-en-Vexin (originally made between 1188 and 1204), one of the few gifts in the Norman Vexin, 'saluo jure pontificali'. This phrase is not used for other gifts confirmed in the archbishop's act and could imply that there was a particular need to defend episcopal rights in the Norman Vexin, perhaps because of the French occupation from 1193 onwards. The phrase appears in an act of Archbishop Rotrou (1165–83) concerning another locality in the Norman Vexin (*Ch. St-Germain*, ii, no. CCXXVIII: Notre-Dame des Halles, Eure, cant. Ecos, cne. Fours).

[71] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 637; Powicke 1961, 101; below, p. 423.

[72] *RN*, 81: John de Brosville (cant. Evreux).

[73] ADE, G 165, fols. 4v–5r (cf. Le Prévost 1862–9, iii, 47): Rugles, ar. Evreux, ch.-l. du cant. Luke became bishop in Feb. 1203 and the earl died in Oct. 1204, but this act is likely to date from before the truce of June 1204, for the earl had already left for England (*HGM*, ii, 12899–900; cf. *RHF*, xviii, 352).

[74] *Rot. Pat.*, 25–7, 35. In Apr. 1203 the bishop's nephew forfeited lands to which he was heir because he was in *Francia* (*RN*, 86).

Normandy such as Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Saint-Denis paid for their close association with the king of France. One of the earliest texts to refer to the tenth-century Viking settlement around Rouen shows that the new border along the Eure had sliced clean through the estates of the abbey of Saint-German-des-Prés on the left bank of the Seine; the property to the west of the Eure lost by the Parisian monks eventually passed to the Norman abbey of La Croix-Saint-Leufroy.[75] A few miles further north, the history of the 'Sandyonisian' domain at Châteauneuf-Saint-Denis or Fuscelmont (now Château-sur-Epte) serves as a barometer of Capetian power in the Epte valley. Initially fortified by William Rufus and Henry I, Château-sur-Epte formed part of the territory of the Norman Vexin ceded by Geoffrey of Anjou to Louis VII, whose eulogist named it as one of the twelve castles of the district.[76] Louis restored the fief with its castle to the monks of Saint-Denis, but they lost it when Henry II seized the Norman Vexin for himself in 1160. When Philip Augustus in turn subjugated the district in 1193, he conferred Château-sur-Epte upon the monks of Saint-Denis once more. Thereafter the castle was a bastion of French power towards the Normans until the end of the Angevin régime.[77]

Wartime confiscations were not the only ways in which the secular frontier influenced ecclesiastical affairs. By the end of the twelfth century, the popes were increasingly resorting to appointing judges-delegate in order to resolve local ecclesiastical disputes. Yet although the chosen delegates would frequently come from a neighbouring diocese, there are very few examples of clergy with dignities in *Francia* being appointed as papal judges within the duchy: the overwhelming majority of Norman cases were judged by Norman clergy.[78] Sometimes the border wars

[75] Lemarignier 1945, 11 n.5, 18.

[76] Orderic, vi, 232 (*Fuscellimontem*); *GND*, ii, 250; 'Historia Ludovici', 161–2. For the anonymous continuator of Suger's history of Louis VII, probably a monk of St-Germain-des-Prés, see Spiegel 1978, 48–52. Despite ducal works there, 'Gesta Suggerii Abbatis', 110, states that the abbot increased the value of his abbey's property at Château-sur-Epte (*Mons Fusceoli*) during the reign of Henry I.

[77] Lemarignier 1945, 52–3. The monks soon exchanged most of their rights at Château-sur-Epte with Theobald de Garlande for revenues at Mantes and in the French Vexin (*Mon. Hist.*, no. 529; *Layettes*, i, no. 458; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 551).

[78] Rare exceptions include the dispute between Savigny and the bishop and dean of Bayeux over the church of Thaon (1154–5), adjudicated by the bishops of Paris and Noyon (*PDN*, ii, 6 (no. 15); *Papsturkunden, Normandie*, nos. 76, 79, 82); and a case concerning the rights of the Parisian abbey of St-Victor over the church of Gacé (dioc. Lisieux), heard before the bishop and chanter of Paris in 1192 (AN, L 902, no. 3). However, St-Victor's adversaries were required to renounce their claims before the chapters of Rouen and Lisieux and in the royal assizes or exchequer court. For St-Victor's rights at Gacé, see also L 902, nos. 1, 3–12; *Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, no. 211.

A case from the county of Eu (*c.*1199), initially assigned to the bishop and dean of Bayeux, was judged by the abbots of Lieu-Dieu (situated on the Ponthevin bank of the River Bresle) and Foucarmont (*PDN*, ii, no. 116).

themselves may have been an obstacle: in 1196 or 1197, a period of repeated Angevin–Capetian conflict, the bishop of Amiens was commissioned to hear a case concerning the rights of the abbot of Troarn at Trun in central Normandy, but his fellow judges, the abbots of Jumièges and Foucarmont, stated that he had been unable to attend on the appointed day.[79] The general paucity of 'French' judges-delegate in Norman cases before 1204 implies that their appointment would have been unacceptable either to the Norman Church or to the Angevin rulers. Conversely, the advance of Capetian power opened up Normandy to judges-delegate from outside the duchy. In February 1204 Innocent III, wishing to resolve a dispute between the bishop and the cathedral chapter of Evreux, nominated the abbot of Perseigne in Maine, an archdeacon of Chartres and a canon of Notre-Dame de Paris as judges. As the pope may have recognised, Maine and Evreux were now in the *potestas* of the king of France and so the barrier to external judges had been removed.[80] After 1204, French clerics appear much more frequently in Norman cases, although these remained primarily the preserve of the Norman clergy.[81]

Yet even before 1204, episcopal activities frequently showed scant regard for secular divisions. Bishops sometimes confirmed alms in neighbouring dioceses, irrespective of secular political divisions. Bishop Lisiard of Sées confirmed all the gifts made to Perseigne at the funeral of Count John II of Sées (1191) although many lay in the dioceses of Le Mans or Lisieux,[82] and the bishop of Evreux intervened in a case concerning Mondétour near Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais, in the diocese of Chartres, in 1224.[83] It is probably significant that, in both instances, the aristocratic families responsible for the alms had lands on both sides of the diocesan border. Where bishops did seem to place great store by the borders of the duchy, their chief concern was sometimes the defence of ecclesiastical rather than secular jurisdictions. In about 1113 Bishop Ivo of Chartres complained to the bishop-elect of Evreux that some of Ivo's 'parishioners' had crossed the River Avre, the diocesan border, to bury excommunicated clergy at Muzy, an act which violated his episcopal authority.[84] During the Sées election dispute of 1201–3, the consecration of the archdeacon Silvester as bishop by the archbishop of Sens won

[79] *PDN*, ii, no. 112.
[80] *PDN*, ii, 54–5 (no. 256), and no. 153 (pp. 279–82). The case was to be heard at Chartres, probably in spring 1205.
[81] See *PDN*, ii, 55–79, for a useful summary.
[82] *Ctl. Perseigne*, no. CCCXIII.
[83] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, nos. 222, 224 (Donjon family).
[84] *PL*, clxii, cols. 227–8, no. CCXXIII: letter of Ivo of Chartres (1091–1116) to Audoin of Evreux (1113–39), then still bishop-elect.

round the offended archbishop of Rouen from studied neutrality to the cause of the king of England.[85]

CHURCHMEN AS FRONTIER LORDS

In addition to their strictly ecclesiastical authority, the bishops often played a leading role in the frontier districts as landowners and magnates. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the lords of Bellême had periodically controlled the bishoprics of Sées and Le Mans, so that the bishops acted as virtual power-brokers in the region; indeed, the failure of the counts of Maine to secure a lasting dominance over the bishopric of Le Mans chronically weakened comital power and opened the county to external interference.[86] In eleventh-century Normandy bishops were often leading magnates.[87] Some of the most distinguished bishops were members of the ducal kin-group itself: two who held important lordships in the marches were Archbishop Robert of Rouen, whose descendants were counts of Evreux until 1200, and Bishop Hugh of Bayeux, who as lord of Ivry rebelled against Duke Robert I in 1028.[88] Their twelfth-century successors were rarely so magnificent. If none was a member of the ducal dynasty, several belonged to the greatest families of the region, above all Rotrou, bishop of Evreux (1139–65) and archbishop of Rouen (1165–83). The son of Henry, earl of Warwick and lord of Le Neubourg, and Margaret, sister of Count Rotrou II of Perche, Rotrou was a close kinsman of the kings of Aragon and Sicily, the counts of Meulan and Perche and the earls of Leicester and Warwick, and brother of the seneschal of Normandy Robert du Neubourg. Yet in the post-Gregorian world the power of the Norman bishops had fewer solid foundations than in the days of Richard the Good or Robert the Magnificent. In England, the bishop of Durham held not only Durham Castle but also the great territory known as Saint Cuthbert's Land and the border castle of Norham; away from the Scottish border, other important English episcopal castles included Devizes and Sherborne, both fortresses of the bishop of Salisbury for a time, and the castles of the bishop of Lincoln at Newark, which dominated a vital crossing of the River Trent, and Sleaford.[89] In

[85] *Rot. Pat.*, 22; *Reg. Innocent III*, vi, no. 73.

[86] For Sées, see n. 3 above; for Le Mans, see Latouche 1910, 22–5, and Louise 1992, i, 220–45, 262–4; Keats-Rohan (1994, 13, 22–3, and 1996) plays down the significance of the lords of Bellême for the history of the bishopric of Le Mans.

[87] Douglas 1957, 102–6.

[88] *GND*, ii, 48, 52; Searle 1988, 226–8.

[89] Cf. Symeon of Durham, *Libellus*, 276 (Norham); Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, 44 (castles of the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln); *Walter of Coventry*, ii, 231 (Newark and Sleaford). See also *Rot. Pat.*, 101, 124, for the bishop of London's castle at (Bishops) Stortford.

Normandy, in contrast, there were few episcopal fortresses; at the deaths of Hugh of Bayeux and Robert of Rouen, Ivry and Evreux had passed to their lay heirs.[90]

In the Norman frontier regions the prelate who bore the closest resemblance to the bishop of Durham was the bishop of Beauvais. His little county, with at least a dozen episcopal fortifications,[91] gave him a territorial base comparable to the Land of Saint Cuthbert; the border castle of Norham found a short-lived equivalent in the castles of Formerie, a hereditary possession of the lords of Beaussault which Bishop Philip de Dreux (1175–1217) seized from its lord in 1202, and of Gerberoy, which Bishop Philip had taken over from the heirs of the two lines of *vidames* of Gerberoy some years earlier and which remained an episcopal castle throughout the thirteenth century.[92] Philip de Dreux resembled his northern English counterparts in other ways, not least in his marauding along the Norman frontier: he spent over two years in prison in Rouen and Chinon after his capture in the Beauvaisis by a Norman raiding party in 1197.[93] His uncle and predecessor, the Capetian prince Henry (1148/9–62, archbishop of Reims 1162–75), had earned a similarly grim reputation for his attacks upon the Norman frontier in the war of 1159–60.[94]

The Norman bishops appear quite feeble in comparison. Throughout the period the archbishop of Rouen was lord of Gisors,[95] but the great fortress there was the work of successive dukes of Normandy. Between the mid-eleventh and early thirteenth centuries the manor of Gisors was disputed between the dukes of Normandy and their eastern neighbours, first the counts of the Vexin and then the kings of France, as well as with the local dynasty called Gisors, all with scant regard for the claims of the church of Rouen until Henry II exchanged the rights of the archbishop and chapter for a manor in Yorkshire.[96] By 1118 there was an

[90] Bates 1973, 9–15 (William fitzOsbern, nephew of Bishop Hugh); *GND*, ii, 232 (Richard, count of Evreux, son of Archbishop Robert); for the rarity of episcopal castles in Normandy, see Yver 1955–6, 51–2.

[91] Guyotjeannin 1987, 89 (map), 158–60.

[92] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 714, above, pp. 105–6, and below, pp. 255–6, 357, 412; Guyotjeannin 1987, 141–3; Carolus-Barré (1978), 76.

[93] Howden, iv, 16, 41, 94; Diceto, ii, 152; Guyotjeannin 1987, 133–4; Gillingham 1999, 308, 319.

[94] Torigni, i, 322.

[95] *Registres*, 99–100.

[96] Archbishop Maurilius granted Gisors for life to Count Ralph of the Vexin, whose son Count Simon restored it to the church of Rouen in 1075 (*Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 229). Robert Curthose ceded it to Philip I in 1089, prompting Archbishop William to place Normandy under an interdict (*GC*, xi, instr., cols. 18–19; David 1920, 82). Recovered by William Rufus, Gisors was entrusted by Curthose to Theobald Payn de Gisors, who tried to establish his lordship there, only to lose it to Henry I (Orderic, v, 308; Suger, 8–10, 102). Its later fate is summarised by Lemarignier (1945, 44–6). For Henry II's exchange of Gisors for Kilham (Yorks.), see *EYC*, i, nos. 433–8; Kilham was confiscated for a time in 1204–5 (*Rot. Ob. Fin.*, 335).

archiepiscopal castle at Les Andelys, a manor later described as 'the sole patrimony' of the church of Rouen;[97] but it was Richard I of England who first fully exploited the military potential of the manor by erecting the lavish fortifications of Château-Gaillard, Petit-Andely, Ile-d'Andely and Boutavant. When Richard exchanged Les Andelys in 1197, Archbishop Walter gained the port of Dieppe, the manor of Louviers and extensive forests in Upper Normandy in return, but no comparable fortified site. Nor was the latent power of the archbishop's barony ever realised. The archbishop notionally enjoyed substantial feudal obligations from the knights of his diocese. When a lord from the 'French' side of the River Epte, Ralph de Boury, restored his land at Gisors to the archbishop of Rouen in 1105, the tenants of the church of Rouen (*casati Sanctę Marię*) present on the archbishop's behalf included four of the leading barons of the Norman Vexin, Otmund de Chaumont, Payn de Neaufles, William Crispin the younger and Walter Torel, together with one of the barons of the Roumois, Roger de Préaux, and 'many other men from Gisors, Neaufles, Chaumont, Vesly, Dangu and Villers'.[98] Yet the archbishop seems to have derived little benefit from his status as lord of so many of the nobles of the two Vexins. He was not even respected as a potential third party during the Angevin–Capetian struggles: in 1160, it was to the Templars and Hospitallers, not the archbishop of Rouen, that Gisors was entrusted when a royal treaty sought a neutral party to guard it.[99] Perhaps the fact that many of the local barons had established lordships upon archiepiscopal land weakened the prelate's control.[100] Only in the reign of Saint Louis did the archbishops of Rouen become lords of a significant fortress when they acquired Gaillon.[101]

The other bishops of Normandy fared no better. At Sées the strongly entrenched comital dynasty and the venerable Benedictine house of Saint-Martin each had its own *bourg*, and the bishop of Sées shared lordship of the episcopal *bourg* with the duke.[102] At Evreux there was only one *bourg* but the count and abbot of Saint-Taurin each had his own burgesses

[97] Orderic, vi, 216; Diceto, ii, 148 ('patrimonium ecclesiæ solum et unicum'). In 1144 Archbishop Hugh had freed the ships of the abbey of Bec from customs 'in portu nostro de Andelia qui uocatur Vesillun' (Vézillon, cant. Les Andelys): BN, ms. lat. 9211, no. 3.

[98] Crispin and Macary 1938, 172–3 (ADSM, G 8740): 'Cum his homines plurimi ibi affuerunt, et de Gisorz, et de Nielfa, et de Caluomonte, et de Uerlei, et de Dangut, et de Uilers.' Cf. *Actes de Philippe Ier*, no. CXXVII: witnesses on the archbishop's behalf towards Philip I included Otmund de Chaumont and Dreux fitzGalo (de Chaumont).

[99] *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CXLI (Landon 1935, 220–2).

[100] Green, 49–51; in addition, BN, ms. lat. 18369, p. 107, shows the archbishops as lords of the Torels at La Bucaille.

[101] *CN*, nos. 682, 685 (*Layettes*, iv, nos. 4744, 4782; *GC*, xi, instr., col. 36–7): acts dated 1262.

[102] Neveux 1995a, 151–9; Haskins 1918, 300–2; *RRAN*, ii, no. 1698. For the Norman episcopal cities in general, see Musset 1995, 64–5.

in addition to the bishop.[103] Like the archbishops of Rouen, the bishops of Evreux were lords of strategically located estates, notably Illiers-l'Evêque, Muzy and, above all, Verneuil; but at all these places either the duke or local aristocracy erected the fortresses there.[104] The fourth diocese on the frontier, Avranches, contained no episcopal fortress either. The bishops of central Normandy were little stronger. Around Lisieux the bishop carefully nurtured his *banleuca*, within which he controlled high justice, all military service and the levying of *fouage*, but apart from the city itself he had no significant fortress.[105] As at Sées, the bishop of Coutances held half his episcopal city, at least from the reign of William the Conqueror; the other half pertained mostly to the duke, but sometimes to the count of Mortain.[106] In theory the bishop of Bayeux exercised a powerful lordship in central Normandy; but the dukes controlled a great part of the city of Bayeux, where there was a ducal mint in 1091, and the fact that many of the bishop's fiefs were held by great nobles such as the earl of Gloucester seriously compromised the bishop's power. By the mid-twelfth century the services owed to the bishop appear insignificant except at a local level or for fiscal purposes, and the episcopal castle of Neuilly-l'Evêque was a relatively modest structure.[107] Only the bishops of Coutances had a powerful fortress, at Saint-Lô.[108] The one time when the Norman bishops did appear as important military leaders was the reign of King Stephen, whose cause they defended robustly: Bishop Algar of Coutances fortified Saint-Lô against the count of Anjou in 1142,[109] while Bishop John of Lisieux held out in his episcopal city against the count 'for quite a long time'.[110]

Amongst the bishops of north-west France, few of whom possessed strong castles in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the military strength of the bishop of Beauvais was far more exceptional than the concurrent weakness of the Norman episcopate. Not far south of the duchy, for instance, the bishop of Chartres was the lord of Marchéville

[103] *Registres*, 67–8.

[104] ADE, G 6, p. 17, no. 10 (*CDF*, no. 309) (Illiers), and H 319, fol. 73v, no. 161 (Muzy); *RRAN*, ii, no. 1700 (ed. p. 373, no. CCLII) (Verneuil).

[105] *Rot. Chart.*, 19; *Registres*, 267, 481–2 (*banleuca*), 557 (*fouage*). For the temporalities of the bishop of Lisieux, see Schriber 1990, 27–31; Musset 1995, 64–5.

[106] *RADN*, no. 214; Musset 1995, 64. For the counts of Mortain at Coutances, see Torigni, i, 305 and n.10; for Henry I's *turris* there, *ibid.*, i, 197.

[107] Gleason 1936, 71–7; for the mint, see Haskins 1918, 283.

[108] *RADN*, no. 214. The impressive extant walls of St-Lô date mainly from the later Middle Ages. Yver (1955–56, 51) also mentions an episcopal fortress at La Motte-l'Evêque.

[109] *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 228, which also depicts the bishop as lord of Coutances.

[110] Torigni, i, 224 ('reddidit ei civitatem, quam aliquandiu contra eum tenuerat'); Orderic, vi, 550; Crouch 2000, 192.

near Courville, but the castle there belonged to the count of Perche.[111] In one important respect the Norman prelates were actually stronger than some of their fellow bishops, for they had not relinquished secular powers to lay advocates, despite the proximity of *vidames* in the neighbouring dioceses of Beauvais, Amiens and Dol.[112] The bishop of Amiens was lord of the county of Amiens and the abbot of Saint-Denis claimed lordship over the French Vexin; yet like the archbishops of Rouen these prelates appear curiously powerless in the politics of the Norman frontier, condemned to have rights in many of the most strategic sites of the borderlands but little effective power.[113] In the late twelfth century only the bishops of Beauvais were successful in reasserting their authority over the knights of their episcopal county.[114]

It would be wrong, however, to depict the bishops on either side of the Norman frontier as mere ciphers. Their judicial authority was strong and respected, for the proportion of extant episcopal charters to royal acts suggests that they were far more likely to confirm individual grants in alms than the kings of France or England. In Normandy there is little sign of conflict between ducal and ecclesiastical justice.[115] An act of Gilbert de Vascœuil, for instance, reported that a widow in his fief who had claimed dower in alms in the Andelle valley, which her husband had given to the abbey of Saint-Pierre des Préaux, had taken her case to both the archiepiscopal court and the *curia regis*; together the two courts engineered a suitable exchange for land of equivalent value in Gilbert's fief.[116] In the neighbouring provinces ecclesiastical justice was, if anything, more secure. The bishops of northern France may have been ineffective magnates but they were far from inept as pastors and judges.

[111] *Layettes*, i, no. 1008 (act of Count Thomas of Perche, with the consent of his lord, Bishop Renaud of Chartres, 1211). Thompson (2002, 122, 154–5) identifies *Marchesiivilla* as Marchainville (Orne, cant. Longny-au-Perche), but Marchéville (Eure-et-Loir, cant. Illiers-Combray) is preferred here because Marchainville was held from the abbey of St-Evroul (ADOR, H 708, act of Stephen de Sancerre, 1237). Cf. *Ctl. N.-D. Chartres*, ii, no. CLIX, concerning the acquisitions of Count Geoffrey and Countess Matilda at *Marchesvilla*, which the editors (iii, 277) identify as Marchéville.

[112] Beauvais (*vidames* of Gerberoy): see Guyotjeannin (1987, 109–13), who, however, questions (110–111) the extent to which they were true *vidames*. Amiens (*vidames* of Picquigny): see Darsy 1860. Dol (lords of Combour, the '*signiferi* of Saint Samson'): see Allenou 1917, esp. 39–41, 47–51; Keats-Rohan 1991, 164.

[113] Amiens: *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 139: the counts of Amiens owed homage to the city's bishops. St-Denis: Suger, 220; Green 1984, 48; Grant 1998, 112–17. St-Denis derived much prestige from its lordship over the Vexin, especially once the abbey's standard of the Vexin, proudly borne by Louis VI in his campaign against Emperor Henry V in 1124, came to be identified with Charlemagne's Oriflamme (in or shortly after Suger's abbacy).

[114] For Beauvais, see Guyotjeannin 1987, 136–69.

[115] Cf. *PDN*, i, 128–9.

[116] ADE, H 711, fols. 50v–51r, no. 112 (widow of Robert Bordet of Ry).

THE CHURCH, THE DUKES OF NORMANDY AND THE KINGS OF FRANCE[117]

Episcopal appointments: elections and personnel

While the ecclesiastical structures and institutions can cast a great deal of light upon the nature of the Norman frontier, its impact upon the Church can ultimately be understood only if we consider the relations between its leaders and the rulers of northern France. The touchstones of secular–ecclesiastical relations were episcopal elections. The dukes of Normandy had traditionally kept a tight rein upon the choice of bishops made by cathedral chapters; but in the power vacuum that developed during the war between Stephen of Blois and Geoffrey of Anjou, the Norman chapters secured a greater measure of freedom of election, demonstrated in the promotion of Arnulf, nephew of the previous incumbent, at Lisieux (1141) and of a local candidate, Richard de Subligny, at Avranches (1143).[118] Geoffrey's displeasure at the chapters' temporary emancipation is apparent in his horrific treatment of Gerard of Sées, elected without ducal consent in 1144.[119] Thereafter, no cathedral chapter appears to have secured the promotion of its own candidate in the face of concerted ducal opposition until the election of Silvester of Sées in 1203; and even though Angevin power in northern France was crumbling in the face of the Capetian conquest, the canons of Sées still needed active papal support to secure their choice. More typical was Henry II's imposition of Walter de Coutances in 1184 upon the reluctant chapter of Rouen, where twenty years later Henry's request for the acceptance of his candidate was remembered as characteristically overbearing.[120] The dukes' domineering behaviour also extended to abbatial elections, for instance at Mont-Saint-Michel in 1149 and again in the disputed election there of 1151–3.[121]

Yet ducal rights over episcopal elections appear to have been just as strong in the four dioceses that skirted or straddled the Norman frontier as in the three sees that lay wholly within central Normandy. The metropolitan status of Rouen is sufficient to account for ducal influence over the

[117] For a more extensive discussion of these themes, see Power 2005.

[118] Chibnall 1991, 139–40; Crouch 2000, 199; Bouet and Dosdat 1995, 23–4 (Richard de Subligny), 32–3 (Arnulf). Richard de Bohon, elected bishop of Coutances in 1151, also had strong local connections (Spear 1998, 214), but most bishops of that see were local men (I am grateful to Jörg Peltzer for this point).

[119] Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, viii, 160, 301, 309, accuses the duke's followers of castrating the bishop; *Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, xxxiv and no. 3, and Diceto, i, 256, furnish less explicit accounts.

[120] *Registres*, 62–3.

[121] 'De abbatibus Montis Sancti Michaelis', 351–2; Torigni, ii, 234; Yver 1963–4, 246–7, 280–3; Dufief 1966, 99–102; Keats-Rohan 1999.

selection of its archbishops. Richard I's promotion of William *Tolomeus* to Avranches (1198) was the only example of difficulty there, although William's two predecessors, William Borel (1182 × 83 – 1191 × 94) and William de Chemillé (1196–8), had both been Angevin *curiales*, and Henry II had also promoted Achard (1161–71), in compensation for the king's refusal to allow him to become bishop of Sées as that chapter desired.[122] Nor is there evidence that elections provoked difficulties between chapter and duke at Evreux, even though the bishopric was well placed to exploit its proximity to the frontier with France. The power of the counts of Evreux in the city had once been a source of great concern to the bishops: Bishop Audoin (1113–39) had vehemently opposed the succession of Amaury de Montfort to the county in 1118,[123] but a *rapprochement* had evidently been effected by 1181, when Amaury's son Count Simon was buried in Evreux Cathedral. Yet despite the presence of an alternative source of lay power to the duke – one, moreover, that enjoyed considerable resources in the Ile-de-France – the chapter does not appear to have aspired to greater independence from the rulers of Normandy, electing *curiales* of Henry II in 1170 (Giles) and 1181 (John fitzLuke). It may be that the captivity of Richard I gave the chapter of Evreux more freedom when it chose Guérin de Cierrey (1193), the brother of a local knight, even though Philip Augustus' privilege for the chapter in 1200 implied that elections at Evreux had not been free until then; but Guérin nevertheless proved to be a loyal servant of Richard I.[124] The course of elections in most other Norman sees follows a similar pattern. The Angevin kings of England certainly secured the election of loyal servants at Bayeux (Henry de Beaumont, 1165) and Lisieux (Ralph de Varneville, 1182, and Jordan du Hommet, 1201[125]), but some of these candidates had strong local associations and several others, notably William de Rupierre at Lisieux (1191 × 3) and most of the bishops of Coutances, seem to have been primarily local men rather than royal nominees.

The one Norman bishopric where conflict between the dukes and the canons was near-endemic was Sées. The elections of Bishops Froger (1159) and Lisiard (1188), both protégés of Henry II, were apparently much resented, and in 1201–2 a majority of the canons rejected outright King John's preferred candidates, William, dean of Lisieux, and Herbert l'Abbé. Why were elections at Sées so controversial, and to what extent was this due to the bishopric's border position? The fact that a considerable portion of the diocese of Sées lay outside the duchy certainly had a role to play in the chapter's dispute with King John: when the king first

[122] Turner 1998, 524–5; Shaw 1950, 151–2; Warren 1973, 433. [123] Orderic, vi, 188, 204, 260.
[124] Gillingham 1999, 302n. [125] For the date, see Géraud 1839–40, 537–8.

attempted to impose his candidate for bishop upon the chapter of Sées, the recalcitrant prior and canons retreated to the abbey of La Trappe, which lay within their diocese but in the lands of the count of Perche.[126] However, although it is tempting to believe that the canons of Sées aspired to greater autonomy from the dukes because part of the diocese lay outside ducal rule, there is no evidence for this. In 1201 the chapter's first candidate for bishop, R. *de Merula*, may well have belonged to the Anglo-Norman family of Le Merlerault (dioc. Lisieux), whose lands abutted the Norman part of the diocese of Sées; conversely, the archdeacon of Corbonnais, whose position in Perche might have been expected to make him one of the most independent of the chapter's members during an episcopal vacancy, led the faction that was prepared to heed the wishes of King John. The reason for the obduracy of the prior and the majority of canons at Sées is made clear in the papal letter which provides our chief account of the dispute: they wanted no one but a member of the chapter as bishop because both Froger and Lisiard had been strangers to the chapter who had heedlessly dissipated its wealth; furthermore, the canons denounced the kinsmen of the dean of Lisieux as their enemies and Herbert l'Abbé as the son of their oppressor, the ducal official Ralph l'Abbé.[127] The bishopric's traditions of greater independence from the dukes before the mid-eleventh century played no part in this resentment; if any autonomy survived after the dukes wrested full control from the house of Bellême, it can hardly have survived the introduction of regular canons to the chapter in 1131, which must have broken all such links with the past.[128] We may suspect that it was this event, rather than the frontier location of much of the diocese, that imbued the chapter with greater feelings of liberty in the face of ducal imperiousness.

Ducal control over the Norman Church was therefore fairly even, and certainly did not diminish along the borders of the duchy. In fact, ducal power extended beyond the limits of the duchy to dominate elections to the Breton see of Dol-de-Bretagne. Although tiny in extent, the bishopric was politically important in view of its ancient claims to archiepiscopal status and, less certainly, to be the metropolitan see of Brittany. From the middle years of the reign of William the Conqueror, the rulers of Normandy exercised a strong influence over the see of Dol, even though they did not otherwise acquire a secure foothold in Brittany until the early 1160s.[129] The dukes of Brittany had long since lost any effective power

[126] *Reg. Innocent III*, v, no. 68 (70), p. 126.
[127] *Reg. Innocent III*, v, no. 68 (70), pp. 125–6, 127, 128. For the family of Merlerault, see Orderic, ii, 30; *RN*, 41; *Rot. Chart.*, 76; BN, ms. lat. 11055, fol. 70r, no. 134.
[128] Bidou 1987; Arnoux 2000, 39–55, 316–19, 322–5.
[129] Fougerolles 1999, 53–4, 61–5; Conklin 1995, 241–63; Everard 2000, 13–14, 69–75.

over episcopal elections at Dol, and the chief lay magnate of the diocese, the lord of Combour, had rights over the see which compare to those of *vidames* elsewhere in France. Hence when William of Normandy first intervened in the affairs of the bishopric it was on account of his alliance with the then lord of Combour, Rivallon de Dol, against Conan II of Brittany.[130] By the reign of Henry II, however, Norman influence appears to have been wielded without regard for the lords of Combour, whom Henry appears to have replaced as effective patron of Dol as early as 1161, although the only part of Brittany then in Henry's hands was the county of Nantes. In that year the archbishop of Dol resigned his archbishopric in Henry's presence at Le Mans, and the Norman canon Roger du Hommet was elected archbishop.[131] Henry's interference in the affairs of Dol formed part of a broader extension of his sway over eastern Brittany, for he also had a hand in the election of bishops of Rennes and Nantes; but at Dol he could draw upon the long traditions of Norman influence. As Judith Everard notes, the death of Roger du Hommet in 1163 was closely followed by the seizure of Combour by the constable of Normandy, Richard du Hommet, almost certainly a kinsman of Roger. As a result of this coup King Henry's courtier John de Subligny gained the custody of the lordship of Combour, and the see of Dol remained under the patronage of the ruler of Normandy until 1203.[132]

The experience of Dol was exceptional: no other episcopal elections outside Normandy incurred ducal interference for such a long period. At Le Mans, Norman interference matched Norman attempts to annex Maine between 1063 and 1120, and exploited the historic rivalry between count and bishop that had so destabilised the county since the tenth century. Even after 1120, when both Maine and the bishopric of Le Mans were securely in the hands of the count of Anjou, the see guarded its independence. At the death of Henry I of England the archbishop of Rouen attempted to rally the bishops of neighbouring provinces to the cause of King Stephen, and Bishop Hugh de Saint-Calais of Le Mans (1136–44) was driven into exile by Geoffrey of Anjou when he heeded the archbishop's call.[133] The count soon relented, however, and after he had completed his subjugation of Normandy in 1144, the bishop of Le Mans was usually a subject of the duke of Normandy, a fact which prevents us assessing any genuinely 'Norman' influence over the bishopric.

[130] Keats-Rohan 1992, 51–3; Everard 2000, 71.
[131] Torigni, i, 332–3; Everard 2000, 68, 73, who also notes the brief influence wielded by the Breton magnate Eudo de Porhoët over Dol.
[132] Shaw 1950, 148–9; Everard 2000, 67–8, 73–4.
[133] *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis*, 445–7, and Chartrou 1928, 179–80.

The localism of northern French society, so marked in aristocratic affairs,[134] also had a significant effect upon cathedral chapters. Certain clerical dynasties exerted a strong influence upon the chapters' composition and consequently upon the canons' preferred choice for bishop. The chapters of Rouen and, to a lesser extent, Evreux were dominated by men connected with the Beaumont counts of Meulan, which is why the dean of Rouen, Robert du Neubourg, must have seemed such a welcome successor to his uncle Rotrou as archbishop in the eyes of the canons: Rotrou and Robert were both leading members of the Beaumont kin-group.[135] In other chapters even much less distinguished families could wield substantial influence. Three Norman bishops, John of Lisieux (1107–41), his nephews John of Sées (1124–43) and his brother Arnulf of Lisieux (1141–81), were descended from an early-twelfth-century dean of Sées; all three had been archdeacons at Sées before their promotions. Their nephew Silvester became archdeacon of Lisieux, and another nephew, Hugh de Nonant, was first an archdeacon of Lisieux and then bishop of Coventry (1185/8–98).[136] If this group was unusual in having a role in two Norman sees, others made their careers in a single chapter through traditional nepotistic practices. The lords of Cierrey, a minor knightly lineage of the Evrecin, achieved distinction in producing three bishops of Evreux, Guérin (1193–1201), Ralph I (1221–3), a former dean of Evreux, and Ralph II (1236–44); one, possibly two of Guérin's nephews were archdeacon of Evreux at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[137]

The Sées election crisis demonstrates that a local background did not necessarily equate to a more sympathetic attitude to the chapter: Herbert l'Abbé, King John's second candidate for the see, was the son of Ralph l'Abbé, a burgess of Sées and Argentan, but the canons of Sées rejected him as the son of their despoiler, for Ralph was also a baron of the Norman Exchequer and one of King John's envoys to the chapter during the election dispute.[138] Conversely, an outsider could become a

[134] See Part II. [135] Spear 1998, 214–16, 219–20.

[136] *Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, xi–xiii; Desborough 1991, 1–3; Bouet and Dosdat 1995, 32–3, 35; Arnoux 2000, 44–5. Hugh de Nonant, son of Arnulf's sister, was brother of John and uncle of Renaud, lords of Nonant-le-Pin (ADOR, H 1599; BN, ms. lat. 11059, fol. 95v). However, Arnulf's letters reveal that his kin-group fell into increasing disarray when he antagonised his nephews for failing to promote their nephews (*Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, lvi–lviii, and nos. 132–3).

[137] *GC*, xi, cols. 581–2, 583–4; BN, ms. lat. 5464, no. 30 (*Sceaux de la Noë*, no. 25): act of Giles, archdeacon of Evreux and son of Adam de Cierrey (*c.*1204); for the family, see also no. 45 (*Sceaux de la Noë*, no. 22); ADE, III F 393, pp. 475–6, and H 683, H 1748; Spear (1998, 211), who does not note the kinship of Bishop Guérin to the archdeacon Ralph Louvel.

[138] *Reg. Innocent III*, v, no. 68 (70), pp. 127, 129; *Rot. Pat.*, 8, 9. For Ralph, see above, pp. 77–8, and for Herbert's candidature, *Rot. Pat.*, 8, 9.

bishopric's most ardent advocate, as the career of the Englishman Walter de Coutances at Rouen demonstrates. Few Anglo-Norman clerics had as sparkling a career as Archbishop Walter, but his ambition, spanning two countries and three dioceses (Rouen, Lincoln and, less successfully, Lisieux), emphasises the ease with which clerks passed between chapters, acquired prebends in more than one diocese, and enjoyed contacts derived from clerical patronage or ties of lordship or kinship. In one respect, the matter of clerical appointments, the land borders of Normandy did form an ecclesiastical 'frontier'. David Spear's study of the personnel of Norman cathedral chapters has shown how the higher clergy moved with ease between England and Normandy, clutching the coat-tails of their episcopal masters and often holding prebends on both sides of the Channel simultaneously,[139] but few of the ecclesiastical positions in Normandy were given to men from the other Angevin provinces in France.

The princes and their bishops

Episcopal elections were just one aspect of relations between the dukes and their bishops. Although the Norman episcopate remained noticeably loyal to King Stephen against Geoffrey of Anjou and the Empress Matilda, all its members eventually rallied to the Angevins. Thereafter, relations between the Norman ruler and one of the bishops occasionally broke down, but such conflicts had no clear relationship to the duchy's frontier. Although the Young King's revolt enjoyed more visible support from the border aristocracy, only the bishop of Lisieux favoured the rebels, and when Archbishop Walter of Rouen fell out with Richard I over the fortification of Les Andelys – the supreme issue of the defence of Normandy in the late 1190s – the king was supported by the bishops of Evreux and Lisieux against their metropolitan.[140] The bitterness which some historians have detected in the relations between the Angevin rulers and the higher clergy of Normandy seems exaggerated,[141] and whereas the dukes' attempts to control the borders of their duchy often pitted them against the local aristocracy, the marches appear to have had far less impact upon the relations between the ruling dynasty and the Norman episcopate.

It is difficult to generalise about the relations of the dukes of Normandy with the other bishops of north-western France. As we have seen, the

[139] Spear 1982, 1–10; 1998, 214–16, 219–21.
[140] *Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, l–lix; Teske 1989, 185–206; Gillingham 1999, 344.
[141] Power 2002, 78–81; Power 2005. For the contrary view, see especially Packard 1922; also Baldwin 1969.

hostility of the two Capetian bishops of Beauvais to the dukes was notorious,[142] but there is no evidence that ducal relations with the other bishops of Beauvais were so acrimonious. No traces survive for significant ties between the twelfth-century dukes and the bishops of Amiens. At Chartres, Bishop Geoffrey de Lèves (1116–49) and his nephew and successor Goslin (1149–55) were related to families in south-eastern Normandy,[143] while two of their successors, William (1164–76; archbishop of Sens 1170–6, archbishop of Reims 1176–1202) and Renaud (1182–1217) belonged to the great kin-group of the counts of Blois-Champagne and were therefore closely related to the dukes of Normandy themselves.[144] The relations between the houses of Blois and Anjou were, of course, often tempestuous. Another bishop of Chartres, John of Salisbury (1176–80), was one of the most distinguished churchmen from the Anglo-Norman realm in his day, although his relationship with the Angevin court was a turbulent one.

The diocese of Le Mans embraced by far the longest stretch of the Norman frontier of any one diocese and, as we have seen, it included the important, contested district of the Passais in southern Normandy. After a century of Norman interference, the Angevin annexation of Normandy in 1144 led to warmer relations between the see of Le Mans and the ruler of the duchy to the north. Geoffrey of Anjou was not only the first Angevin ruler of the Norman duchy but also reputedly the first person ever buried within the walls of Le Mans,[145] and in 1183 the citizens and clergy of Le Mans fought hard in a vain attempt to secure the corpse of his grandson Henry the Young King for their cathedral.[146] After 1144 the only serious rift between the ruler of Normandy and the bishop of Le Mans appears to been a consequence of the temporary split between the two provinces in 1199, when John took Normandy and Arthur made himself count of Maine for a time. In a letter to Innocent III in January 1200 King John described Hamelin of Le Mans as 'a public tormentor of our person and our realm' who was seeking to trouble him at the papal court: most probably the bishop had favoured Arthur of Brittany and now, in the moment of John's triumph over his nephew, was seeking papal redress.[147] The hostility of the king of England arose from highly exceptional circumstances, and Hamelin

[142] Above, p. 130. [143] See below, p. 270.
[144] This point is well brought out by the genealogical table in Bur 1982, 246.
[145] Torigni, i, 256.
[146] See below, p. 328.
[147] *Rot. Chart.*, 31: 'persone nostre et regni persecutor publicus'.

is said to have rallied to the king of England against Philip Augustus in 1203.[148]

Conversely, the frequently asserted notion that the Capetians worked to undermine the defences of Normandy by courting the Norman Church, and in particular that Philip Augustus studiously cultivated its friendship before 1204, seems hard to sustain.[149] Philip and his father had certainly been prepared to confirm the privileges of Norman abbeys in the French royal domain, and as Philip extended his power into Normandy he dutifully promised to respect and protect the possessions of the churches in the territories under his sway. He also honoured the fixed alms that had been established upon domains which now came into his hands, as the first Capetian accounts of 1202–3 demonstrate. Yet almost none of these alms can be treated as an indication of Capetian generosity, as some historians have sought to do, for most of them had been established by the local aristocracy for the sake of their souls and their ancestors' souls over the previous century and a half; and they were increased only modestly by Philip of France.[150] In the Evrecin, for instance, most of the alms paid by French officials in 1202–3 to local churches from the newly annexed Capetian domains at Evreux had been originally established by the counts of Evreux, and others by their cousins, the counts of Meulan.[151] The local aristocracy, not the rulers of Normandy or the kings of France, appear as the chief patrons of the Norman Church. Even if King Philip did increase some alms payments in the Evrecin after 1200, notably to the dean and canons of Evreux, he did so by only a few pounds a year at most, a grant which hardly testifies to visible Capetian largesse for the chief church of the diocese of Evreux, and was small compensation for the king's destruction of the city's cathedral and abbeys in 1194. Perhaps one royal act, a grant of seven carucates of land in the Forest of Lyons to the abbey of Mortemer-en-Lyons in 1202, was an act of unreserved generosity on the French king's part.[152]

The frontier of Normandy had significance for the Church in many other ways apart from those considered in this chapter. Letter collections and the canons of church councils reveal that many other concerns

[148] *GC*, xiv, col. 391. A letter of John to the bishop on 19 Apr. 1203 is more ambiguous (*Rot. Pat.*, 28). *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis*, 475–6, merely notes the devastation of the Angevin war of succession.

[149] For an extended discussion of this matter, see Power 2005.

[150] See in particular Baldwin 1986, 187–8.

[151] Power 2005, tables 1b, 1f, 1h, 1j, 1k, 3c, 5e, 6a, 6b (Evreux); 1n, 5d (Meulan).

[152] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 719 (Lyons-la-Forêt, Apr. × Oct. 1202). The act was presumably issued in the wake of Philip's seizure of Lyons in May, at the outset of the war which led to the conquest of Normandy.

preoccupied the higher clergy of twelfth-century northern France, such as questions of clerical immunity, morals, education and church fabric. In its ecclesiastical architecture, Normandy was 'hermetically sealed against the distinctive architectural forms of Maine and Anjou'.[153] By contrast, the frontier was of little importance for scholars going to the schools of Paris; even before 1090, we are told, clerks from southern Normandy might be sent to France for their education.[154] A great pluralist such as Peter of Blois could consider holding prebends or other offices at Chartres or Périgueux as freely as at Rouen, London or Bath.[155] Moreover, ducal control of ecclesiastical affairs did not match the territorial extent of the duchy. In the crucial matter of elections, the dukes were able to dominate the bishopric of Dol, outside their duchy, but their control of the southernmost Norman bishopric, Sées, was tottering by the early years of the thirteenth century. The divisions between the secular powers certainly impinged upon the structures of the ecclesiastical province of Rouen; but just as often the Church arranged its affairs in spite of, not as a result of, the demands of the secular world.

[153] Grant 1988, 136–7. [154] Orderic, iv, 246.
[155] *DNB*, xlv, 46–9; Southern 1995–2001, ii, 181, 188.

Chapter 4

THE CUSTOMS OF NORMANDY AND THE NORMAN FRONTIER

CUSTOMS AND FRONTIERS

One of the most marked features of Normandy in the later Middle Ages was the Coutume de Normandie, which in many ways came to embody the identity of the province after 1204.[1] In 1315, for instance, it was the provincial privileges of Normandy that Louis X confirmed in the *Charte aux Normands*.[2] Historians have often taken the customs of Normandy as an embodiment of the province's precocious distinctiveness: 'crystallised' at an early date and henceforward conservative, inward-looking and inflexible, the customs are believed to have altered little between the end of Plantagenet rule and the end of the *Ancien Régime* itself. The most prolific of all historians of Norman law, Jean Yver, characterised the customs of Normandy, along with the other systems of western France, as distinguished by their feudalisation, conservatism and preservation of lineage.[3] For Yver and other historians of Norman law, the customs were primarily a legacy of the ducal era and were infused with ducal authority.

This supposedly distinctive character of Norman customary law imbues the Norman frontier with great significance, for it implies that the borders of the duchy, especially the eastern frontier with *Francia*, represented a great legal divide. To Lemarignier the contrast between the unitary customs of Normandy and the hotchpotch of surrounding systems of law was one of the most important characteristics of the Norman frontier.[4] The customs of Normandy also have a great relevance for the Norman frontier in basic territorial terms. Historians have directly or indirectly used the codification of the Coutume de Normandie (1583) as the prime source for the location of the Norman border in the twelfth century. Conversely, and in a circular fashion, the date of the formation of Norman custom has been calculated from the history of the Norman frontiers,

[1] Contamine 1994, 223–4.

[2] *Ordonnances*, i, 551–2: Louis X promised the barons and knights of the duchy of Normandy to amend exactions 'contra patriæ solitam consuetudinem, contra jura, libertates eorum'. Cf. Contamine 1994, 224–7.

[3] Yver 1952a; 1952b, 311–30.

[4] Lemarignier 1945, 19–33.

especially the Passais and the region of Gournay during the eleventh century.[5] A study of the Norman frontier must therefore deduce the relationship between the territorial extent of ducal Normandy and of the sixteenth-century Coutume de Normandie, as well as the degree to which the political frontier represented a great legal fissure between contrasting systems of law. More than usual attention must be given to the sources and historiography of this complex and frequently vexing topic in order to establish the significance of custom for the Norman frontier.

The nature of medieval custom: terminology and historiography

It is worth considering first what 'custom' meant in the central Middle Ages. To modern eyes the term *consuetudo* and its cognates appear highly ambiguous in the post-Carolingian world. Legal and fiscal rights over people and land were not normally distinguished, and *consuetudines*, *usus*, *justicie* and *leges* could refer to monetary exactions as much as rights of justice: in the 1020s Bishop Hugh of Bayeux confirmed the gift by one of his knights to the abbey of Jumièges of some land 'free from all secular laws' (*solutam ac liberam a cunctis secularibus legibus*), while in the mid-twelfth century a gift of Simon, count of Evreux to the Grandmontine monks of Aubevoye near Gaillon was granted 'liberum et quietum ab omni usu et consuetudine'.[6] Even at the end of Angevin Normandy the distinction between 'legal' rules and other cultural norms was far from clear,[7] and a 'literary' text that discussed conflicting rights of inheritance, such as *Raoul de Cambrai*, can therefore be as informative about inheritance practices as summaries of arguments produced and recorded in courts of law.[8]

However, there can be no doubt that the nature of custom in western Europe was altering significantly during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[9] The intellectual developments of the 'twelfth-century Renaissance' made legal processes more rational, diminishing the importance of the ordeal and increasing the reliance upon juries and upon written evidence.[10] Ideas and terms drawn from Roman and canon law began to exert a deep influence over legal texts, not least the precepts of Roman

[5] See below, pp. 161–4, 188–93.

[6] *Ch. Jumièges*, no. VIII; ADSM, G 1262. For *consuetudines* as exactions, see Lemarignier 1951, 402–3; Guillot 1992.

[7] White (1988, 12–18, 54–81) is particularly incisive in this respect, and although he is primarily concerned with Anjou in the period before 1150, his comments remain pertinent for France until at least 1200.

[8] See White 1994, for concepts of fiefs in *Raoul de Cambrai*; Hyams (1983) similarly employs the *Chanson de Roland* and *Lais* of Marie de France.

[9] Gilissen 1982, 25–7, 50–4; White 1988, 72–3, 83–4, 193–5.

[10] Hudson 1994, 10; Bartlett 1986, 82–90.

law that gave greater legislative authority to the prince.[11] The absence of a strong coercive authority in much of France had not prevented French aristocratic society from regulating its affairs effectively through the habitual use of mediation and compromise;[12] but for many historians, it was during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in particular that 'custom', by which rules were devised from the practice of a community of equals, gave way to 'law', by which practice itself was governed by authoritative rules imposed by the officers of the prince, a process that James Given has described as 'the progressive transformation of legal systems from community-based dispute settlement mechanisms into tools of coercion and discipline wielded by western Europe's dominant classes'.[13]

The nature, extent and origins of these changes continue to be the source of much historical debate. Reacting against the traditional interpretation that the Angevin kings of England consciously extended the scope of royal justice in order to curb baronial power, S. F. C. Milsom has argued that they and their ministers intervened in the workings of seigneurial courts only in order to make them more efficient. Quite unintentionally, the kings thereby made seigneurial justice much more dependent upon royal courts. Fredric Cheyette identifies a similar process taking place in France in the half-century after the Capetian annexation of Normandy.[14] Yet the apparent dichotomy between oral 'custom', mediated by the local community and tending towards compromise, and authoritative, written 'law', controlled by royal judges, has been vigorously contested from several quarters, as has the timescale suggested by Milsom. Written documents and rational decisions of courts were widespread in western Europe before 1150.[15] Milsom's premise that Henry II and his English barons inhabited a time-honoured 'feudal world', which Henry sought only to make more efficient, has been convincingly challenged,[16]

[11] For the reception of Roman law in France, see Boulet-Sautel 1982. Cheyette (1969, 291, 297) credits Roman law with little importance in France in the twelfth century, although it influenced terminology; for opposing views, see Giordanengo (1989, 294–300) and Gouron (1990, 198–207) (for which, see below, n. 19). For the progress of Roman law in thirteenth-century France, see *ibid.*, 208–12, and Chénon (1926–9, i, 508–10, 523–4), who notes Capetian suspicion of a law that exalted their imperial rivals; in 1312 Philip IV proclaimed that it was used in parts of his kingdom only as custom and by permission of his predecessors. Beaumanoir, ii, §§ 1043, 1515, credits the king with substantial lawmaking powers, sometimes taken as a sign of the influence of Roman law, but Giordanengo shows that the Capetians and their great princes had long made such claims. In England, the influence of Roman law upon John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* is clear: see Kerner 1984. Cf. *Glanvill*, xxxvi–xxxviii, 2, 69, and Hyams 1982, 83 and n. 37, for that text's awareness of Roman law.

[12] Geary 1986; White 1978 and 1986.

[13] Given 1990, 88.

[14] Milsom 1976, e.g. 186; Cheyette 1969, 288–90; the parallel between twelfth-century England and thirteenth-century France is noted by Hyams (1982, 79).

[15] Davies and Fouracre 1986, especially 235–6.

[16] Brand 1992, 77–102, 203–25; White 1987; Tabuteau 1988, 2.

while the development of a wider English legal system in which royal power enforced a common form of justice was already well under way in England in the reign of Henry I.[17] Compromise remained the main way of achieving lasting resolutions to disputes, and the advice of 'good men' as important as court judgments, but adjudication and mediation, far from being antagonistic to one another, could often go hand in hand.[18]

What emerges from this debate is not so much an 'Angevin leap forward' under Henry II, or indeed a 'Capetian leap forward' under Saint Louis, but a general change in *mentalité* that was not restricted to a particular province but occurred in many areas of western Europe at much the same time, and which matched the widespread 'bureaucratisation' of rulership noted earlier.[19] This change also appears to have been more limited than many historians would maintain. 'Legislation' concerning the indivisibility of fiefs in Normandy (pre-1200) and Brittany (1185) or the division of fiefs in France (1209) demonstrates the interest of princes in the inheritance practices of their subjects;[20] yet the primacy of custom over royal authority continued to be recognised in France long after the victories of Philip Augustus had established the supremacy of the Capetian court in the northern half of the realm. In the mid-thirteenth century, the Norman *Grand Coutumier* distinguished between *consuetudines*, *leges* and *usus*, but despite generally favouring the claims of ducal authority in the legal affairs of the duchy, the custumal stated that the last two categories were primarily means of ensuring the smooth working of custom.[21] A

[17] Hudson 1994, 253–81.

[18] Davies and Fouracre 1986, 235–6. Cf. ADE, H 711, fols. 50v–51r, an act of Gilbert de Vascœuil reporting a dispute between the abbey of St-Pierre des Préaux and the widow of Robert Bordet of Ry, heard in both the archbishop's court and the *curia regis*, and resolved by an exchange made 'iudicio utriusque curie et consilio bonorum uirorum' (*c.*1170 × 1193?).

[19] See chapter 1. For this shift in mentalities see White 1988, especially 72–3, 83–5. Gouron (1990, 198–207) argues that most customs, far from being hallowed by centuries of observance, emerged in a remarkably short space of time, at the same time as customary law became territorialised in the late twelfth century, and attributes this shift to the stimulus of Roman law. Thus custom was not antipathetic to written law, but a product of the mentality that written law cultivated. The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that a slightly earlier timescale is appropriate for Normandy, as Gouron recognises; consequently, Roman law must be much less influential than factors peculiar to Normandy (see below, pp. 151–4).

[20] *TAC*, i, 1, 9 (c. VIII, § 4), and i, II, 7 (c. VIII, § 4), refer to a *constitutio* or *establissement* concerning indivisibility in Normandy. For the Breton 'Assize of Count Geoffrey', see Planiol 1887, 132–44, and Everard 2000, 111–15, 182–203: the latter refutes the traditional view that Geoffrey was replacing Breton custom with Anglo-Norman rules of primogeniture. For the ordinance of 1209, see Petot 1955, 371–80 (cf. Ourliac 1982, 471–7); Baldwin 1986, 262–3. Beaumanoir, i, § 445, alleged that the 'general custom' for dower 'par tout le roiaume de France' (excepting certain unnamed baronies) dated from an *establissement* of Philip II (*c.*1214).

[21] *Grand Coutumier*, 34–6, c. X:

'1. Consuetudines vero sunt mores ab antiquitate habitii (*sic*), a principibus approbati et a populo conservati, quid, cujus sit, vel ad quem pertineat limitantes.

generation later the Picard legist and *bailli* Philippe de Beaumanoir distinguished between *coustume* which had to be observed and *usages* which could be disputed.[22] In Beaumanoir's own *pays* the bishops of Beauvais struggled to enforce the royal ordinance of 1209 concerning partition of fiefs in the face of the attachment of the local aristocracy to its traditional practices, and in other regions of Capetian France the ordinance was ignored altogether.[23] Decades after the establishment of Capetian hegemony within the kingdom of France the primacy of regional or local custom over royal law was still not to be gainsaid.

The sources for medieval French custom

The sources for medieval customary law present significant difficulties of interpretation. By its nature, true custom cannot be set down in writing,[24] since to do so imbues it with an authority that deprives it of its customary nature. If, however, we accept that the late twelfth century was a period of transition towards a more formalised legal culture, then a number of sources become available to the historian. While charters are primarily informative for the customs of tenure in alms,[25] some of these deeds also record lay *placita* or *conventiones*. Narrative sources, too, sometimes record specific customs. All these sources are descriptive rather than prescriptive, describing custom in action rather than in theory.[26] It is also important to heed Stephen White's warning that individual family arrangements did

2. Leges autem sunt institutiones a principibus facte et a populo in provincia conservate per quas contentiones singule deciduntur; sunt enim leges quasi instrumenta in jure ad contentionum declarationem veritatis.

3. Usus autem circa leges attenduntur; sunt enim usus modi quibus legibus uti debemus.'

There then follows a specific instance of a custom, a law, and uses, using widow's dower as a case-study. Strayer (1932, 12–13) argues that the French kings abided by this restricted definition of their powers to legislate; Gilissen (1982, 31) notes that the *Grand Coutumier*'s reference to the approval of princes was unusual, but even such a partisan show of support for princely power did not override the author's concept of the superiority of custom.

[22] Beaumanoir, i, 347, § 684; cf. Chénon 1926–9, i, 490–2.

[23] Petot 1955, 376–9, noting in particular *Olim*, i, 424, a case concerning the partibility of fiefs that pitted the *statutum regale* of 1209 against the *usus et consuetudines patrie* in the county-bishopric of Beauvais (1254).

[24] Cf. Chénon (1926–9, i, 492), quoting the *Formulaire* of Guillaume de Paris: 'Que enim in scriptis redacta est notatur lex sive constitutio; qui autem in scriptis redacta non est retinet nomen suum consuetudo.'

[25] Cf. Hyams 1991, 176.

[26] For this distinction, see Davies and Fouracre 1986, 1–4. It cannot always be maintained rigidly, however: one rich Norman source is in the notes of judgments made in the Norman exchequer court between 1207 and 1243, in which the first compilation recorded individual cases in detail – an archetypal descriptive record – whereas the second merely noted the general principles by which each decision was made, as if they were to be used in the future in a much more prescriptive fashion. See Viollet 1906, 175–82.

not necessarily follow generally accepted rules;[27] if a widow received a third of her husband's inheritance as her dower, it cannot be assumed that the widow's third was the custom for the whole region or period unless it was expressly stated that this rule existed and was being followed; even then, the text may have had good reason to claim that this was a general rule when in fact it was nothing of the sort.

However, in most of the vast historiography of French custom these sources have taken second place to a very different form of evidence, the commentaries upon the provincial customs of the *pays de droit coutumier* known as custumals. The text known as *Glanvill*, which dates from the late 1180s, has been described as the first custumal in this tradition, even though it related to the laws and customs of England;[28] the earliest text from France is the first part of the Norman *Très Ancien Coutumier* (*c.*1200), compiled just as ducal authority was being vigorously challenged by the French king. A later, more comprehensive Norman text, the mid-thirteenth-century *Summa de Legibus in Curia Laicali* or *Grand Coutumier*, even acquired semi-official status: in 1302, Philip IV stated that he had ordered the consultation of the 'book or register of the customs or statutes of Normandy';[29] and in 1315, the *Charte aux Normands* decreed that *fouage* would be levied according to the 'register of the custom of Normandy'.[30] The *Grand Coutumier* was used as a source for legal practice in the Channel Islands as well, even though the islands and mainland Normandy were no longer ruled by the same dynasty.[31] Other custumals included the text for Touraine and Anjou (1246×70) which was embodied in the so-called *Etablissements de Saint Louis*, the Orléanais *Livre de Jostice et Plet* (1255×60) and Philippe de Beaumanoir's lavish commentary upon the customs of the county of Clermont-en-Beauvaisis (1283). Nevertheless, this genre of treatise cannot be taken as gospel for the custom across the whole of a province. Although the *Très Ancien Coutumier* is largely couched in imperative terms, much of *Glanvill* and the *Grand Coutumier* is phrased in the far from prescriptive future tense,[32] while

[27] White 1988, 13, 71.

[28] Yver 1961, 329; cf. Hyams 1982, 81, and also 78, 82, where he classes the *Leges Henrici Primi* and other earlier works on the laws of England with an older 'Carolingian' genre of lawcode, based on written and Latin rather than oral and vernacular sources.

[29] Viollet 1906, 70–2: 'librum seu registrum dictorum consuetudinum seu statutorum Normannie videri fecimus'; Chénon 1926–9, i, 495. The king's act shows that the consulted register was written in French, rather than the more familiar Latin version of the *Grand Coutumier*.

[30] *Ordonnances*, i, 551: 'Item. Quod Foagium non faciemus levari, nisi quatenus in registro consuetudinis Normaniæ continetur, usu contrario non obstante.'

[31] *Grand Coutumier*, ccxvii–ccxxvii; Le Patourel 1941, 292–300, especially 293, noting that Norman law continued to develop organically in the Channel Islands after 1204.

[32] *TAC*, i, 1, e.g. 22, c. xxii, § 1 ('Nullus ausus sit'); 37–8, c. xliv, § 2 ('non sit aliquis hominum ausus, nec debet placita tenere in curia sua'). But cf. p. 23, c. xxiii, § 2 ('Mos est in Normannia'), and c. xxiv, § 1 ('Oportet quod'). See Yver 1971a, 344–6. *Glanvill*: see the clauses collected by

the editor of the *Grand Coutumier* believed that this custumal was fully applied only in the Cotentin and Avranchin, in spite of its claim to speak for all Normandy.[33] These texts are also highly partisan. In justifying the Norman custom of seigneurial wardship, the *Très Ancien Coutumier* passed in silence over the revenues that accrued to a lord during the minorities of his wards.[34] *Glanvill*, the *Très Ancien Coutumier* and the *Grand Coutumier* all appear compromised in their treatment of the rival claims of representative and cadet heirs, notably the so-called *casus regis* between Count John of Mortain and Arthur of Brittany over the Angevin inheritance in 1199. The two Norman custumals bear witness to shifting opinions in Normandy over this issue in the thirteenth century; as for *Glanvill*, its putative author, Geoffrey fitzPeter, was embroiled in a similar inheritance dispute, and so the treatise may not be an unimpeachable witness in this matter for English custom.[35]

Despite the custumals' flaws as sources for French customs around 1200, they are more useful than the official redactions that were compiled across northern France in the century-and-a-half following the expulsion of the English from France in 1453, and which remain the principal sources for historians of provincial customs.[36] Quite apart from the documentary difficulties which they present for customs in earlier centuries, the redactions themselves were compiled to eradicate disputes over what the correct customary procedures should be. A proclamation of Charles VII in 1454, which initiated the process of committing the customs to writing, stated that there was considerable latitude in *usages*, *stiles et coustumes* in each province, and this situation was being exploited for financial and legal advantage: 'For it often happens that the parties cite contradictory customs in one and the same *pays*, and sometimes change and vary the customs at their whim.'[37] If we allow for such ambiguities continuing over the previous three hundred years, against a background of

Hyams (1982, 82–3 and n.29, e.g. 'Generale sit quod'). *Grand Coutumier*: e.g. 84, c. XXIV, § 15 ('Sciendum est quod').

[33] *Grand Coutumier*, ccxxxii: the custom of 1583 stated that there were no local customs in these two districts (*NCG*, iv, 1, 140); cf. Viollet 1906, 78–9; Powicke 1961, 36n.

[34] *TAC*, i, 1, 10–11 (c. XI, § 1); Viollet 1906, 56–8. The custumal's author justified seigneurial rights of wardship by alleging that minor heirs could not be safely entrusted to their relatives with reversionary interests. Cf. Orderic, vi, 92, 162–4: Henry I did not keep William Clito in his custody because, if the boy died, Henry would be blamed for his death as his uncle, and events proved that he did indeed pose a threat to his nephew.

[35] Holt 1990, 22–6; 2001, 164–8.

[36] Filhol (1971) provides a useful summary of this process.

[37] *Ordonnances*, xiv, 312–13 (Klimrath 1843, ii, 135–6, whose orthography is adopted in the following excerpt): 'Car souvent advient que les parties prétendent coustumes contraires en mesmes pays, et aucunes fois les coustumes muent et varient à leur appétit.' For a similarly damning, Norman view, in Thomas Basin's *Histoire de Louis XI*, see Contamine 1994, 220; for *stiles*, signifying 'ordinance', see Godefroy, iii, 613, s.v. 'estile'. Comparable sentiments had been expressed in England more than 300 years earlier by the author of the *Leges Henrici Primi*, 98, § 6,3a.

major social, political and economic change, then the sixteenth-century custumals become at best a sketch for Norman practices before 1204. Moreover, the very compilation of these redactions was often shrouded in controversy. An example from the Norman frontier itself suffices to demonstrate the difficulties that could arise. In 1578, as *procès-verbaux* (inquests) were being held to determine the official custom of Normandy, the duke of Guise used his influence to ensure that his county of Eu was excluded from the general custom of Normandy so that it would be directly subject to the Parlement of Paris, not Rouen. However, the villages in the Roumois which the duke held as count of Eu successfully resisted Guise's attempts to make them enclaves of the custom of Eu; their inhabitants claimed to be governed by the custom of Normandy. Similar disputes occurred throughout the *pays de droit coutumier*, illustrating the charged atmosphere in which the redactions might be compiled and warning us that they cannot always be taken at face value: important rights of jurisdiction were as much at stake in the sixteenth as in the twelfth century.[38]

Even where the geographical extent of a particular jurisdiction was not contested during the compilation of the redactions, the customary practices themselves could be disputed within that district. Although the *procès-verbaux* of 1578 did not record a separate region of marcher law in Normandy, they did admit the existence of many local customs along the southern and south-eastern frontiers, notably at Gisors, Vernon, Evreux and Nonancourt, Conches and Breteuil, Alençon and Verneuil, while others were claimed at Pacy, Domfront and Bonsmoulins by the local populace but rejected by the commissioners. These may well have been relics from an age when these castelries had lain on the fringe of an independent duchy and enjoyed a measure of autonomy from the ducal court. Local customs were claimed in central Normandy, notably in Caux and the *bailliage* of Caen, but were most common on the fringes of the duchy, particularly in the south.[39] The centre and peripheries of medieval Normandy may not have been as homogeneous in legal terms as the custumal of 1583 appears to suggest.

In general, the sources and historiography of medieval French custom present difficulties that the historian of the Norman frontier cannot ignore. The official redactions of the sixteenth century offer flawed

[38] Eu: *NCG*, iv, 1, 167–76; Klimrath 1843, ii, 214–16; Filhol 1971, 270. Other examples include Montfort-l'Amaury, Gerberoy and Domfront (below, pp. 161, 193), as well as Neauphle-le-Château near Montfort-l'Amaury (Klimrath 1843, ii, 173, and Crouch 1986, 61).

[39] *NCG*, iv, 1, 137–8; Klimrath 1843, ii, 212–16; Génestal 1927, 50 (Gisors and Alençon). For the complex customs east of Gournay, see below, pp. 188–93.

evidence at best for four hundred years earlier, and more contemporary sources are also limited; even the first Norman custumal cannot be taken at face value as a guide to the customs of all Angevin Normandy. In order to understand the significance of custom for the frontiers of Normandy, it is therefore necessary to consider more closely the evolution of the duchy's system of customs and its framework of provincial customary law.

THE CUSTOMS OF NORMANDY IN THEIR CONTEXT

The development of the customs of Normandy

The customs of Normandy had first been recognised as distinctive long before 1204. Between 1031 and 1035, Duke Robert I granted a privileged district (*leuva*) to the monks of Fécamp for their fair at Argences 'according to the custom of our country'.[40] The earliest reference to 'the custom of Normandy' occurred in 1054 or 1055 and concerned services due to the frontier abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel.[41] There is strong evidence that Normandy was regarded as having distinct customs from the mid-eleventh century onwards; although not all of these accorded with later practice in Normandy, the account of William of Poitiers of the Norman rebellion of 1053 shows that the law regarding fugitives recorded in the first part of the *Très Ancien Coutumier* (*c.*1200) was already in place in the Conqueror's day.[42] Emily Tabuteau has argued that the precocious development of recognised 'customs of Normandy' owed much to their close association with relatively strong ducal authority, at a time when many other princes of France were grappling with their castellans for control of their lands.[43] It can hardly be a coincidence that early definitions of customs by region are also found in the county of Anjou, a province that was similarly precocious in its political development to ducal Normandy, its chief rival in the mid-eleventh century.[44] It has also

[40] *RADN*, no. 85 ('juxta morem patriæ nostræ'); Tabuteau 1988, 224. *Patria* can sometimes have a very localised meaning in Normandy, but in the context of Norman customs it often means the whole duchy.

[41] *RADN*, no. 132 (Duke William II confirms an act for Mont-Saint-Michel): 'Consuetudines quoque et servicia omnia quæ de terra exeunt, secundum morem Normanniæ, ipso sancto et monachis in ipsa terra perpetualiter possidenda trado.' See Tabuteau 1988, 93, 224.

[42] Tabuteau 1988, 223–6; for the texts, see William of Poitiers, 42; *TAC*, i, 1, 32–3, c. XXXVII.

[43] Tabuteau 1988, 223–7; she lists some basic principles of Norman custom established by 1100 (227).

[44] *Ctl. St-Aubin*, i, 13–14, no. 5 ('consuetudines Andecavinas', 1040 × 54, concerning comital rights of pasture); 346–8, no. 306 ('ex antiquo esse consuetudinem in Andecavensi regione', 1047 × 60, concerning parochial rights in fortresses). Cf. Powicke 1961, 190 n.84; Guillot 1972, i, 373–4; ii, 141 (c 207), arguing that no. 306 was written long afterwards, whereas Zadora-Rio (1979, 115–16) and Avril (1992, 212–13) treat it as contemporary testimony. It is difficult to accept Guillot's argument that Geoffrey Martel definitively fixed the geographical extent of Angevin inheritance

been suggested that the Norman migrations of the eleventh century and the conquest of England fostered awareness of peculiarities in custom.[45] If Wace is to be believed, the Conquest itself had an influence upon the customary relationship between the duke and his barons, who feared that the unprecedented services that they had voluntarily provided for the invasion of England would become customary.[46] Tabuteau's close analysis of the content of Norman charters suggests that Norman custom was emerging as a coherent body of defined practices by 1100.[47]

Despite these early references, there are few allusions to so-called 'customs of Normandy' until the end of the twelfth century. Nevertheless, various sources from outside the duchy commented upon the distinctiveness of Norman practices before 1204. During a dispute over the church of Chandai near l'Aigle in about 1130, the monks of Saint-Père de Chartres recorded that, at the summons of Richer II, lord of l'Aigle, 'we and the claimant came together to plead in a secular court, according to the custom of Normandy'; no doubt a case concerning church property in Chartres would have been judged in an ecclesiastical court.[48] It is significant that the court of the lord of l'Aigle was following a practice that was said to be observed in the whole duchy. Another non-Norman observer, John of Marmoutier, famously claimed that the dying Geoffrey of Anjou commanded his son Henry not to transfer customs from England and Normandy to his *consulatus*, the county of Anjou.[49] In the eyes of this author, writing in the 1180s, the Angevin conqueror of Normandy not only recognised the differences between the customary practices of

customs; but Barthélemy (1993, 301, 319–33, 842–4) remarks upon the close coincidence between the area subject to the *consuetudines* of the early-eleventh-century counts of Vendôme and the fourteenth-century castelry of Vendôme.

[45] Le Patourel 1976, 21; Tabuteau 1988, 226–7.

[46] Van Houts 1988, 162, translating *Roman de Rou*, ii, 113–14. Cf. *ibid*., ii, lines 8997–9010: William offers to the English the choice between maintaining their customs and adopting the customs of the Normans. The hindsight and anachronistic distortion of the late twelfth century is less important here than the implication that custom could be chosen or rejected by the people to whom it applied.

[47] Tabuteau 1988, esp. 223–9.

[48] *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 607–8 (*CDF*, no. 1257): 'Apud Aquilam castrum, a Richerio, ejusdem castri domino, submoniti, die condicto, et nos et predictus calumniator, juxta morem Normannie, de ecclesia in seculari curia placituri convenimus.' Cf. Haskins 1918, 172; Yver 1961, 314. Guérard, editor of the St-Père charters, dates the act 'vers 1120', perhaps because of the presence of Richer's mother Juliana; but she was still alive in 1132 (ADE, H 1437, p. 2), and another witness, Richer's son, could hardly have been old enough to attend in 1120, since Richer was himself still probably a minor when he inherited l'Aigle between 1115 and 1118 (Orderic, vi, 196; Thompson 1996, 186).

[49] *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 224: 'Terre vero sue et genti spiritu presago in posterum previdens, Henrico heredi suo interdixit ne Normannie vel Anglie consuetudines in consulatus sui terram vel e converso, varie vicissitudinis alternatione, permutaret.' For the significance of this passage, see Le Patourel 1984b, 8; cf. Hollister and Keefe 1973, 19–25, and Keefe 1974, for the succession to Geoffrey.

his patrimony of Anjou and the duchy which he had seized, but also the strength of his subjects' attachment to their respective traditions. In 1195, a series of charters for the abbey of Savigny (on the borders of Normandy, Maine and Brittany), concerning a Norman estate of a knightly family with lands in both Normandy and Brittany, recorded that the grandson of one of the parties was to swear an oath when he came of age 'according to the law of Normandy' (*juxta legem Normannie*).[50] In the opening years of the thirteenth century the records of the *curia regis* in England also noted individual customs of Normandy, for instance in matters of recognitions.[51] In all these instances the customs of Normandy were being compared with those of its neighbours; nevertheless, even those Norman cases which also concerned a neighbouring province did not normally refer to the customs of either or both regions by name.

After 1204, in contrast, the identification of customs of Normandy became a standard feature of land grants in the duchy, whether they concerned Normandy alone or other regions as well. From October 1204, Philip Augustus began to make enfeoffments 'according to the uses and customs of Normandy' (*ad usus et consuetudines Normannie*), mainly with regard to services due from the fiefs concerned.[52] This phrase soon found its way into private charters. Some of these acts concerned the fringes of the former duchy: in 1231, for instance, when Fulk de Marcilly and Gohier de l'Aulnay, two knights with lands lying on both the 'Norman' and the 'French' sides of the River Avre, arranged an exchange of lands and rights at Marcilly-sur-Eure according to the uses and customs of Normandy (1231), they presumably needed to include this phrase to avoid confusion.[53] More often, however, there was no such danger of ambiguity. In 1207, when William de Coupesarte warranted the advowson of the church of Coupesarte to the hospital of Lisieux according to Norman custom, the phrase was simply a conventional recognition of legal process in the duchy under Capetian rule.[54]

The appeal to provincial custom

The increased popularity of allusions to provincial customs was not unique to Normandy. Regional customs were occasionally mentioned in northern France before 1150, for instance at Beauvais in two cases from *c.*1116 and 1134 respectively,[55] and in a letter of Abbot Suger to the

[50] Below, p. 175. [51] *CRR*, i, 256.
[52] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 845. [53] ADE, E 2657.
[54] ADC, H. Suppl. 484 (II. A. 6), no. 8 ('secundum consuetudinem Normaniæ').
[55] (i) BN, lat. nouv. acq. 1921, fols. 51v–52v, at 52r: 'Tunc Odo castellanus precepit ut iudicium diceretur eis per iusticiam et consuetudinem Beluaci. Hugo vero et mater eius noluerunt se

chapter of Chartres Cathedral which cites an alleged 'ancient custom in the courts of the kings of France' concerning episcopal regalia.[56] But the dramatic increase in references to generic 'customs of Normandy' either side of the year 1200 was part of a much wider recognition of differences between provincial customs, a process that predated the Capetian annexation of Normandy and Anjou but was greatly encouraged by that climactic set of events.[57] Within the Plantagenet lands appeals to provincial customs became common on the eve of the conquests of Philip Augustus. According to Roger of Howden, Richard I alleged that the 'customs and laws of Poitou' and some of his other lands permitted barons to wage their disputes by force of arms, in order to continue his war in Aquitaine in 1194 when he had made a truce with the king of France in the north.[58] In *c.*1189 a leading baron of Anjou stated in his will that his arrangements for the custody of his heirs followed the law and custom of Anjou.[59] *Glanvill* appeals regularly to the *ius et consuetudinem regni* (or *Anglie*), and numerous references to particular customs of England occur in the records of the *curia regis* before 1204,[60] sometimes contrasted with the customs of Normandy.[61]

The collapse of Angevin power in northern France served to increase awareness of the provincial structure of customs still further. Already in 1196 Philip Augustus had granted lands near Senlis to the Norman lord Richard de Vernon, to hold *ad usus et consuetudines Francie*;[62] between 1188 and 1202 the count of Meulan had ordained that the debts of knights from the castelry of Meulan were to be regulated by the uses and customs of Meulan;[63] and in 1200 King John had promised to arrange the marriage

mittere in hoc quod iustum esset nisi consuetudo relinqueretur. Odo autem castellanus noluit separare iusticiam et consuetudinem quod simul non essent. Sic remansit in Hugone et matre eius et recesserunt.' The case concerned a house at Beauvais, to which Hugh de Ferrières and his mother later abandoned their claims (fol. 61r). See Guyotjeannin (1987, 114 and n.210), who dates this case to 1116 × 18.

(ii) ADOI, H 24 (act of Odo, bishop of Beauvais, 1134): 'iudices dixerunt quod facerent secundum iusticiam et consuetudinem ciuitatis'.

[56] *RHF*, xv, 507: 'mos antiquus in curia dominorum Regum Francorum' (1149).

[57] For the connection between this change in mentality and the spread of Roman law, see above, n. 19; Gouron 1990, 198–207.

[58] Howden, iii, 255; Powicke 1961, 19 who also noted that in 1214 King John promised to respect the custom of Poitou regarding the disinheritance of under-tenants who opposed him (*Rot. Chart.*, 198).

[59] Below, p. 182.

[60] E.g. *CRR*, i, 82–3 (validity of a fine), 279 (age of majority for pleading), 375–6 (procedure for inquisitions); ii, 227 (duels). Local customs also occur: an example from an English border region was the custom of Carlisle for dower (i, 388). See also *ibid.*, ii, 143 (customs and laws of London granted to Oxford by Henry II); ii, 50, and iv, 117 (law and custom of Kent).

[61] *CRR*, i, 256 (cf. 257).

[62] *Actes de Philippe Auguste,* ii, no. 519; *Layettes*, i, no. 441. Cf. *ibid.*, v, no. 77, for 'the custom of the Gâtinais' (1180–1).

[63] *Registres*, pp. 460–2; BN, Coll. Vexin III, pp. 15–16 (Houth 1963, no. 90).

of the count of Boulogne's daughter in accordance with the custom of the Boulonnais.[64] With the fall of the Angevin dominions, references to provincial customs in French royal land grants became ubiquitous. In May 1204 Philip Augustus guaranteed the customs of the Angoumois to its inhabitants.[65] The next year the count of Boulogne and duke of Louvain agreed to divide the English honour of Boulogne in right of their wives, the daughters of Count Matthew of Boulogne, *ad usus et consuetudines Anglie*, under the French king's auspices.[66] As part of his great reorganisation of the Loire lands after King John's invasion of 1206, King Philip confirmed the gifts of Arthur of Brittany to three barons from the Ile-de-France in return for those services owed according to the customs of Anjou.[67] The king was soon making grants to local lords in Anjou on the same terms.[68] In 1211 he ordained that Mary, wife of a royal archer called Lupillon, should be entitled to half the revenues that Philip had granted in Anjou and Poitou as her dower in accordance with the 'customs of the land'; a half was certainly the usual share allotted in dower to women commoners in Anjou a generation later.[69] King Philip's promise to observe local customs in the conquered provinces was soon put to the test. In about 1213 the seneschal of Anjou, William des Roches, informed the king of the customs in Anjou, Maine and Touraine for the marriage of heiresses, especially regarding the reliefs that their husbands were to pay, in order to resolve the 'affair of Laval': it is likely that Count Robert of Alençon was protesting at having to pay a relief on behalf of his second wife, the heiress of Laval.[70]

[64] *Rot. Chart.*, 57–8 (John's treaty with the count of Boulogne, 9 May 1200): 'secundum consuetudinem de Buluneis'.

[65] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 788.

[66] *Layettes*, i, no. 749: 'si autem, sicut superius dictum est, ab altero nostrum vel ab utroque terra predicta acquiratur, idem comes habebit partem suam de illa, ratione sororis primogenite, ad usus et consuetudines Anglie, et ego similiter partem meam, ratione sororis minoris natu'.

[67] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 960 (1206–7), for Simon de Poissy, John Briard and Adam viscount of Melun ('per servicium quod terra illa debet ad usus et consuetudines Andegavie'). For the later history of these lands, see Petit-Dutaillis 1894, 361; *Registres*, 165–6.

[68] E.g. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1297: grant to Herbert Turpin of land near Baugé (1213). For Herbert (II) Turpin, see Barthélemy 1993, 803–4.

[69] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1186 ('ad usus et consuetudines terre'); *Etabl.*, iii, 86, no. CXXVI (cf. ii, no. CXXXVII). For *Lupillus*, castellan of Domfront, and his wife Mary (d. 1242), see *RHF*, xxiii, 585 (Savigny chronicle). He should probably be identified with King John's *balistarius*, *Lupillinus* or *Lupillonus*, custodian of Geoffrey de Lusignan's castle of Vouvant in 1203, whose wife Mary was the daughter of the Poitevin Aimery *de Resseya*, and who was in John's service again in 1214 and 1217 (*Rot. Chart.*, 74; *Rot. Lib.*, 2, 14; *RN*, 50, 58; *Rot. Claus.*, i, 220, 328; Powicke 1961, 225).

[70] *Layettes*, i, no. 1062 ('super affario de Lanvalle'). This marriage also raised difficulties concerning the dower of the bride's mother, Hawise de Craon: *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1375; *Maison de Laval*, i, 202, no. 327; Pichot 1995, 296.

There were exceptions to the general respect for local traditions that characterised the great shifts in power in western Christendom in the early thirteenth century. In 1212 Simon de Montfort ordained that the crusaders who had secured lands in the Languedoc were to hold their fiefs there 'according to the custom and use of France around Paris' (*secundum morem et usum Francie circa Parisius*).[71] Simon's forcible imposition of 'customs' from outside had its ecclesiastical equivalent, again in a crusading context, in Innocent III's decree of 1208 that the new Latin archbishopric of Athens should be organised 'according to the institutions and customs of the church of Paris'.[72] In general, though, the king of France and his defeated enemies alike showed themselves to be very conscious of provincial variations in legal practice, and the assumption behind most statements was that customs were defined on a territorial rather than a personal basis, according to the maxim that 'toutes coutumes sont réelles'.[73]

The geographical framework of French customs

Custom has more significance for the Norman frontier in the early thirteenth century than merely as a reflection of growing awareness of provincial differences. It has been axiomatic in French historiography that the territorial bounds of the *coutumes générales* which were codified in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries evolved in the central Middle Ages, and some of the general customs bordering Normandy do appear to have arisen from the major political units of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The *coutume* of Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais included Brezolles and so probably antedated the separation of the lordship of Brezolles from the lands of the lords of Châteauneuf in about 1212.[74] The *coutume* of Dreux appears to have perpetuated a jurisdiction, the *comitatus Drocensis*, that Louis VII established in the mid-twelfth

[71] Below, pp. 176–8.

[72] *PL*, ccxv, col. 1433: 'Quia igitur a nobis cum reverentia debita postulastis ut vestram ecclesiam dignaremur secundum institutiones Parisiensis Ecclesie ordinare, ac ejus consuetudines faceremus in ipsa firmiter observari.' See also Bartlett 1993, 14.

[73] Chénon 1926–9, i, 487; cf. Ourliac 1982, 488.

[74] App. i, no. 9. However, Brezolles was probably still held from the lord of Châteauneuf, for Hugh IV, lord of Châteauneuf, assented to the early acts of his brother Hervey, lord of Brezolles (e.g. ADEL, h 419), and in 1217 Hugh confirmed his ancestors' gifts to the priory of Belhomert, including alms from the lordship of Brezolles (ADEL, h 5166). The inclusion of La Ferté-Vidame in the *coutume* of Châteauneuf is also problematic: it may have resulted from Hervey's marriage to Alice, heiress of La Ferté, before 1225 (*Ctl. Trappe*, 13–14, 17–18; *Ctl. Gd-Beaulieu*, no. 235), but the lord of Châteauneuf already had rights at Armentières near Ferté in the 1130s (ADEL, h 359; *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 536–8).

century for one of his younger brothers.[75] These two examples bordering south-eastern Normandy outwardly suggest that the customary geography of Normandy and its neighbours was already established by 1204.

Yet the outward simplicity of some of these circumscriptions may be misleading. The sixteenth-century *coutume* of Grand-Perche embraced the castelries of Bellême, Mortagne and Nogent-le-Rotrou, which were united under a single prince only between *c.*1113 and 1226: before 1113, Bellême was held by the Talvas together with their lands in Normandy and Maine, and after 1226, the lands of the count of Perche were carved up between numerous heirs.[76] However, the borders of this county before 1226 had been far from stable.[77] Indeed, within the *coutume* of Grand-Perche the castellans of Longny and Motte-Diversay claimed their own customs at the *procès-verbal* of 1558, when other local protests were also ignored by the commissioners: the integrity of the *coutume* was therefore not a foregone conclusion even at that date.[78] Nor had the county acquired a strong legal identity by 1226. The treaty drawn up for the proposed marriage between a brother of Louis IX and the daughter of the duke of Brittany in 1227 stated that the duke would govern the castle of Saint-James according to the uses and customs of Normandy, but those of Bellême and La Perrière simply by 'the uses and customs of the land'.[79] In 1268 a case concerning the castle of Marchainville, a former fortress of the counts of Perche, was decided before the Parlement de Paris *secundum usus et consuetudines patrie*; since the *patria* was not specified, this may imply that the customs of Grand-Perche were not yet recognised as a distinct body of law.[80] Further east, Mantes and Meulan later formed a single *coutume*, and at first sight the suggestion that the judicial link between the two towns originated in the twelfth century, when the viscounts of Mantes and Meulan were both under the count of Meulan's

[75] *NCG*, iii, ii, 718–27, 731–4; Klimrath 1843, ii, 201; for Robert I, count of Dreux, see A. W. Lewis 1981, 62–3, and 1985.

[76] Lemarignier 1945, 61n.; Romanet 1890–1902, i, 60–73, 76–7; Louise 1992, i, 418, 422; Thompson 1995, 30–2.

[77] Moulins and Bonsmoulins twice came into the hands of the counts of Perche (1137–58, *c.*1197–1217) but were afterwards within the *coutume* of Normandy. Thompson (2002, 121–4, 136–7) also notes the expansion of comital power in the 1190s, including into areas to the east and south-west that were not later governed by the customs of Grand-Perche.

[78] *NCG*, iii, ii, 676–8, 668–9; Klimrath 1843, ii, 202.

[79] *Layettes*, ii, no. 1922: 'ad usus similiter et consuetudines terre'. For the treaty, see Painter 1937, 45–6.

[80] *Olim*, i, 720–1. The dispute was between Stephen de Sancerre and his sisters (cf. i, 673–4); for this cadet branch of the counts of Sancerre, see Newman 1971, i, 66; Devailly 1973, 353 (table), 363, 457.

authority, seems plausible.[81] However, although the correspondence of the twelfth-century county of Meulan to customary boundaries around that town is certainly striking, Mantes was also an important centre of royal administration before 1204, so the *coutume* of Mantes-Meulan cannot simply have evolved from the area under the jurisdiction of Count Waleran II and his successors. In fact, this circumscription appears partly based upon royal jurisdictions after 1204, and it has been suggested that the *ressort* formed only under Louis, count of Evreux, between 1298 and 1316.[82]

There is good evidence that some *ressorts* of provincial customs in northern France were still in a state of flux in the thirteenth century, as jurisdictions altered with changes of dynasty or divisions between heirs. The counties of Maine, Anjou and Touraine had been under one prince since the early twelfth century, but they eventually comprised two separate *ressorts*, namely Maine-Anjou and Touraine-Loudunois, with some differing practices, such as in the treatment of younger sons.[83] The *Usage de Touraine et d'Anjou*, compiled some time before 1270, treated Anjou and Touraine as having the same customs, and the emergence of two separate *coutumes* appears to have arisen from the endowment of Charles of Anjou with his apanage of Maine and Anjou in 1246.[84] The counties of Blois and Chartres were united under one dynasty from the tenth century to 1218, and again from 1249 to 1286, and it is tempting to attribute their later codification as two distinct *coutumes* to the fact that they were in separate hands between 1218 and 1249, and again after the sale of Chartres to Philip III in 1286.[85]

If the system of provincial customs was already important in theory and rapidly developing in practice, it was still at an early stage in 1204 when the hegemony of the Capetian court was established across northern France. Even after that climactic event, the customs to the east and south-east of Normandy were more often than not described simply as the 'uses and customs of *Francia*', or merely of the *patria*

[81] Crouch 1986, 60–2: the map (62) shows that the fiefs of the castelry of Mantes in *c.* 1220 (*RHF*, xxiii, 623) comprised only part of the later custom of Mantes, but the inclusion of the Mauvoisin fiefs as well would more or less extend these lands to the customary boundaries.

[82] Feuchère 1954, 32 n.108.

[83] Yver 1966, 112–17: the custom of Touraine-Loudunois changed less with time in the matter of 'option' for endowing younger children.

[84] *Etabl.*, i, 22–4. For the apanage, see C. T. Wood 1966, 12, 23–4, and A. W. Lewis 1981, 161–5; the separation of Maine and Anjou from the royal domain had been prefigured by the will of Louis VIII in 1225.

[85] *Art des dates*, ii, 622–5; Chédeville 1973, 42. The history of the *coutume* of Chartres was still further complicated by its inclusion of the castelry of Nogent-le-Roi, which had been in royal hands since 1219.

(O.Fr. *pais*).[86] When Philip Augustus annexed Vernon to his domain in 1196, he compensated Richard de Vernon, its dispossessed lord, with lands near Senlis and Pontoise, to be held *ad usus et consuetudines Francie*. Yet Senlis and Pontoise were later governed by the custom of Senlis, whereas some of the lands later belonged to the *ressort* of the custom of Paris.[87] The customs of *Normannia* and *Francia* were explicitly contrasted in 1211, when Philip Augustus promised Count Renaud of Boulogne that, if he surrendered Mortain, he would be treated justly in accordance with the customs of both countries: however, Renaud's 'French' lands included Boulogne, afterwards the centre of its own general custom, and Dammartin-en-Goële, later part of the custom of Senlis.[88] In 1224, Renaud's son-in-law, Philip Hurepel, agreed to observe the customs of France at Clermont-en-Beauvaisis, likewise later the centre of a general custom, and Dammartin; the count's act contrasted these lands with his Norman possessions.[89] By the 1230s appeals to the 'uses and customs of France' had become as standard in the Ile-de-France as its Norman equivalent was in Normandy, and this phrase continued to be used until the early sixteenth century.[90]

The customs of *Francia* were more than a concept or a useful shorthand term: they were to all intents and purposes a unit of customary law. Like the concept of *Francia* in general, though, they were ill-defined, mirroring the vagueness of the authority and power of the king of France within his kingdom.[91] Within it, local customs abounded and were recognised by

[86] Olivier-Martin (1922–30, i, 25n.) collects various references to *consuetudines patrie* from the Ile-de-France. ADOI, H 4726, the will of Renaud, lord of Dargies near Poix in the Amiénois (1295), ordained that if the arrangements which he was making for his property contradicted the customs of his *patria*, they should be amended accordingly: 'Volens etiam et disponens quod si in predictis ordinationibus, diuisionibus et compositionibus per me factis antequam recederem de mea patria, aliqua forte contraria continentur vsibus et consuetudinibus mee patrie, quod illa dictis usibus et consuetudinibus non preiudicent, ymo volo, ordino et iubeo quod ad usus et consuetudines patrie reducantur, et iuxta illos inuiolabiliter obseruentur.' Renaud's previous, undated French text, quoted in the Latin will of 1295, states: 'Item je weil que Jehane me filhe ait pour sen mariage trois mile liures de par' et toute le terre de Clari qui me doit venir apres le dechest medame le contesse d'Aubemalle, et s'il estoit aussi qu'ele ne peust auoir le terre de Clari *par coustume de pais* ou que mi hoir en alassent encontre ie weil que ele ait quatre mile liures de par'' (my italics).

[87] *Layettes*, i, no. 441. Olivier-Martin (1922–30, i, 30–4) discusses the differences between *Francia* and the 'custom of France', including in the district where Richard de Vernon's new lands were located.

[88] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1203. For Count Renaud's rebellion, see Will. Bret., 242–4; Malo 1898, 137–42; Cartellieri 1899–1922, iv, II, 299–303.

[89] *Layettes*, ii, no. 1629: 'Tenebimus autem ego et heredes mei . . . terram supradictam de Normannia ad usus et consuetudines Normannie, et terram de Francia ad usus et consuetudines Francie, de ipso domino et fratre meo et heredibus suis in feodum et hominagium ligium.'

[90] Olivier-Martin 1922–30, i, 27–8; also 60 n.2 for the phrase's demise soon after 1500.

[91] Olivier-Martin (1922–30, i, 29–36) identifies the approximate geographical limits of the *usus et consuetudines Francie*, but his examples mostly date from post-1240.

the Capetian courts as a more formalised legal system developed in the thirteenth century.[92] Conversely, Philip Augustus held that some customs of 'France' applied to the whole kingdom, notably the wardships of the Breton heir Henry (d'Avaugour), son of Alan fitzCount (1212), and of Count Theobald IV of Champagne (1213).[93] In 1223 Theobald d'Ully, a cousin of the last count of Beaumont-sur-Oise, asserted that the *usus et consuetudines Francie* entitled him to the whole county of Beaumont despite the claims of his cousins, since his rights came through the male line and theirs through the female; only the lands held in villeinage should be divided equally.[94]

Moreover, within the region generally designated as *Francia* the number and extent of the later general customs were still far from definitively fixed even in the mid-thirteenth century. Feuchère noted that the customary units between the Somme and the Seine such as Senlis, Amiens and Péronne – in other words the territory that in the eleventh century had lain almost entirely under the sway of the counts of Amiens-Valois-Vexin – were based upon the *bailliages* of the thirteenth century rather than any earlier jurisdictions, which explains why the French Vexin, despite its long history as a distinct territorial entity, did not form a single *coutume* at the time of codification.[95] References to the customs of the Vexin occur as early as 1202,[96] and in 1234 the knights of the French Vexin gathered to demand the abolition of bad customs in the matter of reliefs; at that date, then, the French Vexin was still regarded as a single unit for some inheritance customs, although the charter which the leading *milites* issued admitted that there were variations in practice within the county.[97] Yet although the French Vexin's customs continued to be alleged until the

[92] E.g. *Actes du Parlement*, i, 365–6 (Forest of Thelles); Olivier-Martin 1922–30, i, 25 n.6 (Montmorency).

[93] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, nos. 1271, 1306 ('inspecta consuetudine regni Francie que talis est'). Beaumanoir calls these 'general customs' (e.g. i, §§ 430, 445), which he contrasts with 'our custom', i.e. of the Beauvaisis (e.g. § 439; cf. § 452). Lewis (1981, 175–7) give some late-thirteenth-century examples; cf. Olivier-Martin (1922–30), i, 29.

[94] *Registres*, 530–1. Theobald's claims concerning villein tenures accord with Beaumanoir, i, § 475, but his statements concerning rights of cousins in noble collateral descents conflict with *ibid.*, §§ 501–2. Beaumont-sur-Oise later belonged to the *coutume* of Senlis.

[95] Feuchère 1954, 34.

[96] Olivier-Martin 1922–30, i, 35 n.4. For another example, see BN, Coll. Vexin VII (Levrier's manuscript history of the Vexin), p. 586, which records that John, lord of La Roche-Guyon and Vaux-sur-Seine (near Meulan), exchanged his house at Meulan for vineyards at Vaux, to hold from Queen Blanche 'aux us et Coutumes du Vexin' (1251).

[97] *Layettes*, ii, no. 2382 (cf. v, no. 391), act of Guy de la Roche *et al.* (May 1235): 'nos et alii milites Vulcasini Gallici, die mercurii proxima post Nativitatem Domini proximo preteritam [27 Dec. 1234], coram Radulpho, tunc temporis ballivo Vulcassini, convenimus et tractavimus de releveiis feodorum Vulcasini Gallici, et consideravimus aliquas malas consuetudines que erant in releveiis feodorum. Tandem omnes milites Vilcasini promiserunt . . . quod quicquid ordinaremus super dictis releveiis firmiter observarent'.

sixteenth century, the province's identity had no lasting impact upon the customary map.[98] Indeed, one distinguished historian of the law of the Ile-de-France argued that the early modern customary circumscriptions were based upon the *bailliages* at the time of codification, regardless of the similarity of custom in the whole area around Paris.[99]

Conversely, the fluidity of jurisdictions in the early thirteenth century may be seen on a smaller scale in the grant that Philip Augustus made to Amice, lady of Montfort-l'Amaury, of his forest of Yvelines and castle of Saint-Léger. The terms of the grant exempted the fiefs of John de Rouvray and William de Garlande, two of King Philip's chief *curiales*, from her lordship. Philip had endowed John de Rouvray with lands at Poigny and Auffargis, in the Forest of Yvelines; and the exemption of these villages from the lordship of Countess Amice appears confirmed by curious evidence over three centuries later, when the inhabitants of Poigny were amongst those who resisted inclusion into the custom of Montfort in 1556. They were, they said, to be governed directly by the custom of Paris, as a fief held directly from the king.[100] It may be inferred that the grant to Amice was the basis of their claim and that customary jurisdictions were still being defined in 1204. A regionalised system of customary law was already taking shape in France at the beginning of the thirteenth century, both in general outline and at a microcosmic level, but it was still far from fixed. It is in this context that the frontiers of Norman custom in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries need to be considered.

THE DEFINITION OF THE FRONTIERS OF NORMAN CUSTOM

The uncertainty of jurisdictions

The received view dates the 'crystallisation' of the customs of Normandy within exact, fixed geographical limits to between *c.*1050 and 1079. This date, originally calculated by Lemarignier elaborating a theory proposed by Génestal, is derived from the principle that 'toutes coutumes sont réelles': the customs of Normandy could not have been established before Duke William II's conquest of the Passais in about 1051, since that region was later governed by the customs of Normandy, not Maine; but they

[98] Olivier-Martin 1922–30, i, 35–6; Yver 1966, 28–9. However, local customs were acknowledged at Pontoise, Chaumont-en-Vexin and Magny (*ibid.*, 232–4): they reflected Norman influence upon the rules governing endowments for married offspring.

[99] Filhol 1971, 270–1, following Olivier-Martin 1922–30, i, 60–4.

[100] *Layettes*, i, no. 738; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 556; *NCG*, iii, 1, 162. This protest and many others from the villages of the district were ignored by the commissioners (161–4). For John de Rouvray at Poigny (cant. Rambouillet), see Power 1997, 365–7.

were in place before the war of 1078–9, when Hugh de Gournay supposedly seized the parishes in the Beauvaisis later called the *Conquests Hue de Gournay*, for the customs of Normandy were already too geographically fixed to be transposed to these parishes.[101]

Both dates are open to challenge. Duke William could have imposed the customs of Normandy, already ripe, upon the inhabitants of the Passais, after he annexed this region;[102] after all, many Norman customs were transposed to England after 1066. On the other hand, in the sixteenth-century *Conquests Hue de Gournay* the customs of Normandy were in fact used for most matters, so that this district was not simply an enclave of Beauvaisis custom under Norman rule. It is also unlikely that the duke and Hugh de Gournay extended their possessions in 1078–9, when the Normans suffered a signal defeat in the neighbourhood at Gerberoy.[103] Contrary to received opinion, the Norman frontier does not offer an answer to the date of origin of the customs of Normandy; the idea that the geographical extent of both the duchy and of Norman custom were definitively fixed by 1079 is untenable. In fact a neat model of customs, clearly defined in nature and by geography, does not accord easily with the history of the Norman frontier throughout the twelfth century. For if ducal control had shifting borders, then either the area governed by the practices of the ducal court expanded and contracted in concert with these political fluctuations, or else the territory where these practices were observed remained fixed but did not equate exactly to the area ruled by the dukes. In either case, it is necessary to modify the view that the custom of Normandy applied to a fixed area under continuous ducal rule.

The bare details of the history of one particular castle on the southern frontier, Gorron near Mayenne, show just how difficult it is to gauge the relationship between the *ressort* of Norman custom and the development of the frontier. Held by Geoffrey de Mayenne in the mid-eleventh century, Gorron was probably taken by William the Conqueror in the 1050s and given to his brother, Count Robert of Mortain. By 1106, it was once more in the hands of the lord of Mayenne; it was repossessed by Henry I, but at his death Henry's daughter Matilda and Geoffrey of Anjou conferred the castle upon Juhel I de Mayenne. Henry II resumed the fortress after Juhel's death in 1161, but Juhel II won it back in return for his support of Arthur of Brittany in 1199, and King John failed to recover the fortress for the ducal domain. Gorron must have been held by Juhel de Mayenne from John as count of Anjou and Maine, not duke

[101] Génestal 1927, 42–4; Lemarignier 1945, 19–23. For the date of the conquest of the Passais, see Bates 1982, 255–7.
[102] Tabuteau 1988, 391–2, n. 10.
[103] Douglas 1964, 238–9, 405–7; Vallez 1970, 353. See below, pp. 188–93.

of Normandy. In 1204, this border castle had been removed very recently indeed from the legal jurisdiction of Normandy.[104]

It may be inferred from the history of Gorron and other border castles that in 1204, the king of France had a great deal of latitude over the geographical extent of the region that was henceforth to be governed *ad usus et consuetudines Normannie*; and areas of doubt may have been resolved largely by circumstance. The steadfast support of Juhel II de Mayenne for Philip Augustus appears crucial to the ultimate location of Gorron or the neighbouring fortress of Ambrières in the custom of Maine, as applied in the court of the lords of Mayenne: despite the strong claims of King Philip to these castles as ruler of Normandy, he did not seek to bring them back under the rule of Norman justice. The situation was complicated still further by the claims of Count Renaud of Boulogne, to whom the king had granted the county of Mortain and the lordship of the Passais in 1204. As successor to the counts of Mortain and lord of the Passais, Count Renaud acquired claims to Gorron and Ambrières, and so King Philip extracted a promise from him not to implead or attack Juhel de Mayenne – yet another indication that the lordship of this district was still very unstable.[105] The uncertainty continued after 1204, for when Juhel de Mayenne died without male heirs in 1220, Philip Augustus could have retained these two border castles as successor of the dukes of Normandy, just as he had appropriated two other contested frontier castles, Moulins and Bonsmoulins, at the death of Count Thomas of Perche three years earlier.[106] In the event, the king chose not to interfere. Gorron came to Juhel's eldest daughter and was under Manceau jurisdiction in 1247 and the custom of Maine in 1508; but the history of this castle shows that the limits of the region governed by the customs of Normandy were very uncertain until the third decade of the thirteenth century at least, some time after the end of the ducal régime.[107]

The example of Gorron is by no mean unique. Although the end of the Angevin régime in 1204 had defused most of the tension along the Norman frontier, uncertainties about the geographical *ressort* of Norman customs continued to arise for many years. Count Renaud's own lordship of the Passais had some customary peculiarities in 1210, when the court of the Norman Exchequer judged that he could not amerce Ralph Taisson

[104] For the history of Gorron and its sister fortress Ambrières, see Power 1995, 186–8; 1999a, 128; Hollister 2001, 258, 291, 294; above, pp. 72–4; below, pp. 389, 436–7, 461.

[105] *Layettes*, i, no. 733–4. Renaud also granted Savigny the *haia* and river of Colmont as far as Juhel's land; the division between the two lordships lay some way north of Gorron (Poulle 1987, 22–4).

[106] Romanet 1890–1902, ii, 8, no. 5 (cf. *GC*, ix, col. 885); Power 1999a, 189 and n.35.

[107] 'Querimoniæ Cenomannorum et Andegavorum,' *RHF*, xxiv, 1, 87, nos. 168, 172, 179 (1247); *NCG*, iv, 1, 521 (1508). The inquests of 1247 did not record any complaints of Norman customs being imposed in Maine, or the reverse.

in regard of his fief in the Passais 'except according to the uses and customs of Passais'.[108] These procedures were possibly a relic of the Passais' belated absorption into Normandy in the eleventh century; but they could also have arisen from the new jurisdiction of Renaud's lordship, where as 'lord of Domfront and the Passais' he confirmed the charters of the Norman dukes as their successor in the lordship.[109] Not many miles to the east, the extinction of the counts of Alençon in the male line led to an adjustment of the borders of Maine and Normandy in 1221. The king of France exploited the count's death to acquire the Alençonnais from the count's collateral heirs, who stated that four parishes across the River Sarthe from Alençon formed part of the justice and demesne of that fortress, and were therefore being included amongst the lands ceded to the king.[110] Another area of dispute was the border of Normandy and Perche. The monks of La Trappe had been endowed with rights of usage in the forest of Le Frétay, a gift confirmed by Count Rotrou III of Perche in 1189;[111] but when a local lord, Matthew de Montgoubert, challenged their rights at Le Frétay in 1210, the monks took their case not to the comital court under the seneschal of Perche, but to the Norman Exchequer at Falaise, where, however, the monks brandished Count Rotrou's charter. Their choice may have been influenced by the minority of Count Thomas of Perche, for his successor Count William confirmed further gifts which Matthew de Montgoubert made there in 1219, and all the monks' possessions at Le Frétay in 1220.[112] The jurisdictional confusion of this district must have been compounded by King Philip's resumption of Moulins and Bonsmoulins in 1217, as well as by the activities of French *baillis* in Bellême.[113] Even several generations later the precise borders of the *ressort*

[108] *Jugements*, no. 67: 'nisi ad usus et consuetudines de Passeis'.

[109] AN, l 967, no. 141, edited in Poulle 1987, 18–20: 'Raginaldus Comes Bolon' et Moreton' Dominus Domfrontis et Passeij' confirms property of Savigny in the Passais, including gifts of Henry I, Henry II and John, kings of England (1205, n.s.).

[110] *Layettes*, i, no. 1426 (act of Aimery, viscount of Châtellerault, Ala, sister of Count Robert of Alençon, and Robert Malet): 'Et sciendum quod quatuor parrochie que sunt ultra Sartam et dicuntur Hellou, sunt de justicia et dominio de Alenconio' (Héloup, cant. Alençon-ouest). These parishes were thereby excluded from the barony of the Saosnois that came to Aimery de Châtellerault: see *Ctl. Perseigne*, nos. xix (especially 49–50), xxv (naming the parishes in the Châtellerault barony of Saosnois, 1274), whereas Louise (1992, i, 404, 419, 421) implies that the parishes south of Héloup did not form part of the Talvas inheritance.

[111] *Ctl. Trappe*, 587 (gift of Hugh des Champs). Le Frétay, ar. Mortagne, cant. Tourouvre, cne. Bresolettes (*ibid.*, 450n.): a comparison of the clauses relating to Hugh des Champs' gifts in a bull of Pope Alexander III and the act of Count Rotrou III (*ibid.*, 583, 587) shows that the wood of Le Frétay, whose name has now disappeared, was 'nemus quod est juxta Abbatiam'.

[112] *Jugements*, no. 62; *Ctl. Trappe*, 450–4. The abbot of La Trappe was in close touch with the French court, for he went to Rome on the French king's behalf in 1212 (Baldwin 1986, 120).

[113] See pp. 101–2, 363. Le Frétay was not part of the castelry of Moulins, however, for in 1189–91 it lay under the jurisdiction of the counts of Perche (*Ctl. Trappe*, 458, 587), when Moulins was in ducal hands.

of Norman custom remained uncertain. In 1281 the Parlement of Paris had to rule whether the county of Aumale formed part of Normandy, in order to decide whether it should descend to the granddaughter of the deceased countess (by Norman custom) or her surviving younger daughter (by Picard custom);[114] and in 1312, the inhabitants of the district of Verneuil were invited to decide between the customs of Normandy and 'France'.[115]

So, however territorially rooted the customs of Normandy were in 1204, on the duchy's southern frontier the conquering French king was able to decide whether certain castelries were to be subjected to Norman law or the law of its neighbours, and the territorial unity of the custom of Normandy was not complete. In any case, King Philip may not have always made grants in Normandy *ad usus et consuetudines Normannie*. In 1268, an *arrêt* of the Parlement of Paris recorded that the custom of Anjou came to be observed in three villages of Normandy very soon after the Capetian conquest of Normandy:

> A dispute arose between lord Geoffrey de Vendôme, the brother of the count of Vendôme, on one side, and his men in three villages which he has in Normandy, on the other, because Geoffrey stated that such villages are and always were subject to the uses and customs of Anjou, whereas his men said that the villages were and always were subject to the uses and customs of Normandy . . . and since it was clearly found that justice in the aforesaid villages has been continuously done according to the uses and customs of Anjou for sixty-two years, it was decreed and determined that henceforth justice in those villages shall be done according to the uses and customs of Anjou, not the uses and customs of Normandy.[116]

[114] *Actes du Parlement*, i, 366, App. no. 427; *Art des dates*, ii, 756, 792; Semichon 1862, i, 322. The county was judged to be Norman. In 1289 John de Ponthieu, count of Aumale by virtue of the Parlement's decision, and his wife Ida de Meulan warranted a sale at Morvillers, on the eastern fringes of the county of Aumale, to the abbey of Aumale 'as vs et a coustumes de Normendie' (ADSM, 1 H 38).

[115] Musset 1957–8, 47 n.: notice by Marc Bloch of a register, destroyed in 1944, recording a decision of the cathedral chapter of Chartres: 'les maires de l'église habitant les environs de Verneuil seraient convoqués . . . il leur serait demandé si les gens de leur pays préféraient être gouvernés par la coutume de France plûtot que par celle de Normandie'. Note that this part of *France* followed the customs of Châteauneuf in the sixteenth century (Klimrath 1843, ii, 201–2).

[116] *Olim*, i, 730–1: 'Questio vertebatur inter dominum Gaufridum de Vindocino, fratrem comitis Vindocini, ex una parte, et homines suos trium villarum quas habet in partibus Normannie, ex altera, super eo quod idem Gaufridus dicebat villas hujusmodi esse et fuisse ad usus et consuetudines Andegavie, dictis hominibus dicentibus ex adverso easdem esse et fuisse ad usus et consuetudines Normannie . . . quia liquide inventum fuit quod dicte ville justiciaverunt se continue, ad usus et consuetudines Andegavie, per sexaginta duos annos, pronunciatum est et determinatum quod de cetero justicientur ville ipse, ad usus et consuetudines Andegavie, et non ad usus Normannie.'

We cannot know for sure how three Norman villages had come to be governed by Angevin custom from 1206. There is no record that Philip Augustus made such a gift to the count of Vendôme in that year, and in any case, Vendôme itself was an area of mixed jurisdictions where the customs of Anjou, Maine and Blois overlapped.[117] However, if, as seems likely, the 'customs of Anjou' by 1268 could also include the customs of Maine,[118] two other explanations are possible. These villages may have lain on the fringes of Normandy and Maine where jurisdictions were perhaps worked out only after the French conquest; if so, then custom and jurisdiction parted company or were left in confusion. The identity of the named disputant may be the key to understanding this episode. Geoffrey de Vendôme was a younger son of Count Peter of Vendôme by Joanna, third and youngest daughter of Juhel II de Mayenne. Through his mother Geoffrey had inherited not only La Chartre in south-eastern Maine, which Arthur had granted to Juhel de Mayenne in 1199, but also the castelry of Lassay-les-Châteaux near Mayenne: since Lassay lay on the fringes of the lordship of Mayenne towards the Passais, it may well have been one of the villages indicated by the *arrêt* of 1268. It is easy to believe that here, as at nearby Gorron and Ambrières, customary jurisdictions had been fixed only after the Capetian annexation of Normandy.[119]

An alternative explanation is more intriguing. As well as his interests on the southern border of Normandy with Maine, Juhel de Mayenne had inherited several far-flung manors in the heart of Normandy, namely Agon and Réville in the Cotentin, Secqueville and Fontenay-le-Pesnel in the Bessin, and Montchamp in the Bocage.[120] From these possessions he made gifts to his Cistercian foundation of Fontaine-Daniel near Mayenne in 1205 and 1208,[121] in which he was imitated by at least one Angevin tenant who held revenues from him in these Norman manors.[122]

[117] Yver 1952a, 23n.; see also Klimrath 1843, ii, 202–3; *Etabl.*, i, 357–8; Guillot 1972, i, 21–38, 374–5; Johnson 1981, 3–5, 69–84.

[118] Cf. *Etabl.*, i, 22–3.

[119] AN, L 971, no. 631: Geoffrey de Vendôme, knight, lord of Lassay, confirms all the property of Savigny 'in castellania mea de Lacaio racione donacionis quam fecit et dedit predictis religiosis dominus Juhellus condam dominus de Meduana auus meus' (1272). For his descent from Juhel de Mayenne, see Barthélemy 1993, 897–9 (H); for Arthur's grant of La Chartre to Juhel de Mayenne, see *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 607. After Juhel's death La Chartre had initially come to his most senior son-in-law, Dreux de Mello (*Ch. St-Julien*, i, no. 182).

[120] See p. 244 (Agon); Keats-Rohan 1993b, 29, and next note.

[121] *Ctl. Fontaine-Daniel*, no. XVIII (foundation act, June 1205, including gifts at Réville, Montchamp and Fontenay); ADC, H 5507 (gift of all Réville, 1208).

[122] Gifts of Renaud l'Angevin: *Ctl. Fontaine-Daniel*, 84–5, no. LIV, and ADC, H 5508 (Juhel de Mayenne confirms gifts at Fontenay and Montchamp, 1211); H 5508*bis* (the abbess of La Charité d'Angers notifies the *bailli* of Caen of gifts made at Fontenay by Renaud l'Angevin, her burgess, 1218). The revenues of corn which Renaud held in Juhel's Norman manors were assessed according to the measure of Mayenne.

Moreover, Philip Augustus confirmed Juhel's grant of Monchamps, Secqueville and Fontenay-le-Pesnel in May 1206, and it is possible that he granted the new abbey the privilege of using its usual Manceau-Angevin procedures in its Norman properties.[123] It is at the very least a remarkable coincidence that the use of the custom of Anjou in three places in Normandy connected with the Mayenne dynasty dated from the same year that Philip confirmed the acquisitions of Juhel's abbey in three Norman locations in 1206. The three vills in which these properties lay could then have formed part of the inheritance of Joanna de Mayenne when Juhel's lands were divided in 1220,[124] later passing to Geoffrey de Vendôme. Whether or not this supposition is correct, the *arrêt* of 1268 reveals that the integrity of the zone of application of Norman customs was still open to question in the mid-thirteenth century.

The customs of Norman territory under French rule (1193–1204)

The traditional precision assigned to the geography of Norman custom does not stand up to scrutiny; much of the Norman frontier before 1204, particularly in more remote areas, was an area of competing jurisdictions, which the Capetian annexation itself helped to resolve. Yet the robustness of Norman customs in the face of the province's subjugation to Capetian justice is also clear. As the king of France captured Norman castles and lands from Arques to Tillières in the 1190s, he posed a serious threat to the geographical integrity of the custom of Normandy. Many of the conquered castelries passed not to local families, as at Gorron, but into the French king's domain. The conquests of Philip Augustus between 1193 and 1200 were not merely part of a transient wartime situation: in 1196 and 1200, a peace was established between the kings of France and England that was intended to be permanent.[125] Philip Augustus wielded justice in his new castelries: the Capetian justices of the Vexin were holding assizes at Gisors in 1196, and other officials accounted for judicial revenues at Evreux in 1202.[126] What happened to customary practices in the lands won by King Philip *in Normannia* between 1193 and 1204? Here, as at Gorron and in other contested border regions, the question arose: would the annexed regions of eastern Normandy be ruled by the

[123] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 946, confirming Fontenay, Montchamp, Secqueville, and some property at Réville; cf. iii, no. 1007, grant of Réville (Feb.–Apr. 1208).

[124] The argument presented here assumes that Juhel de Mayenne did not renounce all his rights in the vills that he gave to Fontaine-Daniel, which is plausible but undocumented.

[125] *Dipl. Docs*., nos. 6, 9. The *treugæ* of 1194 were intended to give way to an eventual *pax* (Howden, iii, 257).

[126] Above, pp. 107–8.

procedures of the new lord's court – in this instance the Capetian *curia regis* – or would they retain their traditional customs? Either the king accepted the entrenched customs in the frontier castelries after 1193, even before he proclaimed his adherence to the 'uses and customs of Normandy' from 1204 onwards, or he imposed the practices of his own court in defiance of previous usage in these localities.

Unfortunately, we can learn little from the handful of known French royal acts for these conquests before 1204. None of the surviving acts of Philip Augustus concerns his Norman acquisitions prior to 1195, which is hardly surprising in view of the ferocious fighting that afflicted the whole Franco-Norman march until then. Philip Augustus began to enfeoff his French supporters with Norman castelries in 1195, granting Neufmarché to William de Garlande, and Eu and Arques to Count William of Ponthieu;[127] the earliest confirmation sought from him was for the priory of Saint-Michel de Vernon in the same year.[128] Further distribution of land and castles followed after the treaties of Louviers and Le Goulet.[129] However, King Philip's acts executing these grants give no indication of procedure or customary principles; his acts concerning the conquered districts merely confirm alms of the families whose lands had fallen into his hands.

'Private' charters from the affected areas are more numerous. The extant muniments of the Cistercian abbey of La Noë in the Evrecin, for instance, contain at least twenty-five acts from the period between the Capetian capture of Evreux (April 1199) and the end of Angevin Normandy, mostly grants in alms to the abbey, and these concern properties that lay under both Angevin and Capetian control in that period.[130] The only Capetian official to appear in these acts was Hugh Branchard, castellan of Evreux, probably in April 1199, within weeks of Philip's capture of the city;[131] another act was given before the French garrison of Alençon

[127] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 501 (Anet, 1195), 508 (Mantes, Aug. 1195). Eu and Arques were to form the dowry of Alice, sister of Philip Augustus, in her marriage to the count of Ponthieu. The truce terms of July 1194 show a number of other fortresses in the hands of French nobles, but since the Normans recovered the majority of them soon afterwards and the king of France also lost his archives in the disaster of Fréteval in May 1194, it is not surprising that no act of endowment survives. See Baldwin 1986, 407–13.

[128] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 498 (2 Apr. × 31 Oct. 1195).

[129] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 548 (Nonancourt), 549 (Grossœuvre); *Layettes*, i, no. 594 (Ivry). For the date of the enfeoffments of Grossœuvre and Nonancourt, see Coulson 1984, 32 and n. 30.

[130] ADE, H 672 (3 acts), H 673, H 675 (3 acts), H 682, H 684, H 695; BN, ms. lat. 5464, nos. 22–4, 39, 41–50 (all dated 1199–1204). Of the many undated (or misdated) acts for La Noë, nos. 20 (see next note) and 31 (confirming no. 39) should probably also be dated to this period, and possibly also nos. 26–30, 32–8, 40 and 51 (cf. *Sceaux de la Noë*, nos. 10, 14–27).

[131] BN, ms. lat. 5464, no. 20. For this act, dated 'April 1198' but presumably from 1199, and for Hugh Branchard, see Power 1999a, 126.

in 1203.[132] These are the only acts in the abbey's muniments that reflect the presence of King Philip's agents in his Norman acquisitions before 1204.[133] In general the acts for La Noë portray a localised community, from the count of Meulan down to the petty knights who witnessed so many of the surviving deeds of La Noë, that continued to regulate its own affairs without interference from above – even though some profits of justice from the district found their way into royal coffers.[134] Other acts in the district give a similar impression. When French officials held assizes, for instance at Gisors, the local community was not excluded from participating.[135] In one of the more unusual acts, the erstwhile lord of Vernon, though deprived of his castelry, advised the French king of his former seigneurial rights on the Seine, which implies that Philip was respecting the traditions of his acquisitions.[136] Inquests into ducal rights in these domains also drew upon the evidence of the knights and burgesses who had regulated affairs in these lordships as honorial communities before 1193.[137] These actions suggest that King Philip and his French *baillis* respected the local customs of the Normans as they sought to secure their position in the Norman march. The fact that King Philip's acts did not invoke the customs of Normandy until 1204 does not necessarily mean that he applied the existing rules of his own court to the conquered lands, in defiance of local traditions, until all Normandy was in his hands.

The most significant text for the strength of Norman customs in the conquered areas of the Norman march is the first part of the *Très Ancien Coutumier* (*c.*1200). Its author used examples from the castelries of Ivry and Saint-André to demonstrate the practices which he sought to describe, even though these two castles had been in French hands for several years when he wrote. He was thus imbuing the customs of Normandy with a geographical fixity which could not be eradicated, even when parts of the duchy were being absorbed into the domain of the French king, in

[132] ADE, H 672, no. 8: act of Robert du Bois-Gencelin (May 1203); cf. Power 1999a, 131 n.95, and Power 2001b.

[133] BN, lat. 5464, no. 48, dated 1204, is witnessed by Garnier, castellan of Avrilly.

[134] For ducal exactions in the Evrecin, see above, pp. 000–0.

[135] E.g. BN, ms. lat. 5441, I, pp. 99–100 (ed. Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 552, but mispunctuated).

[136] BMRO, Y 51 (Fécamp Ctl.), fol. 15v, no. 43: '[R]euerendi domino suo Philippo Dei gratia Regi Franc' Christianissimo, suus Ricardus de Vernone . . . Quoniam meum est predecessorum meorum actibus ueritatis perhibere testimonium, et eos in bonis actibus et operibus imitari, excellentie uestre duxi significare ecclesiam Sancte Trinitatis Fiscannensis suam in omnibus rebus suis in eundo et redeundo per aquam Vernon' habere libertatem, quam predecessores mei eidem ecclesie diuine pietatis intuitu contulerunt, et usque ad dies nostros inuiolabiliter et strenue seruauerunt' (1196 × 1211).

[137] *Registres*, e.g. 59–61, 65–70, 75–80, 95–6, 99–100 (*Inquisiciones*, nos. 15–16, 20–4, 30, 32–4, 47, 52). None of these inquests is dated, but some at least probably date from before 1204.

contrast to the more fluid situation at Gorron and the other castles of the southern Passais. If the author, perhaps a clerk at the Caen Exchequer, was from the Evrecin, as Tardif and Viollet believed, the fall of his homeland to the French may even have been the spur that goaded him into writing down the customs of Normandy, for the arrival of French officials must have brought home the differences between Norman and French customs to the local inhabitants.[138] If so, the French onslaughts were actually widening the Norman sense of difference from their neighbours. This interpretation depends upon the exact date of the first part of the *Très Ancien Coutumier*. If we accept Tardif's belief that it was written between the deaths of Richard I (6 April 1199) and of William fitzRalph, seneschal of Normandy (9 June 1200),[139] the duchy had a very firm geographical basis in the eyes of the author: in 1199–1200, it would have been difficult to envisage the complete subjugation of Normandy by the French king within five years. The author must have assumed that Ivry would remain out of ducal control for the foreseeable future, yet continued to treat it as part of the area governed by the customs of Normandy. If the custumal dates from 1203–4, an alternative date offered by Viollet,[140] then the complete control of Normandy by the French king was certainly foreseeable when the author wrote and the position of Ivry under French jurisdiction becomes far less significant.

In one matter, Philip Augustus asserted that he was departing from the practices of his Angevin predecessors and following the practice of 'France'. In 1200, he proclaimed that an inquest had found that Henry II and Richard I had never had the right to oppose the election of the bishop of Evreux, and he granted the canons the right of free elections as enjoyed by the other cathedral chapters of 'France'.[141] This was a purely political statement to blacken the Angevin dukes, since there was no vacancy at Evreux in 1200; the fact that Philip's lands were then under a papal interdict could also mean that this proclamation of piety was meant for consumption in Rome.[142] It was also a fine example of the practice of abolishing 'evil customs', a duty of every Christian ruler, and so it is not a safe guide to Philip's general attitude to the practices which he found in the lands he annexed, for in no other way did he claim to be imposing the customs of the old royal domain. In any case, in a matter concerning a

[138] *TAC*, i, 1, lxxxi; Viollet 1906, 51. Cf. Tabuteau 1988, 226–7, for the suggestion that the Norman expansion of the eleventh century likewise made them aware of the differences between their traditions and those of the peoples they conquered, in Italy, Maine, Brittany and England.

[139] *TAC*, i, 1, lxix–lxxii. [140] Viollet 1906, 48–9.

[141] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 637 (May × Oct. 1200) ('sicut et alii canonici ecclesiarum Francie liberam habent eligendi sibi episcopum potestatem').

[142] Baldwin 1969, 4–6; Baldwin 1986, 179–81.

regalian bishopric, *Francia* could mean the whole kingdom of France.[143] In fact, the *Querimoniæ Normannorum* of 1247 included remarkably few complaints against the introduction of 'bad customs' by the Capetian kings,[144] and it has even been suggested that the conservative nature of Norman custom after 1204 arose from the attempts of the French *baillis* to respect Norman customs, thereby stifling organic change.[145] The officials' apparent regard for Norman procedure and traditions contrasts with the importation of many new practices by the Normans into England after 1066, or by the 'French' into the Languedoc during the Albigensian Crusades.

All in all, the area governed by the custom of Normandy had acquired a strong territorial definition by 1204. Philip Augustus, in his stipulation that services for his land grants should be performed according to the traditional practices of the duchy, had recognised the strength of these customs. Nevertheless, the exact borders of Norman custom remained to be established after 1204, divorced from the conflict-ridden atmosphere of Angevin-Capetian rivalry or of local disputes between duke and baron. The boundary of the *Coutume de Normandie* in 1583 bore witness not to the limits of the rising eleventh-century duchy but to the more stable, supine Capetian *terra Normannie*.

THE CUSTOMARY FRONTIER: THE 'SPIRIT' OF NORMAN CUSTOM

The 'great gulf' between Normannia *and* Francia

If the territorial framework of Norman customary law is important for the history of the Norman frontier, its character is also of special significance. One of the greatest historians of medieval French law, Yver, sought to demonstrate that a common 'spirit' infused the various customs of the 'west' such as Normandy, Brittany, Anjou and Poitou, and at the same time divided these 'Plantagenet' systems from those of central France such as the customs of Paris, Montfort, Mantes-Meulan or Chartres.[146] They also differed substantially from the group of 'northern' customs which bordered the English Channel from Ponthieu to

[143] Register *C* of Philip Augustus lists 'Archiepiscopi et episcopi regni Francie' in the broad sense (*Registres*, 325, note (a); *RHF*, xxiii, 682); but see C. T. Wood 1967, 119–20, for the narrower sense of *regnum* in this context. For the ruler's duty to abolish 'evil customs', see Gilissen 1982, 30–1; cf. Torigni, i, 360, for Henry II's abolition of evil customs in the Alençonnais in 1166.

[144] Holt 1975, 225n.; cf. Petit-Dutaillis 1925, 110–12, and Baldwin 1986, 229. For complaints over wrongful levying of *fouage*, see p. 35.

[145] Strayer 1932, 105. [146] Yver 1952a, 51, 76–9; Yver 1966, 1, 3.

Flanders,[147] although these did influence the Pays de Caux and county of Eu,[148] and had some similarities with more general Norman practices.[149] According to Yver the customs of the west were especially conservative, feudally oriented and concerned to protect lineage, all of which gave rise to a 'deep customary divide' (*la grande coupure coutumière*) between Norman custom and its French neighbours.[150] If his thesis holds true, the geographical uncertainties of Norman custom – which he did not consider – become far more significant: when, in 1312, the inhabitants in the vicinity of Verneuil were asked to choose between the customs of Normandy and 'France', they were choosing not merely between alternative rules about concerns such as dower or chattels, but between entire, contrasting systems of law.[151]

This strong contrast does not match the administrative fragmentation of Normandy's neighbours in the twelfth century, since the French king's court did not wield ordinary justice in much of *Francia*. Yet Yver's *grande coupure* does accord with the basic contrast between *Francia* and *Normannia* in contemporary attitudes, and it is implicit in the distinction repeatedly drawn between the customs of Normandy and the customs of *Francia*, even though this *Francia* later comprised not one but many *coutumes générales*. To make it clear that Norman law was not to apply, it was legally sufficient to refer to the *consuetudines Francie*, which, as we have seen, had a very wide geographical definition in the thirteenth century.[152]

However, although contemporaries were outwardly very conscious of the differences between French and Norman customs, these were sufficiently small to allow French lords whom Philip Augustus installed in Normandy to adapt quickly to the conquered province. His cousin Robert de Courtenay was established as lord of Nonancourt and Conches, his marshal Henry Clément as lord of Argentan and Sai, and Peter Mauvoisin as lord of Saint-André; the descendants of these three men were leading members of the Norman aristocracy in the mid-thirteenth century. King Philip's chamberlains, Walter the Young and Bartholomew de Roye, also received lands in Normandy, as did some of his lesser household officials.[153] Even the French king's mercenary captain, Lambert Cadoc, installed himself at Gaillon, in the Pays d'Ouche

[147] Yver 1952a, 78; Yver 1953–4, xxxv, 199–200.

[148] Génestal 1928, 175, 177; Yver 1952a, 78, n. 2; Yver 1966, 121 n.226.

[149] Yver 1953–4, xxxvi, 34, referring to surprising parallels between Flemish and Norman practice, for example in *répresentation à l'infini*.

[150] Yver 1952a, 79. Cf. 78: 'C'est la césure décisive, tranchée comme un couteau, qui sépare [les Coutumes de l'Ouest] à l'est des Coutumes voisines.'

[151] See above, p. 165. [152] See pp. 158–61.

[153] See below, pp. 210–11. For Henry Clément's descendants, see BN, ms. lat. 11059, fols. 47r–48r (Henry Clément, lord of Sai (cant. Argentan), 1245–65); ADC, H 6510, fols. 48r–v, no. 203

and in the Hiémois; although this led him into clashes with the local knights over judicial practices at Gaillon, his marriage into a family from the Pays d'Ouche left a dynasty that survived his downfall in about 1218.[154] Some of the favoured French *curiales* had had contacts with Normandy long before 1204: the Garlandes had held Marbeuf near Le Neubourg for two generations, and Peter Mauvoisin came from a family that had been involved in Anglo-Norman politics for decades.[155] Almost every one of these grants was made 'according to the uses and customs of Normandy'. Their readiness to bow even to local customs may be seen in the division of the lands of one such newcomer, Garnier Troussel, according to the customs of the Pays de Caux in 1236.[156]

Undoubtedly there were different principles and practices of inheritance between Normandy and *Francia*, but family arrangements did not normally treat French and Norman lands differently. In 1205, when John, son of the count of Alençon, was married to Alice, daughter and coheiress of Bartholomew de Roye, Bartholomew promised to endow Alice with half of his lands in *Francia* and Normandy and with all his land in Vermandois. Bartholomew's French and Norman lands were probably all acquisitions, either from his service to Philip Augustus or from his marriage to the sister of Simon de Montfort, whereas his land in Vermandois was primarily the portion of his family's inheritance that he had received as a younger son; Alice was apparently to divide all her father's *acquêts* equally with her sister, irrespective of the province in which they lay, but would receive all their father's modest patrimony. If Bartholomew were to have a male heir at a later date, Alice would still receive a third of all his lands, no matter whether they lay in Normandy, Vermandois or *Francia*.[157] In 1217, the terms for the division of the lands of the deceased

(Henry Marshal, lord of Sai, son of John Marshal, lord of Argentan, 1264, o.s.). For the Mauvoisin lords of St-André, see App. 1, no. 20.

[154] Above, pp. 61–2. BN, ms. lat. 11056, fols. 30v–32r, nos. 691–4: Lucy, widow of Lambert Cadoc and *châtelaine* of Gaillon, confirms her ancestors' gifts at Montreuil-l'Argillé (1230); confirmations of Gervase, son of Lucy and Cadoc (1230), and John de Gaillon, lord of Montreuil (1269). *QN*, no. 305, is almost certainly the *querimonia* of Cadoc's son Gervase ('de Gaillon'?) in 1247. For Montreuil-l'Argillé, see Bauduin 1992, 324, 343–5, who does not mention Lucy.

[155] Below, pp. 243–4 (Garlande), 254, 404 (Mauvoisin).

[156] *Jugements*, no. 584: 'Acordatum est quod primogenita filia Garnerii Trossel habebit per usus et consuetudines Caleti capitale masuagium, ita quod faciet de terra excambium sororibus suis.' For Garnier, see *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 851; for the distinctive customs of Caux, see below, p. 189.

[157] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 905: 'Post decessum vero suum dat eidem Johanni cum filia sua in maritagium medietatem tocius terre sue de Francia et de Normannia et totam terram suam de Viromandesio, salvo in omnibus dotalicio Petronille, uxoris sue, et salvo eo quod, si contingeret eum habere heredem masculum, filia ejus, dicta Aeliz, tantum habebit terciam partem tocius terre sue, *ubicumque eam habebit*' (my italics). For Alice's dower in the Alençonnais after John's death, see *RHF*, xxiii, 618 (*c.*1220); by 1214–15 she had married Ralph, younger brother of John, lord of Nesle (Newman 1971, i, 72; ii, no. 120; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii. no. 1348).

William de Garlande between his three sons-in-law carefully specified that William's lands in *Francia* and Normandy should be treated as a single inheritance, especially when it came to allocating his residences and fortresses.[158] When Robert de Poissy, lord of Hacqueville in the Norman Vexin, divided Radepont on the Andelle with his half-brother John de Moret after a dispute in 1219, each brother abandoned all claims over the other's land in France and Normandy.[159] These elaborate family arrangements required careful negotiation, for although they involved sizeable baronial inheritances, in each case a significant proportion of the lands being devised were *acquêts*. It was therefore all the more imperative that it was clear which lands were affected, but the simple reference to 'France and Normandy' eradicated most ambiguity. All these agreements were confirmed by the king of France, whose court was the only competent forum for all the affected regions.

It is not only in the court and chancery of Philip Augustus that we find insistence upon the distinction between *Francia* and Normandy for legal purposes. In 1211, the Norman Exchequer at Falaise considered the case of Robert de Ferrières, a knight from near Moulins-la-Marche, who had been summoned to plead for his inheritance in Normandy before the *bailli* of Verneuil and before another court in *Francia*. Since the knight's lands in *Francia* were actually in Perche, this was another example of a generalised contrast between 'Normandy' and 'France'. The two countries were specified because they represented separate jurisdictions, not because of strongly contrasting legal principles: Robert was eager not to have to plead in two different courts on the same day.[160] A similar concern for jurisdiction is apparent in an act that another knight from this district, Gervase de Manou, issued for the abbey of La Trappe in 1210. The abbey had recently acquired lands in his lordship; Gervase dutifully released the inhabitants of these alms from all services owed to him except for his milling rights, but as he was anxious to conserve his seigneurial rights in his other lands, he forbade any of his tenants in *Francia* or *Normannia*

[158] *Layettes*, i, no. 1235: 'ego [Johannes] comes Bellimontis, qui habeo uxorem majorem natu, in portione mea habebo melius herbergagium, cum fortericia, ubicumque sit, sive in Francia sive in Normannia'. For the Norman lands of William de Garlande at Neufmarché-sur-Epte and Marbeuf, see pp. 210, 243–4; the lands in *Francia* lay in the French Vexin, in the Forest of Yvelines, and at Livry north-east of Paris.

[159] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iv, no. 1566 (cf. no. 1575); cf. ADE, 30 J 54 (copy of John's more detailed act, 1220). For the complex genealogical context of this division, see App. 1, no. 24.

[160] *Jugements*, no. 80 (Easter 1211): 'De Roberto de Ferrariis, utrum una die placitabit de hereditate sua in Normannia coram Bartholomeo Droconis et eodem die placitabit in Francia de alia hereditate, vel non? Judicatum est quod dies debent dari partibus de octo diebus, ita quod possint esse unusquisque ad diem positum in Francia et in Normannia.' Bartholomew Drocon was *bailli* of Verneuil and a large tract of southern Normandy (*RHF*, xxiv, 1, 125*–126*).

to move to the abbey's lands in his fief.[161] The need to specify these territories arose out of very practical concerns of jurisdiction and the exercise of lordship rather than from the incompatibility of French and Norman custom.

In south-eastern Normandy, the Capetian invasions created a particular need to specify that the customs of Normandy were not being replaced by those from *Francia*, the land of the conquering power. No such consideration applied on the borders of Normandy and Maine, and it is noticeable that the uses and customs for inheritances spanning this border were hardly ever defined in provincial terms as they were for 'France and Normandy'. The division of the Alençon inheritance in Normandy and Maine in 1221 made no reference to either province.[162] The abbey of Savigny lay more or less at the meeting-point of Normandy, Maine and Brittany, and its magnificent collection of charters, comprising well over a thousand acts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, provides many candid statements about inheritance practices, notably in matters of dower, wardship, and provision for daughters and younger sons; but it rarely reveals a strong concern for differences between provincial systems of custom. In 1195 a case concerning the Breton and Norman lands of Leonesius de Fougères stated that when his twelve-year-old grandson Leonesius came of age under Norman law, he was to swear to observe a concord concerning his Norman lands;[163] according to the *Très Ancien Coutumier* the age of majority was twenty-one, but the same age appears to have been used in Brittany in the early thirteenth century.[164] This was an isolated example, however. If contemporary awareness of the legal significance of the Norman frontier appears greater along the French border than elsewhere, it probably owed more to concerns about jurisdiction than to deep-rooted legal differences.

[161] *Ctl. Trappe*, 230–1; for the context, see 231–2 (*c.*1200), 228–30 (1209). The Manou lands in Normandy were located in the lordship of Moulins-la-Marche, then in the hands of the count of Perche (*RHF*, xxiii, 617).

[162] AN, J 211, no. 5; *CN*, no. 283 (*Layettes*, i, nos. 1415, 1416).

[163] *PDN*, ii, no. 104 (AN, L 967, no. 153, act of William, bishop of Avranches, 1182 × 95): Leonesius, his kinsmen and numerous friends swore 'quod cum idem Leonesius filius Juhelli talis erit etatis quod iuxta legem Normannie finalem stabilem que conuentionem possit facere, ipsum facient bona fide istam concordiam confirmare, quod et ipse se facturum in manu nostra affidauit et per librum super altare calumpniam suam dimisit'. The phrase 'iuxta legem Normannie' occurs in two related acts, issued by William de Fougères (L 967, no. 151, s.d.) and Herbert, bishop of Rennes (BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 10, dated 1195 and supplying the surname of the elder Leonesius), but a third act (L 967, no. 152), a summary of the same case apparently issued by the same bishop of Avranches (see *PDN*, no. 104, notes *a*, *n*), has 'iuxta leges Normannie'.

[164] *TAC*, i, 1, 7, c. VI, and 79, c. LXXVIII; *Layettes*, ii, nos. 2135–6. A century later in Brittany the age of majority was 25, although oaths could be taken from the age of 14 (*TAC Bretagne*, 130–1, no. 79).

Personal laws and territorial laws

The easy assimilation of Frenchmen into Normandy contrasts with other examples of mixed populations during the central Middle Ages, and demonstrates the numerous similarities between the legal cultures of Normandy and its neighbours. In many other frontier regions of Europe, custom took on a personal definition, even as late as the thirteenth century. The Marches between England and Wales provide one example: although Magna Carta confirmed customs not by individual but by territory and assumed that the 'law of the March' had a territorial basis,[165] a closer scrutiny reveals that the Welsh and English in a particular lordship often had separate courts and laws.[166] For a brief period after the Norman Conquest of England, there were some separate laws for the 'French' and the English, but English law rapidly became territorialised once more.[167] Personal laws and systems of parallel courts also arose in Ireland, Toledo, Sicily, and German cities in the Slavonic lands of eastern Europe.[168] No such system developed in the marches of Normandy, where custom appears to have remained strictly territorial. The customs of Vernon, for instance, made no legal distinction between the Normans and French who came to this busy town on the Seine.[169] Perhaps the divide between the customs of the west and of central France did not appear so great to contemporaries as it did to Yver.

The rapid adaptation of the French king's courtiers to the customs of Normandy also stands in stark contrast with another conquest by the knights of the Ile-de-France in the early thirteenth century, namely the Albigensian Crusade. In the Midi the knights of the Ile-de-France were confronted with a system of law that differed in many important respects from their own customs.[170] After his initial successes in the Languedoc, Simon de Montfort sought to regulate his new acquisitions at a council at Pamiers in December 1212; and far from confirming the existing customs of the province, he supplanted the tenurial practices of the Languedoc

[165] Holt 1992, 466–8, c. 56: 'et si contencio super hoc orta fuerit, tunc inde fiat in Marchia per judicium parium suorum de tenementis Anglie secundum legem Anglie; de tenementis Wallie secundum legem Wallie; de tenementis Marchie secundum legem Marchie. Idem facient Walenses nobis et nostris'.

[166] R. R. Davies 1971, 16, 25–6. [167] Garnett 1986, 134–6. [168] Bartlett 1993, 208–20.

[169] Lebeurier 1855, 525–31. However, around 1200 the Normans were named amongst the inhabitants of numerous lands and towns who paid customs at Bapaume in Artois, and the English and Normans had to pay a tariff at Montreuil-sur-Mer and Villers-sur-Authie in Picardy until it was abolished by Philip Augustus in 1190 (*Registres*, 52–3; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 293).

[170] Ourliac 1976, 585–94; Given 1990, 80–2, 86–8. In 1241 an unidentified inhabitant of La Rochelle made a direct comparison between the two French conquests, stating that the barons of Poitou feared that the French would treat them worse than the Normans and Albigensians (Delisle 1856, 526: 'Gallici . . . vilius quam Normannos vel Albigenses nos tractabunt').

with those to which he and his followers were accustomed. His proclamation ordained that 'tam inter barones et milites quam inter burgenses et rurales succedant heredes in hereditatibus suis secundum morem et usum Francie circa Parisius'. The brief version of the Statute of Pamiers repeated this clause and added the following: 'For pleas, judgments, dowers, fiefs and divisions of land, the count shall be required to observe the use and custom that is observed in *Francia* around Paris, for his barons from *Francia* and others from those parts to whom he gave land.'[171] The lord of Montfort's actions in the Languedoc contrast strongly with his royal lord's paraded respect for Norman custom: understandably so, for although Simon, like King Philip, sought to present himself as the successor of the lord whom he had supplanted,[172] his position in the Midi was tenuous in the extreme and required harsh measures to shore up his authority. Pierre Timbal believed that the introduction of French inheritance customs aimed to avoid the division of fiefs, which the Roman law of the Midi seemed to encourage, for this weakened the military basis of the overlord.[173] It may be, though, that in the perilous conditions of 1212, Simon simply wished to ensure that his followers were obliged to provide far more military service than the dispossessed lords of the Midi had customarily given.[174] In Normandy, in contrast, Philip Augustus would have felt he had less to fear from Norman practice, which outwardly appeared to maintain the integrity of knights' fees that were already burdened with quite heavy duties of military service; the king of France did not impose noticeably onerous services upon the Frenchmen whom he rewarded with Norman land.[175] If the unfamiliarity of southern French custom forced Simon de Montfort to adopt his own procedures in matters where his power could be most threatened, then Philip Augustus' respect for Norman uses and customs may have been a tribute not only to their differences, but also to their relative familiarity.

Two qualifications need to be added. Even where very different legal systems collided, personal law soon gave way to territorial law. In the

[171] Devic and Vaissete 1872–1904, viii, *Preuves*, no. 165, cols. 633–4 (Timbal 1949, 183–4): 'Item in placitis, judiciis, dotibus, feodis, particionibus terrarum comes tenetur servare baronibus suis de Francia et aliis, quibus dedit terram de partibus istis, eundem usum et eandem consuetudinem, que servatur in Francia circa Parisius'.

[172] Timbal 1949, 22.

[173] Timbal 1949, 25–6; cf. Ourliac 1982, 484–7. Given (1990, 87) argues the opposite, namely that the greater testamentary freedom in Midi law actually worked to maintain the integrity of the patrimony.

[174] Given 1990, 86–7.

[175] See *TAC*, i, 1, 8–9, c. VIII (*c.*1200); 92, c. LXXXIII, § 6 (1218 × 23); Génestal 1911, e.g. 4–9; Yver 1952a, 45–7. Henry Clément, for instance, was to hold Argentan for the service of five knights, although this quota may have been doubled by other grants made to him: *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 986 (cf. ii, no. 807); *Registres*, 285.

Languedoc the customs did not remain personal to Simon's followers for long; soon they had become attached to particular fiefs rather than individuals. Long after the military needs of the French conquerors had vanished, the 'custom of France' continued to be observed in the fiefs which they had taken, but only for successions to fiefs and some seigneurial prerogatives.[176] As in the Welsh March, private advantage rather than the genuine deep legal differences continued to dictate jurisdiction and practice long after the disappearance of the context in which they had been conceived.[177] Secondly, the knights who received fiefs 'according to the custom of France around Paris' (*secundum morem Francie circa Parisius*) were not from the vicinity of Paris alone. As well as 'French' whose homelands would later comprise the general customs of Montfort-l'Amaury, Dourdan, Etampes, Mantes-Meulan and Senlis, the crusaders came from all over northern France and beyond. The *Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois* numbers Normans, Bretons, Angevins and Poitevins amongst the crusaders, and Normans who chose to stay in the south after the fulfilment of their crusading vows included Robert de Picquigny (who had been lord of Baudemont *iure uxoris*), Simon de Cissey or Sassey, Roger d'Andely, Roger des Essarts and the exiled Anglo-Irish baron Hugh de Lacy.[178] Their readiness to follow the procedures that were familiar to Simon de Montfort and his henchmen indicates the similarities of the customs of *Francia* to those of the former Plantagenet lands in north-western France when compared with the customs of the Languedoc.

The strength of ducal authority in Norman custom

In one respect Norman custom was distinguished from neighbouring practices, including elsewhere in the Angevin lands, in the extent to which it reflected the strength of princely authority, a contrast that helps to account for the differences in 'spirit' detected by Yver.[179] The medieval custumals record how the dukes prohibited the settlement of disputes

[176] Timbal 1949, 28–32, 83, 91–104, 114–16, 175–6.

[177] R. R. Davies 1971, 28–30; Given 1990, 87.

[178] *Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, i, 88–92 (laisse 36). For Roger d'Andely, see *RHF*, xxiii, 616, 717, and Painter 1949, 253–4; for Robert de Picquigny, 'Normans, so m'es avis' (i, 90, laisse 36, line 11), see *ibid.*, xxiii, 693; *Registres*, 296, 303; Powicke 1961, 335n. Although the *Chanson* locates Hugh de Lacy in the Midi in late 1209, he was in fact expelled from Ireland only in summer 1210, remaining in France until 1222 (Carpenter 1990, 306–7). Roger des Essarts had been an intermediary between the Lacys and Philip Augustus in 1209, on the eve of the Lacy rebellion in Ireland (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1079; for this letter and the identification of its recipient as Walter or Hugh, not John de Lacy, see Duncan 1999, 258–9).

[179] Yver 1952b, 311–14.

by violence rather than in the courts. As early as 1091, the sons of the Conqueror had sought to restrict what historians have denoted as 'private' warfare,[180] and it was forbidden outright by the *Très Ancien Coutumier* in about 1200; the duke's justice would suffice, and he would intervene if a lord failed to give a man his right – a significant claim in view of the judicial franchises enjoyed by some Norman counts and abbeys. Norman cases were to be decided not by warfare but by a jury of twelve men or a judicial duel.[181] The ban upon private warfare retained a hallowed place in Norman law long after 1204, whatever breaches there may have been in practice.[182]

In neighbouring provinces, however, the barons frequently waged war upon one another in the twelfth century. In the Chartrain we hear in passing of a contest involving the count of Perche, the lord of Courville and the viscount of Chartres in the 1100s, and of a war in 1133 between Roger de Tosny and Hugh de Châteauneuf, who assaulted Roger's castle of Nogent-le-Roi in the Chartrain;[183] in the Beauvaisis the lords of Breteuil and Milly were in arms against one another in the early 1130s and the counts of Vermandois and Clermont clashed in the late 1140s.[184] In the lands of the count of Anjou there was a local war in Maine between the lords of Laval and Sablé in 1123.[185] Undoubtedly the Angevin princes succeeded in bringing most disputes to their courts thereafter, at least to the north of the Loire:[186] it is significant that one of the few instances of aristocratic warfare in Greater Anjou, between the lord of Laval and one of his men in 1199, occurred when the disputed succession to Richard I had temporarily dissolved princely authority in the region, and a concord had to be mediated by the Breton lord William de Fougères, one of Laval's most powerful neighbours, and Peter d'Anthenaise, the dean of Sablé, who belonged to an important family from western Maine.[187] The outright prohibition in Normandy remained very distinctive long after the end of the Angevin régime. The barons of provinces as far apart as Burgundy, the Amiénois and Languedoc had the right to wage war

[180] *Constitutiones et Justiciæ*, nos. 6–8, in Haskins 1918, 283. Yver (1927, 319–28) notes that the specific provisions, though wide-ranging, fell far short of a blanket prohibition.

[181] *TAC*, i, 1, 27, c. xxxi; 34–5, cc. lxi–lxii, for duels. Cf. Yver 1971, 364–5.

[182] For wars in Capetian and Valois Normandy, see Yver 1927, 328 n.5, 347; cf. *Olim*, ii, 404–5: in an attack against the chamberlain of Tancarville the lord of Harcourt had committed 'plus grief que la vengance du meffet le chambellenc ne le requeroit' (1296).

[183] *PL*, clxii, cols. 170–4, 176–7, nos. clxviii-clxx, clxxiii, and Thompson 2002, 58–9, 68–9; *Ctl. Pontoise*, 254–5 (*GC*, viii, instr., col. 328).

[184] Guyotjeannin 1987, 146 and n.152 (1131 × 34); *RHF*, xv, 494.

[185] *Ctl. Manceau*, ii, 147.

[186] No less a figure than Richard I claimed in 1196 that the Poitevins had the right to fight to pursue their 'causes' (above, p. 154).

[187] *Maison de Laval*, i, no. 254; Pichot 1995, 190.

confirmed by Louis X in 1315,[188] and according to Philippe de Beaumanoir, only warfare between brothers of the full blood was unacceptable to the Beauvaisis nobles.[189] The Parlement of Paris ordained in 1296 that all local wars had to cease during the *guerra regis*, an indication of the prevalence of such conflicts.[190] In a related matter, whereas Norman barons were forbidden by the *Consuetudines et Justicie* in 1091 to fortify without ducal approval, in 1235 the barons of Brittany, smarting at the authoritarian rule of Peter Mauclerc, claimed not to require ducal licence for fortifications.[191]

Not content with establishing the principle, the dukes of Normandy generally enforced their prohibition of aristocratic warfare. Henry I exiled Robert, lord of Moulins, for attacking his neighbour Enguerrand l'Oison of Courtomer and disregarding his prohibition, although Orderic Vitalis hints that the king's action was regarded as unjust.[192] Normally the only opportunity that Norman barons had to resolve their disputes in arms was as part of much greater conflicts: local feuds between the houses of Tosny and Beaumont clearly informed the war of Norman succession in the 1130s, while the men of l'Aigle and Gacé came to blows both during the rebellions on behalf of William Clito in 1118 and in the war between the supporters of King Stephen and Geoffrey of Anjou in 1136.[193] Conversely, baronial feuds might be tolerated by the ruler of Normandy if it served his purpose to do so. The vicious assault of the count of Evreux upon the sons of Ascelin Goel in 1153 was probably launched with the collusion of Duke Henry, then at war with the king of France, because it discomfited the count of Meulan, whose familiarity with his Capetian master was too strong for Henry's liking.[194]

Rebellion was no more countenanced under Norman custom than warfare between ducal subjects. Orderic reported the alleged justification by Henry I of the punishment inflicted upon rebels who had fought for their lord against him in 1124: they had done homage to the duke with the consent of their lord, and so could not be excused their subsequent

[188] *Ordonnances*, i, 564: 'sur ce que lesdits nobles requierent, que tuit li gentilhome puissent querroier les uns aux autres, sans meffait, et ne soient tenu de donner treves, ne contraint, se partie le requiert, mais chevauchier, aller, venir, et estre a armes en guerre'. Cf. Yver 1927, 346–7; Holt 1992, 114.

[189] Beaumanoir, ii, 354–8, §§ 1669–73. War was, however, permissible between half-brothers.

[190] *Ordonnances*, i, 328–9; *Olim*, ii, 405. The immediate cause for the ban was in fact the conflict between two Norman barons, the lords of Harcourt and Tancarville, mentioned above (n. 182).

[191] Haskins 1918, 282, no. 4; 'Actes inédits des ducs de Bretagne', xxi, 97; Everard 2000, 18–19.

[192] Orderic, iii, 134 (*c.*1115): Henry's hatred was 'inflamed by the slanderous accusations of informers (*regis animositas delatorum maledicis accusationibus inflammata*)'.

[193] Crouch 1986, 32–3, 37–8, 55; Orderic, vi, 250, 462 (l'Aigle-Gacé).

[194] Torigni, i, 278; Crouch (1986, 75) suggests ducal connivance.

periurium.[195] In a rare statement that a Norman noble could fight his own war, Count Robert of Alençon enfeoffed a knight to guard one of his Norman castles 'as my war or the lord king's war shall require'.[196] This was contemporary with his revolt against King John, however, and stands alone as an instance of a baron instituting preparations for private warfare in Normandy after 1144. The mid-thirteenth-century *Grand Coutumier* included a paradigm of a writ accusing someone of treason against the lord of Normandy; the possibility of rebellion was not even considered.[197] Although, in reality, the barons of ducal Normandy had some freedom to protest by rebellion, they enjoyed no sanction to do so under established Norman custom. The *Usages of Touraine and Anjou*, in contrast, admitted that even the king might fail to do justice and assumed that a great lord might summon his knights against him; the knights were not forbidden to aid their lord against the king, but merely provided with a means of escape from their obligations to their lord if they wished.[198] In France in 1157, meanwhile, Louis VII and Count Waleran of Meulan accepted that war between them was permissible at Meulan or Gournay-sur-Marne, although the king managed to restrict the count's use of the men of Gournay, and also secured the right to summon the count's men from Gournay to fight for him in limited circumstances.[199]

Wardship represented another notable difference between Norman and neighbouring customs that bore the imprint of ducal authority: in Normandy, both land and ward came to the duke by right, although in practice he often allowed relatives to fine for the lands and heirs.[200] Almost everywhere else relatives had first claim upon minors. When the Breton lord John de Dol died in 1162, his daughter Isolde came into the

[195] Orderic, vi, 352–4.

[196] *Olim*, i, 324: the count enfeoffs Matthew le Véer at St-Aubin d'Appenai in return for eight days' custody at Essay 'pro necessitate guerre mee vel domini Regis.' For this act, see Power 2001b, 448–9.

[197] *Grand Coutumier*, 181–2, c. LXXII. Cf. Powicke (1961, 286n.) for treason in France; Strickland (1994) for the actual practice of rebellion in Normandy and England.

[198] *Etabl.*, iii, 24–5, no. XLIII (cf. ii, 75–7, no. LIII): 'Se li bers a son home lige et il li die: "venez vous en o moi, car je vueil guerroier encontre le roi mon seignor, qui m'a veé le jugemant de sa cort," li hom doit respondre [en tel maniere] à son seignor: "sire, je irai [volontiers] savoir au roi s'il est einsinc comme vous le [me] dites." Adonc il doit venir au roi et li doit dire: "sire, mes sires m'a dit que vous li avez veé le jugemant de vostre court; por ce en sui je venuz à vos por savoir en la verité: car mes sires m'a semons que je aille en guerre encontre vous." Et se li rois die: "je ne ferai ja à vostre seignor nul jugemant en ma cort," li hom s'en doit tantost retorner à son seignor; et li sires le doit porveoir de ses despens. Et se il ne [s'an] voloit aler o lui, il en perdroit son fié [par droit].'

[199] *RHF*, xvi, 15–16 (Luchaire 1885, no. 385) (1157); Crouch 1986, 77. See also the customs of Montchauvet (*Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 257), for provisions for war between the king of France and lord of Montfort.

[200] *TAC*, i, 1, 10–11, c. XI; Génestal 1930, 7–56; Yver 1971a, 354–6.

custody of John's neighbour and kinsman Ralph de Fougères, although two years later Henry II, intruding his power from across the Norman frontier, exploited Ralph's departure on crusade to seize the girl and her lands and give them in custody to one of his Norman courtiers.[201] Thereafter the rulers of Brittany repeatedly took minor heirs of great baronies into custody, although this was often regarded as contrary to custom.[202] In thirteenth-century Anjou, a nobleman's widow usually had custody of their heirs, but relatives with claims to the reversion of the inheritance could intervene if she abused this trust;[203] this principle was already allegedly established as the custom of Anjou when Maurice de Craon was preparing to go on crusade in *c.*1189. His will then named certain of his *fideles* as prospective guardians if his wife should die.[204] The practice of wardship within the kin-group appears to have extended through Maine to the very borders of Normandy, for in the late twelfth century Robert de Landivy had the custody of his nephew Hamelin, heir of Landivy, in the lordship of Mayenne just where it abutted the county of Mortain.[205] In *Francia*, Waleran of Meulan took charge of his young cousin, Count Ralph II of Vermandois.[206] At the death of Amaury I, count of Evreux (Amaury III de Montfort, d. *c.*1137), his son Amaury II (d. 1140) came into the wardship of Amaury de Maintenon, one of the chief men and neighbours of the Montfort lands in France.[207] However, the former royal chancellor and seneschal Stephen de Garlande, the boy's maternal great-uncle, guarded the honour of Gournay-sur-Marne for him, for it had descended to young Amaury from Stephen's family.[208] Only the triumphs of Philip Augustus began to overturn the custom of family wardship in *Francia*, at least for the minor heirs of the great French nobles.[209]

[201] Torigni, i, 340, 353; Everard 2000, 41–2.

[202] Everard 2000, 114–15; cf. 195–6.

[203] *Etabl.*, iii, 6–7, no. x (cf. ii, 28–30, no. xix).

[204] BN, Coll. Touraine, vi, no. 2135 (*Coutumes de l'Anjou*, iii, ciii–cv): Maurice assigned wardship of his heirs to his widow in the event of his death, 'sicut jus est et consuetudo in Andegavia'. Cf. Turner and Heiser 2000, 185. For Maurice II de Craon (d. *c.*1196), see *Maison de Craon*, i, 71–120.

[205] AN, l 971, no. 608: William bishop of Le Mans announces the gifts of William de Landivy, which were confirmed by William's wife Matilda and by Robert de Landivy, 'sub cuius tutela tunc temporis erat tota terra Hamelini de Landeui nepotis sui qui tunc erat paruulus et heres illius terre' (*c.*1180?).

[206] Torigni, i, 263–4; Crouch 1986, 71 and n. 61. Gilbert of Mons, 86, claimed that the wardship came to Count Ivo of Soissons, a *fidelis* of the count of Vermandois.

[207] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 171: 'Amauricus, parvus filius ejusdem Amaurici, qui erat sub custodia Amaurici de Mestenon, paterni doni concessor benignus et confirmator' (act of Simon de Montfort, 1199 (n.s.), reporting an act of *c.*1137 × 40).

[208] *Ch. St-Germain*, i, no. lxxxix: 'Stephani de Garlanda, qui eo tempore castrum Gurnaicum cum appenditiis suis in advocatione tenebat pro Amalrico, Ebrocensi comite, neptis suæ filio' (1138).

[209] Baldwin (1986, 196–8, 203–4, 278–9) traces these examples.

Successions and alienations

Some of the best-known distinctions between Norman and neighbouring customs were emerging only at the time of the Capetian conquest of Normandy. A good example is what French legal historians have called the *réserve héréditaire* or *coutumière*, namely the minimum proportion of an inheritance that could not be alienated, whether by grant (including grants in alms) or by sale. In the later customs of the Beauvaisis and Ile-de-France only one fifth could be given away, whereas in Normandy up to a third was acceptable.[210] The date at which this rule became general is harder to ascertain. Some aspects of the *réserve héréditaire* in Maine and Anjou have been traced back as far as the tenth century,[211] but the freedom to alienate a third, the norm for nobles in those counties in the late Middle Ages, is only rarely found before 1150.[212] Certainly the limit of a third was not generally applied throughout Maine at so early a date, for in 1162–3 a young widow on the borders of Normandy and Maine was permitted to grant away her entire inheritance in alms when she became a nun.[213] Paul Ourliac took the grant of one third of a tenement at Duclair to the abbey of Jumièges in 1190 as a sign that the *réserve* of two-thirds was already enshrined in Norman custom by then. Yet the act in question does not give any justification for the chosen fraction, nor does it state that the tenement comprised the donor's whole inheritance; in fact, since he enfeoffed the other two-thirds of the property to the abbey as well, it is unlikely that it did.[214]

[210] Ourliac (1982), 479–80. For the *réserve* in Normandy and adjacent provinces see Laplanche 1925, especially 135–8, 192 and 162–8 for the twelfth-century *elemosyna rationabilis* (apparently an intermediary stage in the development of the *réserve héréditaire*); Thireau 1986; White 1988, 192–200, 204–5. In 1179 alms to the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris were challenged by the donor's son-in-law as 'excessive and according neither with reason nor with the custom of the land' (*inmoderatam* [sic] *nec rationi vel consuetudini terre consentaneam*), but crucially, the resented proportion was not specified (*Archives de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris*, no. 14; Luchaire 1885, no. 769; Laplanche 1925, 119–20).

[211] Thireau 1986, 354–79, 386–8: the reserve of one half, which by the thirteenth century was restricted to commoners. Thireau suggests that its origins may be much older.

[212] Thireau 1986, 379–85.

[213] Rouen, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 4: Mary Bastard gave her inheritance at Savigny and Landivy to the abbey of Savigny, with the consent of her uncle and nearest male relative Richard Bastard. The latter granted most of his inheritance to Savigny when he entered the abbey the following year.

[214] Ourliac 1982, 479–80 (also Laplanche 1925, 135–6); *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, no. CLIX (William *de Vado*, 1190). This act, known only from the abbey's thirteenth-century Cartulary *A* (ADSM, 9 H 4), is suspicious in form on account of a sum of 60 *livres tournois* (possibly a unique instance in Normandy of that coinage before 1200), and an unusually early use of *miles* as a sobriquet. *Ann. Jumièges*, 125–6, states that William *de Vado*, knight, sold a third of his tenement at Duclair to the abbey in 1201, for 13 *li.* (no mint specified) and a horse. A William *de Vado* was numbered amongst the sergeants of Count Robert of Meulan, not the knights, in an act for Jumièges in 1202, misdated to 1183 in Cartulary *A* (*Ch. Jumièges*, ii, no. CCXXXVII and 209 n.4).

These examples notwithstanding, there are indications that the restriction of alienations to a third was becoming generally accepted in Normandy by 1200, when the first part of the *Très Ancien Coutumier* stated categorically that the inalienable reserve of two-thirds was the practice followed in the duchy.[215] It was not restricted to the upper echelons of society: in 1205 the widow of a citizen from Evreux granted a third of all her property both within and outside that city to its lazarhouse.[216] Moreover, in 1223, in the far south of Normandy, Robert de Planches and his wife Joanna claimed that Hervey d'Essay, her late father, had sold or given away in alms more than one third of his inheritance to the abbey of Almenêches and other beneficiaries, contrary to the law and custom of Normandy.[217] Robert and Joanna agreed to abandon their claims against the nuns for 100 *s. tournois*, but in 1236 Joanna's second husband resurrected the claim and the abbey of Almenêches had to pay a like sum to secure his quitclaim.[218] Since both the Essay disputes, which were heard by the royal *baillis*, date from the Capetian period, whereas Hervey had endowed Almenêches before 1203,[219] it is impossible to know whether the limit of a third had been regarded as binding at the time of his original gift. Nevertheless, the nuns' willingness to pay off their tormentors suggests that the latter had some justification for their grievance.

Another customary practice that was still ill-defined in 1200 was the particular problem of succession that the great English jurist Bracton dubbed the *casus regis*, since it corresponded to the dispute between John Lackland and Arthur of Brittany in 1199. If a man died childless leaving a younger son and a grandson by an elder, deceased son, who had the better claim: the younger son (cadet), as closer in degree of kinship to his father, or the grandson (the representative heir), by right of strict primogeniture? Sir James Holt has shown how the cadet's claims progressively gave ground to those of the representative in England and Normandy between the late twelfth and mid-thirteenth century; in both England and Normandy the

[215] *TAC*, i, 1, 48 (c. LVII, § 4); cf. *Grand Coutumier*, 115, c. XXXV, § 3.

[216] ADE, H-dépôt Evreux, G 7, pp. 46–7 (Emelina, widow of Christopher *Albutarius*).

[217] ADOR, H 3630, act of 'Robert de Planchis miles et Johanna vxor sua': 'Noverit vniuersitas vestra quod ego Robertus maritus Johanne, ad quam tota hereditas Herueij de Esseio militis fuerat deuoluta, et ego Johanna, traximus in causam abbatissam et sanctimoniales de Almenesch'. coram balliuo domini Regis, ob hoc videlicet quod predictus Herueius elemosinauerat et vendiderat et aliis modis alienauerat tam predicte abbatisse et monialibus quam aliis personis ultra terciam partem sue hereditatis, quod non licebat secundum ius et consuetudinem Normannie.'

[218] ADOR, H 3630: act of Ranulf (*Renulfus*) *Chaillou*, who gives no reason for his claim (1235, o.s.).

[219] ADOR, H 3630: Robert son of Count John (of Sées) confirms Hervey's gifts to Almenêches at Essay. The count had begun to call himself 'count of Alençon' in 1202 or 1203 (Power 2001b, 452–3).

accession of John hindered the process for a time, but ultimately did not halt it. Not surprisingly, in John's time at least one decision in favour of the cadet was made in his own county of Mortain.[220] In Anjou, Maine and Touraine, Arthur's cause suggests that the representative's rights were already triumphing before 1199; hence in terms of the *casus regis* the frontier of south-west Normandy was a legal border of decreasing significance, and the difference had vanished altogether by the time of the *Grand Coutumier* (1254–8).[221] Yet other stretches of the Norman frontier continued to be an important legal boundary between areas where the cadet was favoured and those where the representative's claims were preferred. In 1281, at the death of Joanna, queen of Castile and countess of Ponthieu and Aumale, the Parlement de Paris decided that the county of Aumale belonged to Normandy and should therefore go to her granddaughter as representative heir, whereas her daughter, Queen Eleanor of England, was the rightful heir of Ponthieu, where custom gave preference to the cadet.[222] A couple of years later, Philippe de Beaumanoir's *Coutumes du Beauvaisis* favoured the rights of the uncle over the nephew: the most the nephew might hope for was a partition of the inheritance between him and his uncle, whereas in Normandy it was the uncle whose ambitions were comparably circumscribed.[223]

Although these examples date from the late thirteenth century, the divide between lands favouring nearness of degree and those opting for primogeniture was already apparent soon after the end of Angevin Normandy. In 1218, at the death of Count Theobald of Blois and Clermont, his lordship of Breteuil-en-Beauvaisis passed to his great-aunt Amice de Breteuil, his grandmother's youngest sister, rather than to her nephew Ralph de Clermont, who was senior to her by primogeniture. In 1223 Ralph was expecting to inherit Breteuil from Amice in his turn,[224] but when he predeceased her in 1225, Breteuil passed to his sisters Joanna-Beatrice and Clemence, who were the cadet claimants, rather than to his eldest son Simon de Clermont, who was Amice's representative heir.[225] Ralph's widow Gertrude de Nesle may have inherited the lordship of

[220] AN, L 976, no. 1143, an act of Eudo de Ferrières which mentions that the inheritance of Robert de St-Patrice (cant. and cne. Le Teilleul) passed to his younger son by his second wife in preference to the daughters of his deceased son by his first wife (1188 × 1201).

[221] Holt 1990, 21–3. The customs of Anjou recorded in the *Etablissements de St Louis* do not discuss this problem; for the pronouncements of the *Grand Coutumier*, see also Génestal 1928, 53–4.

[222] *Actes du Parlement*, i, 366, App. no. 427; above, p. 165.

[223] Beaumanoir, i, 239–40, § 500.

[224] *Ampl. Coll.*, i, col. 1181 (Petit-Dutaillis 1894, 454–5, nos. 44–5).

[225] See App. 1, no. 7, disproving the traditional interpretation which made Joanna-Beatrice and Clemence the daughters of Amice by John Briard.

Nesle in Picardy by a similar process in 1239.[226] Two generations before Beaumanoir wrote, the Norman frontier marked a division between lands where primogeniture was becoming more important for collateral descents, and territories where nearness of degree remained the chief determiner in these cases. Yet the Anglo-Norman evidence shows that this contrast emerged only after the end of Angevin Normandy; in 1204 there was still a great deal of latitude on both sides of the frontier.

Parage, the best known of all Norman inheritance practices, demonstrates how the arrangements of landowning families were still evolving from flexible *mores* into rigid, internally coherent *régimes successoraux* in 1200. Parage required the property to be divided equally between sons, but the eldest son alone performed services to the lord of the fief: the younger sons and their descendants held their property from the senior line but did not perform homage until the seventh generation, the notional limits of kinship. This practice maintained the nominal unity of the inheritance without leaving the cadets empty-handed. It was demonstrably being adopted by sections of the Norman aristocracy long before 1204: a clear example of the practice appears before 1072, and the history of the Giroie family recorded by Orderic Vitalis implies that it was already being followed in the mid-eleventh century; indeed, to some extent it had been prefigured by practices in the ruling family of Normandy itself since the late tenth century.[227] Parage also appears in action on the borders of Normandy and Maine in 1162, where the *lignages chevaleresques* of Bastard and Savigny were practising equal partition (in the former case in both the county of Mortain and the lordship of Mayenne), but in each case the elder son retained the eldest son's right over the cadet branch.[228] It is prominent in the *Très Ancien Coutumier*, while in the *Scripta de Feodis* (*c.*1220), Richard de Creully was holding his lands from his nephew Gilbert de Creully 'as if from his elder brother' (*sicut de antenato suo*), and Enguerrand du Hommet held Remilly on the same terms from his nephew William du Hommet, constable of Normandy.[229] Yet like representative succession or the *réserve héréditaire*, parage before 1200 should be seen not as a rigid system of inheritance,

[226] Newman 1971, i, 50–1, 72–3: the date of Gertrude's death is unknown, and so it is unclear whether Nesle passed to her or directly from her brother, John de Nesle, to her son Simon de Clermont; what is clear is that John de Nesle's representative heir and namesake, the lord of Falvy, did not inherit. For the rights of women in the Beauvaisis to succeed through nearness of degree, see Beaumanoir, i, § 470.

[227] Bates 1982, 127, 144 n. 140 (tenants of Abbot Ansfrid of Préaux); Garnett 1994, 82–4, 99–100. See also Holt 1972, 10, 44–5.

[228] BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 4 (Bastard); AN, L 975, nos. 1073 (Bastard), 1075, 1076, 1078 (sons of Juhel de Savigny).

[229] *TAC*, i, 1, 8–9, c. VIII, and 91–3, c. LXXXIII; *RHF*, xxiii, 612, 609. Gilbert de Tillières, lord of Creully, appears to have been the son of Philip de Creully, son of Richard fitzCount; Richard de

but as a social relationship, designed to maintain equal dignity between brothers (as *parentes* and *pares*) without compromising the lord's claims to the services which the fief owed.[230] In many ways aristocratic inheritance still retained a symbolic as well as an economic function, offering status to and demonstrating ties between all the members of the lineage; there was therefore bound to be considerable latitude in inheritance practices on both sides of the frontier. In the case of the families of Bastard and Savigny, for instance, the right of the eldest was alienated in perpetuity to the abbey of Savigny.[231]

Consequently, it remains open to debate whether the contrasts between Norman and neighbouring customs represented so great a divide as Yver maintained, at least until later in the thirteenth century. It is instructive that the rules regarding the *réserve héréditaire*, the *casus regis* and parage appear to have been hardening in the aftermath of the fall of Angevin Normandy. It is easy to believe that the Capetian conquest of western France had helped to make rules more rigid, as intruding French officers attempted to uphold their royal master's proud boasts that he was respecting provincial uses and customs.

HYBRID CUSTOMS AND FRONTIER INSTITUTIONS

In regions of strongly contrasting cultural influences, 'hybrid' systems of custom could develop, such as the unfinished implantation of French custom in the Languedoc discussed above, or the Law of the Welsh March that was first formally recognised as distinct from both English and Welsh law in clause 56 of Magna Carta.[232] Even if the legal contrasts between the Capetian and Angevin lands were less pronounced, some of the districts at the fringes of their influence developed legal systems that reflected the competing customary influences experienced in these districts. The greatest was the custom of Grand-Perche: since it lay between competing influences from Normandy, Maine and the Chartrain, and largely corresponded to the old lands of the counts of Perche, its inhabitants appear to have adopted practices from their neighbours in an eclectic fashion. In Yver's eyes the *Coutume du Grand-Perche* showed Chartrain influences in

Creully was Philip's younger brother (App. 1, no. 30; Torigni, ii, 58 n.7; *Livre Noir de Bayeux*, i, nos. CCXVII–CCXVIII, CCLXXIII–CCLXXIV; *Holy Trinity Charters*, 135). Enguerrand du Hommet (d. 1220) was a younger son of William du Hommet, constable of Normandy (d. *c.*1204); William was the latter's grandson (see ADC, H 667 for acts of Enguerrand, son of William the constable, and William, grandson of William the constable, both dated 1204; cf. Le Hardy 1897, 270–1, and *Jugements*, no. 293).

[230] Barthélemy 1993, 530–2, 859–60.

[231] See the acts cited in n. 228 above.

[232] Holt 1992, 466–8; R. R. Davies 1971, 1.

its preferential treatment of the eldest son, but the influences of Anjou-Touraine (and also, one might argue, of Normandy) in its dower of one third of a spouse's estate; he therefore deduced that it was closest in its spirit to the custom of Maine, since, unlike in Normandy, in both Maine and Perche different rules for nobles' and commoners' fiefs developed.[233] Further south, the customs of the Vendômois corresponded to the customs of Anjou in most respects, an alleged legacy of the Angevin conquest of the county in the mid-eleventh century. Consequently, the region that later followed Vendômois custom generally corresponded in extent to the county as it was between *c.*1050 and *c.*1200, although its precise outline dates from agreements made as late as 1242 and 1329, while minute enclaves where Chartrain and Blésois custom was observed had their origins back in ancient fiefs dating from the eleventh century or even earlier.[234]

At a much more local level, the town of Eu followed the example of several towns in Picardy and Vermandois in modelling its municipal customs on the example of Saint-Quentin as early as 1151,[235] and the lords of several communities in north-eastern Normandy imitated the typically Picard custom of granting communal charters to their villages.[236] The institution of mayor in Vernon resembled the mayors of the Chartrain, as a bailiff and collector of revenues rather than the chief town magistrate as in other Norman towns.[237] Terminology, too, could be affected: although the knights of the castelry of Mantes owed *equitatus et exercitus*, a phrase not normally employed in Normandy, they held 'knights' fees', a term that was distinctively Anglo-Norman.[238] 'Knights' fees' were also found in the lordship of Poix in the Amiénois, close to Aumale, although they were not as fossilised as in the Anglo-Norman realm.[239]

Perhaps the most intriguing example of hybrid customs was the collection of settlements known as the *Conquests Hue de Gournay* or *Spéciautez de Beauvoisis*. According to the Norman *procès-verbal* of 1578 the inhabitants of twenty-four named villages and hamlets lying to the north and east of Gournay-en-Bray generally followed the custom of Normandy, but for several practices they used the customs of the adjacent Beauvaisis.

[233] Yver 1966, 131–3; cf. Maillet 1946–7, 149–51. [234] Barthélemy 1993, 842–4.

[235] *Livre Rouge d'Eu*, 1: Count John of Eu grants to the burgesses of Eu *communionem secundum scripta Sancti Quintini, salvo meo dominio et salvis meis rectis* (1151). See Deck 1924, 78–90; Chénon 1926–9, i, 515; Deck 1960, 208–10. Later Norman communes mostly adopted the customs of Rouen: *CN*, xv–xviii, xl; Giry 1883, 47–53.

[236] Bauduin 2000, esp. 131–6. [237] Lebeurier 1855, 523; Powicke 1961, 179n.

[238] *RHF*, xxiii, 623; Strayer 1932, 61 n.4.

[239] ADSM, 53 HP 32, no. 76: Hugh d'Oyry grants the fiefs of ten knights as dower to his wife Clemence de Clermont (1188). *Feoda militum* should be interpreted literally, rather than as fixed units of landholding, since all ten knights are named.

These included the rules governing the rights of a husband or wife in their spouse's *propres* and *acquêts*, the administration of justice and the respective rights of sons: unlike in Normandy proper, the eldest son was entitled to two-thirds of the fiefs besides the seigneurial manor, while the remaining third was divided as hereditary property between his brothers and sisters.[240] Inheritance customs in the *Conquests* therefore contrasted with the parage adhered to in most of Normandy or the absolute primogeniture of the Pays de Caux and the county of Eu.[241] For all other matters, the *procès-verbal* recorded, the *Conquests* followed the customs of Normandy, not the Beauvaisis.[242]

How did this strange compromise between Norman and Beauvaisis custom arise, and what is its significance for the twelfth-century Norman frontier? The *Conquests* have usually been used to provide a date for the 'crystallisation' of Norman custom as a whole: Beauvaisis custom, so the argument runs, was too entrenched amongst the inhabitants of these localities to be eradicated when Hugh de Gournay brought them under Norman rule.[243] The only significant revision of this view has argued for an earlier rather than a later date.[244] That this salient of diluted Norman custom developed from lands belonging to the lords of Gournay there can be no doubt; what is less clear is how and when. The villages' nickname is ambiguous evidence. Génestal, Yver and Vallez all associated the *Conquests* with Hugh I de Gournay (fl. 1066), although they were also prepared to consider his descendant of the same name, a conspicuous figure in Anglo-Norman politics from 1118 until his death at a great age in 1179. Yet the name attributed to the *Conquests* may be of much later provenance, for it was Hugh III (d. 1214–15), who fled Normandy in 1203, whose lands were generically called 'the land of Hugh de Gournay' in French royal charters after 1204.[245]

A close consideration of the geography of the Gournay inheritance also suggests a later date than 1078–9. According to the inquest of 1578, the *Conquests* were scattered in an arc east of the Epte in the diocese

[240] *NCG*, iv, 1, 94–5.

[241] For the Pays de Caux, see Génestal 1928, 175–7; Yver 1952a, 45–6; 1966, 121 n.226, following *NCG*, iv, 1, 135 (Caux), 188–90 (Eu); Holt 1972, 10. Le Maho (1976), in the most detailed study of the Pays de Caux in the ducal period, does not discuss its inheritance practices. The distinctive primogeniture of Caux was recognised by 1236: *Jugements*, nos. 584 (1236), 698 (1242).

[242] *NCG*, iv, 1, 95, c. xxiv: 'En toutes lesdites paroisses, villages et hameaux, outre les articles cy-dessus, sera la Coustume generale de ce pays de Normandie, mesme la forme et stil de proceder, observé et gardé selon la forme et teneur.'

[243] Génestal 1927, 43–4; Lemarignier 1945, 20–2; Yver 1952b, 310–11; Ourliac 1982, 482.

[244] Vallez 1970, 353.

[245] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 803, 877–8, 880; iii, no. 1000; iv, no. 2178; *CN*, no. 771. Cf. the treaty of Le Goulet in 1200 (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 633, p. 182; *Dipl. Docs.*, no. 9; *Layettes*, i, no. 578).

of Beauvais,[246] but almost all the evidence for the lordship of Gournay before 1204 relates to the land pertaining to the three castles of Gournay, La Ferté-en-Bray and Gaillefontaine, which lay west of the River Epte and in the diocese of Rouen. In the early years of William the Bastard's reign the lands of Hugh de la Ferté, father and son, the forerunners of the lords of Gournay, were concentrated in the Andelle valley around La Ferté under the lordship of Count William *Busac* of Eu, but they also had outlying property at Gaillefontaine. In the wake of the fall of Count William (1047–8) and William of Arques (1053–4), as William of Normandy fortified his eastern borders towards the Beauvaisis, the lands of Hugh de la Ferté came to another Hugh, who appears to have extended his power eastwards to Gournay on the Epte; by 1066 he had taken the name of that fortress.[247] According to Orderic Vitalis the fortresses of Gournay, La Ferté and Gaillefontaine were the mainstay of Hugh's son Gerard de Gournay in 1088 when he handed them over to William Rufus.[248] Thereafter the three castles invariably appear as a single inheritance, even in ecclesiastical matters: the inquest into the rights of the Norman clergy in 1205 stated that the archbishop of Rouen could hold only three pleas 'in the fief of the land of Gournay, La Ferté and Gaillefontaine'.[249]

The extent of the Gournays' lands east of the Epte is much less well documented, but there is good evidence that they held a number of villages there by 1204. The fiefs of the *bailliage* of Geoffrey de la Chapelle, *bailli* of Caux (*c.*1220), extended east of the Epte and as far as the upper valley of the River Thérain near Gerberoy, in a similar – but certainly not identical – fashion to the *Conquests* of 1578. These places, all in the diocese of Beauvais, owed *estagium* at Gournay.[250] Most of the eastern fiefs belonged to men who held western fiefs as well, a pattern of landholding that could have arisen as the lords of Gournay sought to push their power eastwards. Prominent men of the lord of Gournay whose lands lay on both sides of the Epte in 1220 included Simon de Beaussault,[251] Hugh le Portier

[246] Gurney (1848–58, i, 4–5 (map)) depicts these villages as a solid block of territory, but he thereby includes parishes not mentioned in the list and omits Songeons-sur-Thérain (near Gerberoy), the most far-flung of the twenty-four localities. See Map VII.

[247] *RADN*, nos. 103 (1035 × c.1045?), 107 (1046 × 48) (cf. *Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. DCCLII); Bauduin 1998, 393–7, 423–4. The castle of Gaillefontaine was founded between *c.*1045 and 1066 ('Ctl. Ste-Trinité du Mont', no. LXIV).

[248] *GND*, ii, 128; Orderic, ii, 130; iv, 182, which does not, however, demonstrate that the Gournay inheritance already included the *Conquests* east of the Epte, *pace ibid.*, iv, 182 n.4.

[249] *Layettes*, i, no. 785: 'in feodo terre Gornaii et Feritatis et Goellenfontis'. For the context of this clause, see Power 1997, 368 and n.27.

[250] *RHF*, xxiii, 638a–f. The following localities occur in both the feodary of *c.*1220 and the *procès-verbal* of 1578: Songeons, Le Forêt, Mottois, Beaulévrier, Hyancourt, Héricourt-sur-Thérain, St-Samson-la-Poterie, Rosay, Rénicourt and Sully. See Map VII.

[251] *RHF*, xxiii, 639c; Simon's fief at 'Froumeries' was his castle of Formerie. ADOI, H 4850 ('Ch. Lannoy', no. II): act of Geoffrey de Beaussault concerning La Montagne near Formerie, made

and Hugh, lord of Alges.[252] Another, Giles de Hodeng, a significant Franco-Norman baron in his own right, issued a charter in 1215 which stated that one of his fiefs east of the Epte owed military service 'according to the custom of the land of Gournay'.[253] The survey of *c.*1220 confirms that Hugh III's lands included the villages of the *Conquests* before 1203, but they comprised a minor part of the Gournay inheritance. There is positive evidence that the lordship had been extended much more recently than the reign of William the Conqueror, and by enfeoffment, purchase and exchange rather than by grand political events. In or before 1200, Hugh III de Gournay acquired the land and tithes of Laudencourt, later one of the *Conquests* villages, from the monks of Bec in exchange for lands and tithes in England; by then the lord of Gournay had a seneschal at Ferrières-en-Bray, the *Conquests* parish closest to Gournay itself.[254]

Even if the *Conquests Hue de Gournay* formed part of the twelfth-century lordship of Gournay, it is impossible to assess how these particular villages came to observe a mixture of Norman and Beauvaisis customs. An expanding lordship of Gournay might well have carried customs from Normandy into the Beauvaisis, so that, in this area of difficult political control, the lord of Gournay appeased the inhabitants of his newly acquired lordships by permitting them to keep the inheritance customs that they desired. Yet these 'Beauvaisis' customs may have been accepted at a later date through proximity with the Beauvaisis, so that they were not due to shifting political frontiers at all. After 1204 the *Conquests* continued to lie in the diocese of Beauvais, and there would have been

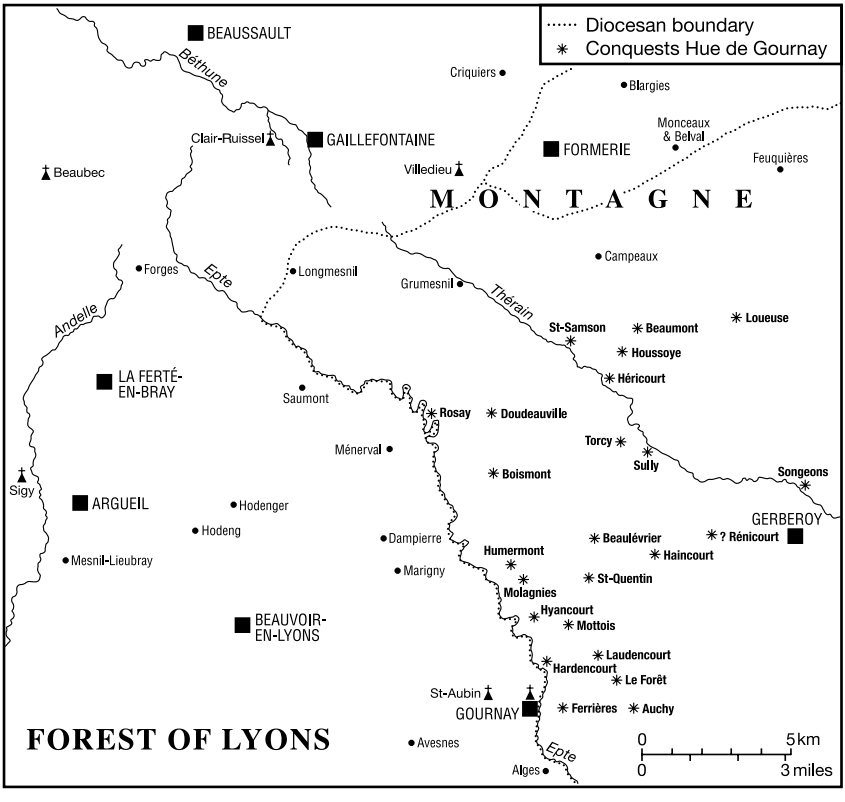
with the consent of his lord Hugh de Gournay. BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1801, fol. 105v: Hugh de Gournay confirms the division between the land of Hugh *de Allagio* and his brothers and the land of Formerie.

[252] *RHF*, xxiii, 638f (Le Portier); ADOI, H 1565 (Alges, late twelfth century). In 1199 Hugh de Montfort granted the fief of Marigny and Dampierre, which Hugh le Portier held in *c.*1220, to Hugh de Gournay (*Rot. Chart.*, 21).

[253] ADSM, G 9425, fol. 9r (Gournay, 1214, o.s.): Giles de Hodeng, kt., grants revenues of corn to Margaret, daughter of Wilbert Tinel of Oudeuil (near Beauvais), from his barn at Grumesnil, 'et propter hunc prefatum bladum mihi debetur servicium unius ronchini (*sic*) secundum consuetudinem terre Bernacensis (*rectior* Gornacensis)'. Grumesnil was not one of the *Conquests* but in 1578 it had distinctive rules for commoners' fiefs (*NCG*, iv, 1, 94); before 1187 its tithe had been given to St-Hildevert de Gournay (*Papsturkunden*, *Normandie*, no. 279).

In *c.*1220 the fief of Giles de Hodeng lay at Le (*sic*) Forêt (one of the *Conquests*) and Grumesnil to the east of the Epte, and at Gournay, Hodeng, Hodenger, Saumont, Ménerval, Le Mesnil-Lieubray, and Avesnes to the west (*RHF*, xxiii, 638ef). For his and his father John's interests in the Beauvaisis, see also 'Nobiliaire du Beauvaisis', xxi, 143–4, 810–14, which, however, confuses their lineage with the family of Hodenc-en-Bray.

[254] Gurney 1848–58, i, 159–60: Hugh de Gournay grants the land and tithes of Laudencourt, acquired from Bec, to the nuns of St-Aubin de Gournay, witnessed by William de Bouelles, seneschal of Ferrières (1200). Bauduin (1998, 434–5) believes that the *Conquests* arose from piecemeal enfeoffments of the lords of Gournay by the *vidames* of Gerberoy and other vassals of the bishop of Beauvais.



Map VII ***The Conquests Hue de Gournay***: the map depicts the dioceses of Rouen (west), Amiens (north-east), and Beauvais (south-east)

ample contact between these parishes and the rest of the Beauvaisis. The watershed of the Bresle and Epte, the plateau known as La Montagne, was more forested and sparsely populated than the adjacent lowlands, and it continued to acquire new settlements long after 1200. Their founders needed to show creativity if their new villages were to thrive. In 1305 the abbot of Beaubec established a village at Criquiers, near Formerie but, unlike the nearby *Conquests*, in the diocese of Rouen:[255] his regulations for the settlers, who had come from a number of different places and lands, drew upon Norman custom for divisions but Beauvaisis practices for dower.[256] Indeed, Pierre Bauduin has argued that the customary

[255] Bauduin 2000, 143–7, 158–64.

[256] Deck (1974, 144–7) notes the Norman character of the practice of equal division at Criquiers, and the Beauvaisis influence upon the right of dower in half of acquisitions; Bauduin (2000,

border across La Montagne remained undefined until the foundation of Criquiers, more than a century after the end of Angevin Normandy.[257]

In any case, the territorial extent of the customs of the Beauvaisis continued to fluctuate. While Beauvais was already recognised as having its own customs in the early twelfth century,[258] in later times the Beauvaisis did not comprise a single customary *ressort*, but was divided between the customs of Senlis (including Beauvais itself), Amiens and Clermont-en-Beauvaisis; Gerberoy, on the very doorstep of the *Conquests*, was recognised as a separate general custom in 1507 but was incorporated into the custom of Amiens by 1567.[259] There is therefore every possibility that the *Conquests* evolved their peculiar character after 1204, not before. In the late thirteenth century, Philippe de Beaumanoir avowed that, although he was primarily concerned with the county of Clermont-en-Beauvaisis, if any customs were 'doubtful' there he would refer to the customs of neighbouring castelries, or to the kingdom as a whole if need be.[260] The use of the term *estagium* at Gournay is testimony to the influence of the Beauvaisis upon Gournay before 1204, since it was not found elsewhere in Normandy but was used in the Beauvaisis, including at Gerberoy.[261] The uncertain political frontier may well have exerted a decisive influence upon local custom, producing a curious hybrid of inheritance practices; but it would be rash to generalise from this localised, poorly documented example in order to demonstrate the evolution of Norman custom as a whole.

Instead, the *Conquests Hue de Gournay* should probably be seen as one of a variety of local arrangements that testify to the necessary pragmatism of frontier life. Remote from central power or legal theorists, marcher inhabitants needed to find ways of resolving seemingly intractable disputes, not least if their interests straddled divided jurisdictions.[262] In the districts between Anjou, Brittany and Poitou known as *marches séparantes*,

146–7) emphasises the Norman character of most clauses. A confirmation by Enguerrand de Marigny noted the settlers' geographically and legally diverse origins: 'ceuz qui ileuques devoient habiter et qui de diverses coustumes et autres que celes du lieu estoient avoient usé es lieus et pais ou il avoient demeuré' (*Ctl. Marigny*, Annexe, no. 16).

[257] Bauduin 2000, 147. [258] Above, p. 153.

[259] *NCG*, i, 1, 222–35, 241; Klimrath 1843, ii, 174–6, 180–1; Yver 1966, 235–6; for the local customs of the Beauvaisis within the custom of Amiens, see *NCG*, i, 1, 154–5.

[260] Beaumanoir, i, 3–4, § 6: 'nous [avons] commencié en tel maniere que nous entendons a confermer grant partie de cest livre par les jugemens qui ont esté fet en nos tans en ladite conteé de Clermont; et l'autre partie par clers usages et par cleres coustumes usees et acoustumees de lonc tans pesiblement; et l'autre partie, des cas douteus en ladite contée, par le jugement des chasteleries voisines; et l'autre partie par le droit qui est communs a tous ou roiaume de France.'

[261] *RHF*, xxiii, 638; Carolus-Barré 1978, 73–87. *Estagium* was not limited to the *Conquests*, but was owed from all the lands of Gournay.

[262] See R. R. Davies (1989, 84–100) for procedures developed to resolve disputes involving more than one lordship in the Welsh and Irish marches.

a more sophisticated system of arrangements developed to regulate justice between these three provinces. No one custom or jurisdiction had sovereignty in the *marches séparantes*, but justice was shared between the two provinces abutting on a particular parish or lordship.[263] Various nuances developed: in some districts both justice and the feudal jurisdictions of the contiguous provinces were shared equally; in *marches avantagères* one lord held all justice but fiefs were shared; in enclaves known as *marches contr'hostées* justice was divided but only one lord had feudal rights.[264] There were also points where the *ressorts* of the provincial customs met directly, without such blurs. While the Breton historian Planiol ascribed their existence to particular agreements made between the tenth-century rulers of Brittany and Poitou,[265] it is more likely that they dated from much later and were vestiges of practices for regulating frontier disputes which had once been applied more widely in France. By the late thirteenth century similar regulatory procedures were developing on the frontiers of the Empire and the kingdom of France in the Namurois and elsewhere,[266] which the kings of England and their Gascon subjects consciously imitated in their dealings with the kings of France on the marches of Gascony.[267]

There is no evidence of comparably elaborate arrangements on the Norman frontier, but the *Conquests* may have been a relic of local compromises, the details of which are now lost to us. If custom was intended to regulate disputes between parties through the arbitration of their peers, there would have been the need to resolve disputes that transgressed the limits of Norman as well as seigneurial jurisdiction. The barons who held from the duke of Normandy enjoyed manifold links of kinship, tenure and association with their neighbours; if they gathered for endowments, marriages or funerals, they could also gather to resolve legal difficulties. Ducal officials might also be expected to use their influence to solve border disputes.[268] On the south-eastern fringes of Normandy there are

[263] Chénon 1892 and 1897; Planiol 1981–2, iii, 10–16; Cintré 1992, 36–48.

[264] Chénon 1892, 29.

[265] Planiol 1981–2, iii, 14. In *TAC Bretagne*, 459–65, he published *assessiones* governing one such village with divided lordship which he dated to *c.*1120, but which are known only from a compilation made in 1265; no other text is known before the fourteenth century (Cintré 1992, 37).

[266] Balon 1951, especially 13–14, where he compares these institutions with the *marches séparantes* of western France.

[267] *English Diplomatic Practice*, i, no. 203: 'Forma antique consuetudinis observate in Vasconia: Ces sount les custumes des marches au roialme de France', a description of procedures in the Franco-Imperial marches in Lorraine and Burgundy, sent to Edward I by the nobles of Gascony (*c.*1293). Nos. 204–5: arrangements for the Gascon marches (temp. Edward III).

[268] In 1184 Alvred de St-Martin, *bailli* of Drincourt, had apparently taken a proffer to help two men whose chattels had been seized in the French royal town of Chaumont-en-Vexin: *MRSN*, i, 117.

occasional indications of customary forms of regulation. The fiefs of the lords of Tillières and Brezolles overlapped in the very district which had to decide between the custom of Normandy and 'France' in 1312,[269] and it is significant that benefactions were often performed twice in this district. An act of a minor Franco-Norman knight with lands on both sides of the River Avre, Guérin de Malicorne, was first performed in Chartres and afterwards in Nonancourt, the local centre of ducal power; a grant of land at Vaudry to the lepers of Grand-Beaulieu was confirmed by Gilbert de Tillières at Tillières and Nonancourt and then by Hugh de Châteauneuf at Châteauneuf.[270] Duplication of ceremonial acts was by no means restricted to the fringes of Normandy, but here they ensured that the alms were acceptable in areas of differing legal practices or jurisdictions.[271] At a higher level, the most obvious manifestations of meetings to solve frontier disputes were the conferences of the dukes of Normandy with the kings of France 'in the march', and the sites of these meetings themselves became customary, notably Le Gué-Saint-Rémy near Nonancourt and the elm tree known later as L'Ormeteau-Ferré outside Gisors.[272] In 1160 and 1186, the Templars and Hospitallers acted as a neutral party to regulate the dispute between the kings of France and England over Gisors;[273] in the shortlived truce of 1194, concluded between Verneuil and Tillières (then in French hands), arbitrators (*dictatores*) were chosen from each side to settle any competing claims.[274] How much more necessary it was that the communities of the marches should have some recognised practices for resolving local conflicts.

The geographical uniformity of the customs of Normandy, although outwardly impressive, is deceptive. Even before 1193 the fluctuations in ducal authority along the duchy's frontiers required latitude about legal practice and compromises between ducal procedures and local traditions. An insistence upon ducal justice permeates the *Très Ancien Coutumier*,

[269] See above, p. 165, and for the fiefs of Tillières and Brezolles, below, pp. 246–8.

[270] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, nos. 52 (*c.*1160?), 54, 55. Malicorne, cant. Châteauneuf, cne. Fontaine-les-Ribouts. No. 60 was an act of Ralph d'Ilou, first performed at Bréharville near Brezolles and afterwards at Chartres.

[271] Cf. BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 4: Richard Bastard granted his lands at Savigny to the abbey of Savigny in successive ceremonies at Mortain, the abbey itself, and before the lord of Fougères probably at Fougères (1163).

[272] See Lemarignier 1945, 73–113; cf. Balon 1951, 15, 69–71. Lot (1904, 228 n.4) lists the places where this homage was performed.

[273] *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CXLI (treaty of 1160); *Gesta Henrici*, i, 191–4 (1177); *Catalogue*, no. 124, pp. 496–8 (Margaret of France, 1186). For the Gisors dispute of 1183–6, see *Gesta Henrici*, i, 304–6, 343–4; Rigord, 77–8.

[274] Howden, iii, 259–60. Terms for release and exchange of prisoners were also made. Arbitrators were also appointed at the treaty of Ivry (1177) to resolve the dispute over Auvergne and Berry (*Gesta Henrici*, i, 191–3); *English Diplomatic Practice*, i, no. 204, mentions 'judices communes ad modum arbitri ellectos, esgardiatores vulgariter nuncupatos' in the Gascon marches (*c.*1327).

but this was not always reflected in the charters of the Norman barons and knights, who sported a certain indifference to ducal government, whereas they frequently cooperated with their non-Norman neighbours. Such activities must have influenced their view of custom. The French king made great political capital out of respecting and maintaining the 'uses and customs of Normandy', but the province that came to be governed by these customs did not correspond with the Angevin duchy of Normandy at any one moment before 1204. The Capetian annexation of Normandy itself probably did a great deal to harden (or fossilise) Norman customs.

Such discrepancies of jurisdiction along the Norman frontier were ultimately bred by political sentiment rather than genuinely insuperable cultural difference. There was no longlasting 'personal' law or parallel system of courts in the Norman frontier regions. Compared to the 'French' experience in the Languedoc, Normandy cannot have seemed very unfamiliar to its conquerors in 1204. Even the vastly differing customs of Paris and the Midi soon came to a compromise, fulfilling the maxim that 'toutes coutumes sont réelles'. The differences between Norman and neighbouring customs led to the evolution of hybrid customs and local variations in the frontier regions; but in many matters, the customary divide cannot have been significant. The infusion of Norman customs with ducal authority contrasted with other systems of custom, but customary practice and jurisdictions in northern France were probably still fluid enough in 1204 for the legal divide to be primarily in the minds of the defeated Normans themselves, who remained eager to preserve their own practices as they had failed to keep their political independence. Their tenacity in retaining their old procedures from 1204, when other *coutumes* were still evolving, may have deepened the legal divide just when the political frontier had vanished.

Part II

THE POLITICAL COMMUNITIES OF THE NORMAN FRONTIER

Chapter 5

THE ARISTOCRACY OF THE NORMAN FRONTIER: ORIGINS AND STATUS

The recorded history of the Norman frontier in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is largely a story of the aristocracy. The peasantry who comprised the bulk of the population have been poorly served by the sources; the burgesses of the little towns and *bourgs* fare rather better, not least in fiscal records, but they, too, are scantly documented if compared with the landowning classes, on whose behalf the bulk of extant charters were issued. It is almost exclusively their activities that drew the attentions of chroniclers. The Norman exchequer rolls abound with the names of the petty knights, who can often be identified more precisely from charter witness-lists; not surprisingly, the Angevin and Capetian surveys into military service also noted mainly *domini* and *milites*. The material and social concerns of what Lucien Musset has called the *classe dirigeante* in the frontier regions will be the focus of the second part of this book: its origins (real or imagined), its notions of lineage and its marriage practices, and the relations between greater and lesser landowners. Taken together these concerns demonstrate the impact of the frontier upon the aristocracy, and conversely, how the aristocracy helped to shape the frontier itself.

The historian's first need when considering the aristocracy is to establish its composition, but several problems immediately arise. First, the 'origins' of the landowners, that is to say their biological descent and their establishment in their chief lordships, have a significant bearing upon our understanding of their power and influence in the frontier regions. The second problem concerns social status. Contemporaries were very aware of nobility, rank and lineage but rarely defined them: indeed, their judgments and prejudices are sometimes highly perplexing to modern historians. It is easy to see why a twelfth-century count was deemed to be 'noble', for he would invariably have been born to power, wielding it freely throughout his life, and could invariably claim a distinguished lineage. It is much more difficult for us to discern the social status and power of his knights. Contemporaries might have disputed whether all knights and their families were 'noble', but nevertheless they were an

important, often dynamic part of the political process, and collectively could determine their lord's actions; the influence of the honorial barons and knights of Breteuil in southern Normandy over successive lords of Breteuil is a well-documented example.[1] It is widely recognised that definitions of 'nobility' were broadening in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries to encompass these lesser landowners, whose power, influence and possessions were all increasing as well.[2] In any case, knighthood conferred its own prestige. At the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, so Orderic Vitalis tells us, one prolific landowning family in central Normandy comprised some forty or so members who were 'all proud of their knightly status' (*militiæ titulis feroces*).[3] Not just the recognised nobility but all those from the militarised élite who lived from their lands or aspired to do so participated in political events, and the term 'aristocracy' best represents this group.[4]

Thirdly, the wealth and effective power of the aristocracy are almost as difficult to assess as its social status. There are no extensive estate records or other evidence of landed income, and so it is impossible to rank the frontier barons in order of wealth in the way that Painter calculated for their English counterparts.[5] The number of knights' fees listed in the Norman *Infeudationes Militum* (1172) and in early-thirteenth-century surveys recorded in the registers of Philip Augustus do not always seem to accord with the actual power of the magnates; nor do these lists reveal the power which the tenants-in-chief drew from fiefs not held in chief from the duke, or which they held in lands beyond the duke's sway.[6] Besides, there was no simple equation between wealth and power. Dwelling on the frontier could enhance the political weight of a baron of quite modest means, especially if he held a strategic castle.[7]

A fourth problem is that no two families shared exactly the same landed interests, and so a particular family might have quite different material concerns from its neighbours. The lands of many lineages were concentrated in a tight ring around their principal castles, but others enjoyed inheritances that were scattered across large parts of northern France or beyond. Countless families on both sides of the Norman frontier had

[1] Crouch 1986, 101–14. [2] See n. 8 below.

[3] Orderic, ii, 120, referring to the kinsmen (*nepotes*) of Robert de Vitot. Cf. Barthélemy 1995, 59–60; Strickland 1996, 142–9. For the historiography of knighthood, see Chapter 7.

[4] Cf. Green 1997, 7–14, although some of the problems she discusses related specifically to England and are less relevant to northern France.

[5] Painter 1943, 170–1.

[6] For instance, Gilbert de Tillières owed the duke only three or four knights in 1172 (*RB*, ii, 631; *Registres*, 270), but his lands in *Francia* must have augmented his importance in the Franco-Norman marches.

[7] For a fine example, the lords of l'Aigle, see Thompson 1996a.

acquired lands in England since 1066, but some had not, while some had lost their English lands by passing them to younger sons or daughters or to religious houses, or through forfeiture to the king of England. This means that it is difficult to generalise too much about the political concerns of the frontier aristocracy as a single group.

In order to understand the political world of the Norman frontier in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, it is necessary to consider the origins of the frontier aristocracy and contemporary notions of their status in some detail. It will then be possible to consider their family strategies and political activities more fully.

THE ORIGINS AND STRUCTURE OF THE FRONTIER ARISTOCRACY

Origins

The problem of the 'origins' of the aristocracy in the central Middle Ages continues to vex historians. Many of them would maintain that it changed drastically across much of western Europe around the turn of the first millennium. Prior to this, the élites seemed to be grouped in sprawling clans, whose collateral kinship was reflected in their naming patterns based on a common stem; noble status was restricted to a very small élite. Only the greatest among them founded monasteries or passed fortifications to their heirs as their inheritance. Over the next two hundred years the aristocracy acquired a very different set of characteristics. The structure of aristocratic families shifted from broad kin-groups to more tightly focussed patrilineal lineages in which the rights of eldest sons to the patrimony far exceeded those of their younger brothers, sisters or cousins. Most noble families came to own one or more castles and usually took their name from the most important (often the most venerable fortress rather than the most powerful, such as Montgomery or Warenne). Around their fortresses they attempted to consolidate their lands as much as possible into manageable blocs of territory, taking control of most judicial and fiscal authority within these 'castelries'; many more of them also chose to found monasteries. Under these families a second tier of the political community evolved, the honorial barons and knights: some rose from humble origins, others from the teeming mass of impoverished younger sons of the nobility – the *juvenes* made so famous by Georges Duby. Between the late eleventh and mid-thirteenth centuries, these two classes converged and merged, as younger sons of the nobility resorted to the profession of knighthood as a means of gaining lands, favours, wealth and fame, and as even great nobles began proudly

to use the title of *miles*. So expensive did knighthood become that many members of the aristocracy could no longer afford its privileges, and adopted the lesser title of 'squire' (*armiger*, *escuier*). By the mid-thirteenth century, although there were still very great variations in wealth, power and status, the aristocracy had coalesced into a single noble class.[8]

Not all historians have accepted that the nobility altered so radically around the year 1000: Constance Bouchard argues that the nobility was already patrilineal in outlook in the Carolingian period, when according to Chris Wickham the aristocracy of western Europe was already securely entrenching itself in the localities.[9] Moreover, even in regions where these developments are traceable, they affected some regions considerably earlier than others, and there were significant local variations.[10] In the Norman frontier regions the peculiar character of the Norman aristocracy must also be taken into account. The Scandinavian settlement had caused a rupture with the Carolingian past: although eleventh-century Normandy was very Frankish in many ways, at the top of society the only families of demonstrably Frankish origin were descended from immigrants to the duchy, and the most famous of them, the Tosnys, preferred to claim fictitious Scandinavian descent by the early twelfth century.[11] Many other leading Norman families also claimed Scandinavian origin and kinship with the ducal house, and if the Tosny genealogy can be dismissed as fanciful, others appear to have had firmer foundations.[12]

Whatever the claims of the Norman aristocracy to Scandinavian descent, intermarriage between the followers of Rollo and the indigenous Frankish population must have quickly diluted the Scandinavian

[8] The bibliography of this subject is enormous and is largely concerned with the extent of social change around the year 1000, the so-called *mutation de l'an mil*. For summaries see especially Green 1997, 4–6, and the works there cited, Aurell 2000b, and Bouchard 2001, 1–38, 59–73. Evergates (1975, 144–53), and Hunt (1981, 1–8, 14–20) also provide useful introductions to the historiography up to the mid-1970s. For the debates surrounding *mutationnisme*, see Poly and Bournazel 1991; Bisson 1994, together with S. D. White 1996, Barthélemy 1996, Reuter 1997 and Wickham 1997; Barthélemy 1997 and Guyotjeannin 1997. Regional studies of these processes elsewhere in the *Pays de la Langue d'Oil* include Richard 1960; Fossier 1968, ii, 477–708; Chédeville 1973, 251–330; Devailly 1973, 109–235, 317–79; Barthélemy 1993, 333–64, 507–622; Pichot 1995, 131–94; Livingstone 1997a; Lemesle 1999, especially 147–79. For *juvenes* and 'squires', see Duby 1977, 112–22, 183.

[9] Bouchard 2001, 59–73; Wickham 1997, 198.

[10] E.g. Livingstone 1997a, 419–22, 456–8: in the county of Blois-Chartres, women and younger sons retained substantial rights of inheritance.

[11] Musset 1976, 74–5; for the Tosnys, see *GND*, ii, 94; *Complete Peerage*, xii, 1, 753; Musset 1977, 48–9; Bates 1982, 108. Other Frankish immigrants include the Giroies (ultimately of Breton origin) and probably the Talvas of Bellême, while Fulbert *de Beina*, the founder of the castle and dynasty of l'Aigle (Orderic, ii, 26), may have taken his name from Beynes, west of Paris (Yvelines, ar. Rambouillet, cant. Montfort-l'Amaury).

[12] See Van Houts 1989; Keats-Rohan 1993a.

character of the Normans in reality.[13] With time, marriage across the frontier had the same effect: the lords of Montfort-l'Amaury, for instance, were descended in the male line from a Frankish family but in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they acquired great lands in Normandy and England, becoming counts of Evreux and earls of Gloucester and Leicester. Conversely, through felicitous marriages junior branches of the ducal dynasty itself had previously become counts of Soissons and Corbeil.[14] Another peculiarity of Normandy, despite several periods of protracted ducal weakness between the 1020s and 1150s, was the relative strength of princely control, which inhibited the growth of seigneurial power compared to most other parts of France. Lucien Musset has argued that ducal strength accounts for the relatively complex patterns of landholding which existed in Normandy as early as the eleventh century; it was, after all, in the duke's interest that his followers did not acquire too many lands in a particular locality. Musset also attributed the alleged absence of a class of *milites castri* in Normandy to strong ducal control.[15] Such conclusions must remain conjectural, however; the paucity of sources means that four leading historians of eleventh-century Normandy have given quite different accounts of the 'rise' of the Norman aristocracy in the eleventh century.[16] The extent to which the twelfth-century Norman frontier represents a divide between contrasting sociopolitical systems is therefore difficult if not impossible to assess. In any case, aristocratic family strategies throughout the Romance world were fundamentally similar: all were concerned with lineage and the preservation or enhancement of inheritance, particularly the castles which lay at the heart of their ambitions.

The process of implantation of aristocratic families along the borders of the emerging Norman principality was certainly comparable to the rise of castellan dynasties elsewhere in France: it typically began with a grant from a prince or magnate, which the recipient then used as a basis for self-aggrandisement by appropriating the property of neighbours and nearby churches. A few of the greatest frontier dynasties, such as the counts of Ponthieu and Meulan or the lords of Tosny and Bellême, were established in their chief patrimonies from the tenth century, and the counts of the Vexin even earlier, but most acquired their lands in

[13] See especially Potts 1996.

[14] *GND*, ii, 11 n.5, 128; Searle 1988, 134, 218. The descent from these counts is obscure: see Douglas 1946, 141–5 (Corbeil), 155 (Soissons); Potts 1992, 33 (Corbeil).

[15] Cf. Musset 1976, 80, 82, 84, 87–8.

[16] Douglas 1964, 83–104; Musset 1976, 72–7; Bates 1982, 33–8, 99–128, 132–7; Searle 1988, *passim*.

the frontier regions of the duchy after 1000.[17] Some can be clearly connected with the great Carolingian noble families: indeed, the counts both of the Vexin and of Meulan could boast descent from Charlemagne himself.[18] In the eleventh century, families of high birth continued to appear along the frontiers: the counts of Eu and Evreux sprang from cadet branches of the ducal family, the counts of Aumale from disinherited counts of Champagne.

Yet in this period many families of much more obscure origins also established themselves in the Norman marches. This, too, was not untypical of the murky but massive redistribution of wealth, power and influence across northern France during the reigns of the early Capetians. Some of these parvenus were in the service of the rulers of Normandy, but proceeded to secure their position in the locality nevertheless. In order to defend his territory Duke Robert I (1027–35) granted Tillières and Neaufles to Gilbert Crispin I, who passed on custody of these fortresses to his sons Gilbert Crispin II and William Crispin I respectively; by 1100, however, each branch of the Crispins was firmly rooted in the district around the castle which it had received, with many ties to the lords of the neighbouring French Vexin and Chartrain.[19] One of the most famous eleventh-century Norman frontier lords, William fitzOsbern, inherited a claim to Ivry and Pacy from his maternal grandfather, Count Ralph of Ivry, brother of Duke Richard I of Normandy, and his father Osbern the Steward was closely related to the ducal house as well, but it was the service of Osbern and his son to the dukes which ensured that William fitzOsbern received the bulk of Count Ralph's inheritance over the claims of other heirs.[20]

If the rise of these lineages was due as much to their own acquisitive tendencies as to ducal rewards, a connection with the duke was usually necessary for lasting success within Normandy, as the failure of the successors of Albert, monk of Jumièges and later abbot of Micy near Orléans, to retain his lands in the duchy reveals. The patrimonial lands of Albert (d. *c.*1036) had sprawled across the borders of Normandy from the Bellêmois to Verneuil and the Chartrain. After his death most of his lands and authority in *Francia* passed to a kinsman, Albert Ribaud, but by the early twelfth century Albert Ribaud's nephew and heir, Hugh I de Châteauneuf, retained only a few fragments of Albert of Micy's Norman

[17] Ponthieu: Fossier 1968, ii, 485–6 (Hugh d'Abbeville); cf. Bartlett 1993, 65. Meulan: *Ctl. Pontoise*, 306. Vexin: Feuchère 1954; Bates 1987, 36–7. Bellême: Thompson 1985, 215–16, correcting Boussard 1951; also Louise 1992, i, 179–206. Tosny: *Complete Peerage*, xii, i, 753–5; Musset 1977, 48–51.

[18] McKitterick 1987, 21–31; Crouch 1986, 10–12.

[19] Green 1984, 49–50; below, pp. 246–8.

[20] Bates 1973, 10–15; Bates 1982, 117–18, 155; Crouch 1986, 105; Van Houts 1989, 230–2.

lands. It seems that the dukes of Normandy had already ensured that most of Abbot Albert's lands under their sway had passed to the abbey of Jumièges, with which his family had close connections.[21] The town of Aumale had a similar fate. A certain Guerinfredus had built a castle there in the reign of Duke Richard II, which passed through his daughter to the counts of Ponthieu; but William the Conqueror married his sister to Enguerrand II of Ponthieu, and after Enguerrand perished in an invasion of Normandy, Duke William ensured that Aumale passed to his sister's descendants by her next husband. The counts of Ponthieu consequently lost their foothold within the duchy.[22]

The close ducal attention which the history of these border localities reveals contrasts with developments in the northern Chartrain, just to the south of Normandy. Here the major lordships in the twelfth century, which were based at Brezolles, Châteauneuf, Nogent-le-Roi and Dreux, took shape during the reigns of Robert II (996–1031) and Henry I of France (1031–60) in the context of rivalry between the Capetian kings and the counts of Blois, and in particular of the tergiversations of the Capetians' chief client and rival in this region, Hugh Bardolf, who at various times held Dreux and Nogent-le-Roi.[23] The descendants of Hugh's daughter, first the lords of Montfort-l'Amaury and then the lords of Tosny, managed to retain Nogent, but meanwhile under Hugh's aegis two of his men, Ribaud *Drocensis* (father of Albert Ribaud) and Gazo, established themselves in the region. Ribaud acquired Brezolles while Gazo gained Thimert, in the vicinity of which he founded the 'new castle' from which his descendants took their name.[24] Albert Ribaud and Gazo proceeded to wage a long war against each other, and the marriage which eventually led to the union of their two

[21] Musset 1976, 74–5; *Ch. Jumièges*, i, nos. IX, XVII, XXXIV, XXXV. Albert has usually been identified with the benefactor of Jumièges later known as Albert le Riche (*Dives*), whose uncle Anno had been successively abbot of Jumièges and of Micy (Head 1990, 214–15, 227–33, who places Albert's death in *c.*1044). Boussard (1970, 189 n.145), recognising the problems of this identification, postulated that there were two abbots of Micy called Albert; more plausibly, Elisabeth van Houts (*GND*, i, XLIII n. 118) distinguishes Albert (le Riche), nephew of Anno and grantor of Bouafles to Jumièges (*Ch. Jumièges*, nos. XV–XVI), from Albert, abbot of Micy, father of Arnulf, archbishop of Tours, and a benefactor of Jumièges at Dame-Marie near Bellême and at Vieux-Verneuil (nos. IX, XVII). The suggestion of Settipani (1997, 263–6) that Albert of Micy was the forebear of the later counts of Anjou is unlikely, since they inherited none of his property.

[22] Semichon 1862, i, 391–3; Bates 1982, 72; Bauduin 1998, 404–14.

[23] Lemarignier 1965, 62 n.93, 68–9; Bur 1977, 212–13.

[24] For Hugh Bardolf's descendants, see App. I, nos. 14, 31. For *Ribaldus* (*Drocacensis*) and his connections with Albert of Micy and the lords of Nogent-le-Roi, see *Ch. Jumièges*, i, nos. IX (*RADN*, no. 51), XVII; *Gallia Christiana*, viii, instr., cols. 296–7 (*Actes de Robert II*, no. 72), which he witnessed; cf. Lemarignier 1965, 68–9. For his lordship at Brezolles, *Actes de Philippe Ier*, nos. II–III. For Gazo, son of Ralph *Barbatus*, with his lord Hugh Bardolf, see BN, ms. lat. 17048, p. 445 (*Actes de Henri Ier*, no. 53, dated 1037 × 48).

lordships was probably intended to end their strife.[25] The terminology of the sources suggests that Albert Ribaud and Gazo had rather different social origins: the former is invariably described as 'most noble',[26] whereas the usual epithet attached to Gazo was simply 'the knight'.[27] Nevertheless, their lordships took on remarkably similar characteristics and were held indifferently throughout the twelfth century by Gazo's descendants; when the two lordships were divided between the sons of Gervase II de Châteauneuf in 1212, it was the younger son, Hervey, who took Brezolles.

In a few cases it is impossible to trace back the origins of a castellan lineage any earlier than the late eleventh century. The origin of the twelfth-century lords of Vernon is a particularly thorny problem that has defied all attempts to explain it satisfactorily.[28] Thanks to the patronage of Henry I of England Richard de Reviers or Redvers (d. 1107) became one of the greatest landowners in England, his eldest son Baldwin de Redvers was created earl of Devon in the reign of King Stephen, and subsequent lords of the castle and port of Vernon were descended from Richard's second son William de Vernon. Yet Richard's origins, in particular the nature of his connection with the previous lords of the castle and town of Vernon, have not been satisfactorily established. The family of Reviers to which he undoubtedly belonged had built up a substantial lordship in the Cotentin by the mid-eleventh century,[29] but its association with Vernon cannot be traced earlier than the reign of Robert Curthose, although Robert of Torigni believed that the Reviers were descended through the female line from an early-eleventh-century viscount of Vernon called Osmund *de Centumvillis*.[30] Another family had already carved out a lordship at Vernon and adopted its name by the mid-eleventh century: a previous William de Vernon, a representative of this older line, was controlling the fortress as late as 1082. The ducal family also had an interest in Vernon: it was held for much of the 1040s by Guy of Burgundy, a grandson of Duke Richard II and claimant to the duchy, and periodically reverted to the ducal domain under both William

[25] *Ctl. St-Père*, i, 136–7.

[26] E.g. *Ctl. St-Père*, i, 134–5; Settipani (1997, 264) suggests that the name *A(da)lbertus* reflected descent from the Carolingians through the counts of Vermandois. *Obituaires de Sens*, ii, 197 (twelfth century), however, calls him simply 'Albertus miles'.

[27] *Gallia Christiana*, viii, cols. 296–7 (*Actes de Robert II*, no. 72), BN, ms. lat. 17048, p. 445 (*Actes de Henri Ier*, no. 53), and *Ch. St-Germain*, no. LXII (*Actes de Henri Ier*, no. 114), all bear the *signum* of 'Gazo (*Wazo*, *Gastho*) the knight'. *Ctl. St-Père*, i, 119, refers to 'Guaszo ille famosissimus', perhaps a pejorative phrase: see Lemarignier 1965, 63 n.95, and also 134 n.283, where he presumes that Gazo was of lowly status.

[28] App. I, no. 32.

[29] *RADN*, nos. 14–14 *bis*; *Redvers Charters*, nos. 4–5.

[30] *Holy Trinity Charters*, 127 (depredations of Hugh de Reviers at Vernon); *RRAN*, i, no. 308 (act of Robert Curthose at Vernon, witnessed by Richard de Redvers); *GND*, ii, 274.

the Conqueror and Henry I of England.[31] Only from the reign of King Stephen did Richard de Redvers' son, yet another William de Vernon, firmly establish his lineage in the town, which it retained until Philip Augustus captured it in 1193–4.

The family of Anet is still more obscure. The Simon d'Anet who joined the crusade of Bohemond of Taranto in 1105 must have been a mere *miles castri*, since Anet, Bréval and Illiers, the three chief possessions of Simon II d'Anet (fl. 1155–91), were all controlled by the fearsome Ascelin Goel of Ivry until his death in about 1118.[32] Ascelin's own spectacular career demonstrates how the structure of lordships along the frontier was still in the process of being established at the beginning of the twelfth century. Ascelin was not of low birth, for his grandfather, Robert I d'Ivry, had almost certainly married a daughter of his lord, Bishop Hugh of Bayeux, count of Ivry, and Ascelin's father Robert II had married a noblewoman, Hildeburgis de Gallardon. He was also a kinsman of Richard fitzHerluin (fl. 1066), lord of Saint-André, who was in turn a *nepos* of the count of Meulan. Nevertheless both Roberts were mere *milites castri* at Ivry, which still belonged to William fitzOsbern's son William de Breteuil when Ascelin Goel inherited his father's possessions in about 1087. It was Ascelin who exploited the uncertainties of the Franco-Norman borderlands to carve out a sizeable lordship for himself, including the three important castles of Ivry, Bréval and Anet and the *municipium* or *oppidum* of Saint-André; and although his family's power dwindled after Ascelin's death, these lordships remained the fulcrum of the south-eastern Norman marches for most of the twelfth century.[33]

[31] Douglas 1964, 87–8; Bauduin 1998, 310–17; Yver 1955–6, 49, 59, 88, 97; Orderic, vi, 222; *RRAN*, ii, no. 1554 and p. 361, no. CCVIII.

[32] Orderic, vi, 70. The church of Anet had been given to St-Père de Chartres by a knight called Haimo (*Obituaires de Sens*, ii, 183). Ascelin's possession of the castle of Anet is implied by *Ctl. Pontoise*, no. LVII; for his castle at Illiers, see ADE, H 793, fol. 59v (*Gallia Christiana*, xi, instr., col. 140). Ascelin and his father Robert had held Bréval, Tilly, Mondreville and St-Illiers, and Ascelin's son William Louvel held Dammartin-en-Serve and Ezy, all of which later came to Simon II d'Anet (BN, ms. fr. nouv. acq. 6354, fols. 3r–4r, 7r–v; ADEL, H 1261, pp. 361, 472; *Ch. St-Germain*, i, nos. CCI, CXXVII; *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 605–6). Louvel's grandson Robert IV d'Ivry was the *nepos* of Albereda, sister of Simon II d'Anet, and of an Albereda d'Ivry, presumably the same person, whose gifts near Bréval Robert confirmed in 1209 and 1211 respectively: ADE, H 431 (ed. in Mauduit 1899, 453); *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1205. The name of Simon's sister Albereda may indicate descent from the earlier lords of Ivry.

Simon II d'Anet should not be confused with Simon d'Annet (fl. 1209), from near Meaux (*Ch. St-Martin-des-Champs*, iii, no. 683).

[33] Orderic, iii, 208–10; iv, 198–202, 286–92; *Complete Peerage*, viii, 208–10, correcting Mauduit 1899, 46–52 (who suggested that Robert I d'Ivry came from Bréval) and *Ctl. Pontoise*, 343–5 (St-André; cf. *RADN*, no. 230), 470–4 (Ivry). According to a lost cartulary of Coulombs, Ascelin was made lord of St-André by Eustace, son of William de Breteuil (*Ctl. Pontoise*, 345). Green (2000, 96) provides a useful table showing the probable descent of Ascelin Goel and William de Breteuil. I shall discuss the *lignages* of Ascelin Goel and Simon d'Anet in a separate article.

The obscurity of the origins of these families and lordships at such a late date is unusual. Most of the Norman frontier regions, both within and beyond ducal power, had been divided into recognised lordships by 1100, controlled by families whose origins can be traced back to at least the middle of the eleventh century, and thereafter these units formed the basic political structure for centuries. Although the examples discussed above mainly concern the south-eastern borders of Normandy with the diocese of Chartres, the same process can also be seen in the Vexin, in the Beauvaisis, in Picardy and in Maine: in other words, along the length and breadth of the Norman frontier.[34] The landowners who dominated the borderlands of Normandy after 1100 were not biologically homogenous: descendants of Charlemagne or of the ruling Norman house were neighbours to lineages of more obscure and no doubt much lowlier origin. They also varied in terms of the derivation of their power: while many owed their position to service to a princely dynasty, others had established themselves with comparatively little reference to a superior authority. In terms both of descent and of political might the frontier aristocracy showed many signs of 'mutation' in the late tenth and eleventh centuries, but equally it exhibited many signs of continuity in both lineage and power.

A stable structure?

In the course of the eleventh century the territorial and dynastic framework of aristocratic power in north-west France hardened, and it remained remarkably stable thereafter. Along the Norman frontier the structure of the frontier baronage was so firmly established from then until 1204 that it is worth enumerating the few significant changes that did occur. At the collapse of Robert de Bellême's power (1112–13) his lordships were divided, but although Bellême was lost for good to the counts of Perche, Robert's son William Talvas had recovered most of his Norman and Manceau lands by 1119, and regained his castles from 1135 onwards.[35] In about 1115 Henry I of England exiled Robert de Moulins, whose father had been established in Moulins-la-Marche through marriage by William the Conqueror;[36] in the troubles of King Stephen's reign, the count of Perche secured Moulins for himself, albeit as a fief of the duke, and his descendants disputed the control of this frontier

[34] Green 1984, 49–52; Guyotjeannin 1987, 96–109; Fossier 1968, ii, 481–568; Pichot 1995, 132–94.
[35] Thompson 1994, 172–3.
[36] Orderic, iii, 132–4. Robert's half-brother Simon held Moulins for a time, although he had no direct claim to the lordship.

castle with the ruler of Normandy until 1217.[37] At the deaths of William de Breteuil (1103) and Ascelin Goel (*c.*1118) their lordships had disintegrated for a time; but Earl Robert II of Leicester, husband of William de Breteuil's great-niece, had rebuilt the honour of Breteuil by 1135, and his son recovered the associated castelry of Pacy in 1153, while Ascelin Goel's swathe of lands across the Franco-Norman marches was reformed into two main lordships, Anet-Bréval and Ivry, by 1155.[38] Consequently, although the power of the major frontier magnates fluctuated over time, the main territorial units remained largely unaltered thereafter; in the Angevin period no noble could expand his power in the way that the lords of Bellême had advanced from Bellême to Alençon and Domfront in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Instead, baronial ambitions were often confined to a desire to retain or regain particular castles and estates.

The balance of landed power on both sides of the border remained firmly with the 'older' families which had been established by the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The kings of England were renowned for placing so-called 'new men' in troublesome lordships, but to quell the troubled honour of Breteuil Henry I used Robert of Leicester, a scion of the great frontier families of Beaumont and Meulan. Although some of the men who governed the Norman frontier were of local origin, most notably Guérin de Glapion, seneschal of Normandy (1200–1), few of these parvenus became magnates there.[39] The implications of these remarkably modest aspirations will be seen in the next chapter.

Two other trends can be discerned. First, there are hints that in the second half of the twelfth century some of the greatest nobles of the region were having to alienate substantial lands in order to reward the more powerful members of their affinities. Count Simon of Evreux granted half the lordship of Noyon-sur-Andelle in the Norman Vexin to his steward and 'advisor', Robert de Poissy, who hailed from the Seine valley between Paris and Mantes.[40] Count Robert II of Meulan gave away one of his lesser lordships, Elbeuf-sur-Seine, to Richard de Harcourt,[41] and sold another, the honour of Le Pin-au-Haras near Argentan, to Hugh

[37] Power 1995, 189; below, pp. 360–3.

[38] Crouch 1986, 13–14, 108–12 (Breteuil); for the fate of Ascelin Goel's lands, see above, n. 32.

[39] For 'new men' see Southern 1970, 214–28 (Henry I); Warren 1973, 304–14 (Henry II); cf. Turner 1988, 1–19. It is well established now that many were not nearly so 'new' as their detractors maintained, but an example in southern Normandy is Wigan Algason, viscount of Exmes in 1135: Keats-Rohan 1994, 25–37. For Guérin, see Powicke 1961, 173–4; below, p. 278.

[40] ADE, 30 J 54, fols. 5v–6r: sixteenth-century translation of confirmation of Henry II, 1154 × 73 (transcript courtesy of Nicholas Vincent). For Robert, apparently a cadet of the main Poissy family, lords of Maisons-sur-Seine, see App. 1, no. 24; for his role as the count's *dapifer* and *consiliarius*, see p. 290.

[41] *Rot. Chart.*, 104, 105; ADSM, 18 HP 2, act of Richard de Harcourt (1208, n.s.). For the place of Elbeuf in the Meulan lordships, see Crouch 1986, 10–12, 178n.

de Lacy.[42] Secondly, few new inheritances spanning the Norman frontier were created in the period of Angevin rule. By 1100, a considerable number of magnatial families held lands in both Normandy and neighbouring provinces; many of these inheritances had been formed in the late eleventh century, often through marriage, at a time of Norman expansion and confidence.[43] During the Angevin period these were to be a significant factor in the politics of the frontier, particularly on the borders of Normandy and *Francia* – indeed, it has become a truism among historians that barons with split loyalties were by nature rebellious and troublesome[44] – but very few inheritances of this sort were created *de novo*. Conversely, by the late twelfth century some magnates were choosing to divide their 'Norman' from their 'French' lands, a policy that in northern France ran counter to conventional noble strategies and is an indication of the political stresses that border magnates faced.[45]

Although the political problems that many frontier lords faced under Angevin rule were serious, by far the greatest calamity for them was the expulsion of the dukes of Normandy in 1204. In the aftermath Philip Augustus confiscated the continental lands of the counts of Evreux, Aumale and Meulan, the earls of Gloucester, Warenne, Chester and Leicester, and the lords of Tosny, Gournay and Ferté-Macé, and proceeded to distribute these honours amongst his followers.[46] It is true that the effects of King John's flight were not always immediately felt, since the earl of Leicester came to terms with Philip Augustus to retain his lands,[47] and the earl of Chester briefly regained his castelry of Saint-James in 1230.[48] Nevertheless, the overall effects for both the composition of the frontier baronage and the structure of many of their lordships were devastating. In the aftermath of the French victories a number of new lordships were also created for French *curiales*, on former ducal domains as well as the lands of displaced local lords. Before 1204 William de Garlande had already been granted Neufmarché while his brother Theobald had received Château-sur-Epte from the abbot of Saint-Denis, and the

[42] BMRO, Y 201, fol. 43v; *Actes de Henri II*, II, no. DCCVIII (1172–3 × 1189). Hugh de Lacy paid Count Robert 200 *li. angevins* for Le Pin.

[43] See pp. 232–3.

[44] Cf. Boussard (1956, 477n.5), who attributes most of the Norman rebels' support for the Young King's revolt to their 'double mouvance franco-normande'.

[45] See below, pp. 230, 242, 291.

[46] Powicke 1961, 332, 335–6, 340–1, 343–5, 347, 355–6; Stevenson 1974, ii, 370–1, 378–80, 407–8, 419–20, 430–1, 437–9, modifying some details. For a well-documented example of the dismemberment of an Anglo-Norman inheritance (Tosny-Conches) after 1204, see Musset 1977, 65.

[47] *RHF*, xviii, 352 (Lyre chronicle), and *HGM*, ii, lines 12,875–900. When the earl died childless within the period of respite, Philip Augustus annexed his Norman lands and bought off his sisters: *Complete Peerage*, vii, 535–7; Powicke 1961, 294, 343–4; Power 2001a, 127n., 131, 135.

[48] Painter 1937, 67, 72, 81; Alexander 1983, 97–8.

royal *panetarius* William Poucin had received Grossœuvre, a fief of the Leicester castelry of Pacy that had previously been held by a branch of the lords of Ivry.[49] After the French conquest the royal marshal Henry Clément obtained Argentan with all ducal rights in the district; the royal general Albert de Hangest received the erstwhile Leicester lands of Pont-Saint-Pierre. Other Leicester lands in the Andelle valley and Tosny lands in the Norman Vexin went to the royal chamberlain Walter the Young, while the grand chamberlain Barthomolew de Roye acquired the Tosny fortress of Acquigny.[50] The royal mercenary Cadoc received Tosny itself along with Gaillon, one of the castelries of the count of Evreux, and through royal gift, extortion and marriage constructed a scattered but valuable lordship across southern and central Normandy.[51] Most newcomers were drawn from the lesser aristocracy of *Francia* and Vermandois,[52] but Robert de Courtenay, grandson of Louis VI in the male line, was one of the chief beneficiaries of the conquest, receiving the Tosny castle of Conches and the ducal fortress of Nonancourt.[53] Another member of a powerful baronial lineage, Peter Mauvoisin, was rewarded with the lordship of Saint-André-en-la-Marche.[54]

Less catastrophic for the aristocracy of the Norman marches, but significant nevertheless, was the failure of male heirs. The lordship of Anet-Bréval was broken up into 'Norman' and 'French' halves in 1191–2 at the death of Simon d'Anet and his son John de Bréval,[55] and between 1219 and 1231 the counts of Alençon and Perche and the lords of Mayenne and Tillières all died out in the male line, offering opportunities for the kings of France to carve up or diminish these lordships because in each case there were several heirs.[56] Royal avarice could sometimes postpone

[49] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 501, 549, 551. For Grossœuvre, see *Registres*, 299; *RHF*, xxiii, 622; it had belonged to the lords of St-André-en-la-Marche (Orderic, vi, 490; BN, ms. lat. 5464, no. 34). William Poucin, who became castellan of Rouen, soon also bought the nearby lordship of Glisolles (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 998); for his son Amaury, lord of Glisolles, see BN, ms. lat. 5464, nos. 63, 156 (*Sceaux de la Noë*, nos. 35–35*bis*); ADE, H 793, fol. 68v, no. 49; Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 183–4.

[50] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 807, 854; iii, nos. 959, 986; iv, no. 1516; Baldwin 1986, 108–13. For the Cléments' rights over the former ducal tax of *graveria* in the district of Argentan, see ADC, H 6510, fols. 48r–v, no. 203.

[51] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 887; iv, no. 1509; *CN*, no. 363; *RHF*, xxiv, i, 130*–133*. For Cadoc see also Powicke 1961, 231; Petit-Dutaillis 1925, 115; Baldwin 1986, 223.

[52] Bournazel 1975, e.g. 69–80, 168–70, 175–6; Baldwin 1986, 106–14.

[53] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 875; *Layettes*, i, no. 747.

[54] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1305. He also briefly held Nonancourt (*ibid.*, ii, no. 548).

[55] See pp. 84, 279–81, 421.

[56] App. i, nos. 21 (Mayenne), 29 (Talvas), 30 (Tillières); for the division of Perche, see Romanet 1890–1902, i, 60–73, ii, 10–13; Thompson 1995, 30–2. The male line of Tillières may have died out as early as the 1190s, but its Norman lands remained intact until *c.*1224; thereafter it was divided, but the junior branch of coheirs held its share in parage from the senior line.

the impact of genealogical failure rather than accentuating it. In normal circumstances the honour of Gloucester, which included the castle of Sainte-Scolasse on the southern Norman frontier, would have been divided between the three daughters of Earl William of Gloucester at his death in 1183, but Henry II retained all the lands for his son John together with the youngest coheiress, with scant regard for the rights of her elder sisters.[57] Yet even where there was only one heir in the female line, royal interference could demand a heavy price for succession to the lordship. Sometimes this was because the heir was politically unacceptable to the king, a common occurrence in the turbulent decades of Angevin-Capetian strife following the victories of Philip Augustus in 1204. The heiresses of the counties of Eu, Ponthieu and Mortain all lost part of their inheritance in the decades after 1204 because of their husbands' opposition to Capetian rule.[58] Yet even loyal subjects might suffer: the last count of Perche, Bishop William of Châlons, resigned Moulins-la-Marche to Philip Augustus when he inherited the county from his nephew in 1217,[59] and in 1247 Henry d'Avaugour alleged that he had not received his full inheritance as the heir of Gilbert de l'Aigle after the latter's death in 1231.[60]

In general, the basic structure of lordships on both sides of the Norman frontier in 1100 remained more or less intact until after the end of Angevin Normandy, when a combination of political and genealogical disasters led to considerable upheaval. Whereas the extent of the rupture to aristocratic power in the tenth and eleventh centuries remains controversial and difficult to discern, there can be little doubt that the dominant lineages of the Norman frontier regions successfully conserved their lordships for a century or more after 1100, demonstrating both political and biological continuity; in the majority of cases they were to last far longer. Their history will be told against this background of territorially stable lordships.[61]

[57] *Gesta Henrici*, i, 124–5; *Complete Peerage*, v, 689–93. In 1200 the inheritance was nominally granted to the count of Evreux, son of Earl William's eldest coheiress, but in practice King John retained most of it, so that it remained more or less intact until 1204, when its Norman lands escheated to the French king. Part of the Gloucester inheritance in Normandy had passed in the mid-twelfth century to Richard, a younger son of Earl Robert of Gloucester and forebear of the lords of Creully.

[58] *Layettes*, i, nos. 1353, 1360 (Eu); Nortier 1970 and A. W. Lewis 1981, 159–61 (Mortain); below, p. 457 (Ponthieu).

[59] Romanet 1890–1902, ii, 8, no. 5; Thompson 2002, 160–1.

[60] *RHF*, xxiv, ii, 728–9; Thompson 1996a, 195–6.

[61] It is not possible here to consider the changing nature of seigneurial rights within these lordships, although important new exactions were being imposed in the late twelfth century: for instance, in 1196 an act of Roger Payn, one of the lords of the village of Le Bois-Gencelin near Evreux (ADE, H 672, no. 4), mentioned his 'new tallage' (*talleio nouello*). For Roger, see Power 2001b,

THE STATUS OF THE FRONTIER ARISTOCRACY

Frontier lords (1): counts

In contemporary sources various titles and ranks are attributed to the different members of the frontier aristocracy. The variations in status of the counts and countesses, castellans, knights and *domine* had substantial significance for their power and authority: consequently a discussion of their various titles is necessary for an understanding of their dynastic strategies and of the broader history of the Norman frontier.

A number of the most powerful frontier barons were ranked as counts, but there were many types of counts along the Norman frontier. The most powerful was the duke of Normandy himself, who was still often designated 'count of the Normans' as late as the reign of Robert Curthose (or 'earl of Normandy' in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle).[62] At the other end of the scale was the count of Dreux, whose 'county' comprised nothing more than the castelry around Dreux itself. This diversity was largely due to the disparate origins of counts and counties in western Europe: the Norman frontier regions were one of the main areas where several different traditions overlapped and merged.[63] Some comital titles had descended from the Carolingian office of count. These included the principal neighbours of the Normans such as the counts or dukes of Brittany (Rennes), Maine, Perche (based upon the county of Mortagne or the Corbonnais), the Vexin (to 1077) and Amiens, and the bishop of Beauvais, who wielded comital authority in much of his diocese.[64] Other counts in the Carolingian tradition who took their title from counties elsewhere in France had acquired property in Normandy. The counts of Vermandois held Elbeuf-sur-Seine until the early twelfth century and Chambois until 1200, thanks (it was later believed) to the generosity of Duke Richard II of Normandy to their ancestor, Count Dreux of the Vexin.[65]

451 n.37. Barthélemy (1992a, 22) and Lemesle (1999, 173–6) both accord great significance to this development.

[62] Bates 1982, 148–50; Crouch 1992, 53–4; *ASC (E)*, e.g. 29 (s.a. 1100), which refers not only to 'eorl Rotbert' (Robert Curthose) but also to 'eorl Rotbert of Flandran 7 Eustatius eorl of Bunan', i.e. Count Robert of Flanders and Eustace, count of Boulogne (*ASC*, trans. Whitelock, 177).

[63] Crouch 1992, 41–83.

[64] For the counts of Amiens-Vexin, see Bates 1987 and McKitterick 1987; for Perche, see Thompson 2002, 21, 36–8, 62–3, 197–9; for Beauvais, see Guyotjeannin 1987.

[65] Torigni, i, 33 and n. 1; *Roman de Rou*, i, 241 (III, lines 2162–8). Elbeuf passed from Simon, last count of Vexin (1074–7), to the counts of Meulan through his niece Elizabeth de Vermandois (*Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 166, pp. 552, 556, where *Wellebuoht* is identifiable as Elbeuf; Crouch 1986, 12). Chambois came to Simon's nephew, Ralph I of Vermandois, whose daughter Eleanor of St-Quentin ceded it to King John in 1200 (BMRO, Y 201, fol. 71r; *Ch. St-Wandrille*, no. 86 (Omméel near Chambois); *Rot. Chart.*, 64, 96). The Vermandois frequently lost Chambois before

However, by 1100 the dignity of count had been adopted by many families in and around Normandy who did not hold a former Carolingian county. Amongst scions of the chief Breton dynasties, the title of 'count' came to be shared by several brothers at once, not just the head of the line.[66] A similar practice seems to account for the evolution of 'counts' amongst the cadets of the ruling dynasty in Normandy. From the time of Richard II, the first ruler of Normandy to adopt the ducal title, younger sons of his dynasty were appointed to the rank of 'count', which was increasingly associated with border commands such as Talou, Ivry and the Hiémois; three such 'counties' survived into the Angevin period at Eu, Evreux and Mortain.[67] In *Francia*, meanwhile, where the local prince was not a count but a king, many of the greater lords gradually acquired the comital title, perhaps simply because there was room in the terminology of hierarchy for them to do so. In the proximity of the Norman frontier this occurred at Beaumont-sur-Oise, Clermont-en-Beauvaisis and Meulan, and more tentatively at Breteuil-en-Beauvaisis and Rochefort-en-Yvelines; even the sizeable 'county' of Ponthieu was the lordship of Abbeville writ large.[68] The title of count also had a habit of becoming attached to lordships which had once been under the rule of a count from elsewhere, or to a family which had at some point occupied a county. The origin of the 'county' of Dreux around Robert, brother of Louis VII, is well documented: he acquired comital status through marriages to two widows of counts, the first to the widow of the count of Perche and the second to the widow of the count of Bar-sur-Seine.[69] Henceforward Robert's descendants were known as 'count of Dreux', although sometimes he and his son referred to themselves as 'count, lord of Dreux'.[70]

The Norman Conquest of England brought a new use of the comital title to the Norman frontier regions, as landowners became earls across

1200: it had been held by Gerard Flaitel in *c.*1040 (*RADN*, no. 108), and in the reign of Henry II, when the 'honour of Chambois' came to Count Philip of Flanders and Vermandois, he gave it to William de Mandeville (d. 1189), earl of Essex (ADSM, 16 H 14, fol. 278r; BMRO, Y 201, fol. 71r); it was in ducal hands in 1195 (*MRSN*, i, clxii, 210, 224–5).

[66] Crouch 1992, 54–5.

[67] For Norman 'counts', see especially Douglas (1946), who stresses the link between these new counties and the Carolingian *pagi*; Crouch 1992, 53–6, and Garnett 1994, 98–101, with the sources cited there; above, pp. 55–66.

[68] Lemarignier 1965, 126–31; Crouch 1992, 52; Fossier 1968, ii, 485–6 (Ponthieu), 487 (Breteuil-en-Beauvaisis); cf. Douglas 1946, 149.

[69] A. W. Lewis 1981, 60, 62–3, 251–3; A. W. Lewis 1985, 148–9, 156–7. Agnes, daughter of Andrew de Baudemont, was lady in her own right of Braine-le-Comte (near Soissons); like Dreux, it indirectly acquired the status of a county through Agnes' first marriage to the count of Bar-sur-Seine.

[70] A. W. Lewis 1985, 156–7. For the various titles of Robert I (1152–88) see also A. W. Lewis 1981, 202–8. For Robert II (1184–1218) as 'count, lord of Dreux', see, for instance, BN, ms. lat. 10106, fols. 4v–5r, 6r, 7r, 11r; he also sometimes appears as 'Count Robert, lord of Dreux and Braine'.

the Channel. The dignity of earl in its post-Conquest sense evolved from a medley of Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, Norman and Frankish elements.[71] Between 1066 and 1204 many English earls had some lands in Normandy, but for most of the twelfth century only five were significant landowners in the frontier regions of the duchy: the earls of Leicester at Breteuil and Pacy, and in the Norman Vexin; the earls of Gloucester at Sainte-Scolasse-sur-Sarthe near Alençon; the earls of Chester in the Avranchin, where Ranulf II was briefly promoted from viscount to count in 1153;[72] the earls Warenne at Mortemer-sur-Eaulne in north-eastern Normandy; and the Roumare earls of Lincoln at the fortress of Neufmarché near Gisors.[73] It is worth recalling, too, that other frontier lords were sprung from families of this rank: the lords of Le Neubourg and Vernon were cadet branches of the earls of Warwick and Devon respectively, but were never accorded comital rank.[74]

The use of the comital title was complicated still further because, inevitably, a family that had acquired this rank through one route might easily then receive it by another as well, as three of the most renowned frontier lineages demonstrate. The Montgomery-Talvas first reached comital status as earls of Shrewsbury, in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest. Robert II de Bellême then gained the county of Ponthieu through marriage, and his son William Talvas II inherited the county and title. Long before his death in 1171, however, William had conferred Ponthieu upon his eldest son and grandson, devoting himself wholly to his lands in Normandy and Maine; in consequence, the junior branch of his family which inherited his lands in western France in 1171 also used a comital title, which contemporaries associated variously with Sées, Alençon or the Saosnois. By the early thirteenth century the lands of the Talvas in the Alençonnais had come to form a recognised 'county of Alençon'. In the space of a hundred years, the Talvas used a comital title drawn from an English earldom (Shrewsbury), from a great lordship that had evolved into a county (Ponthieu), and from a lordship (Alençon) that had come to be regarded as a county through association with the Talvas family itself.[75]

[71] C. P. Lewis 1991, 207–23. [72] *RRAN*, iii, no. 180.

[73] Powicke 1961, 347 (Warenne); *Complete Peerage*, vii, 667–71 (Lincoln). Count Waleran of Meulan was earl of Worcester between 1138 and 1153 (Crouch 1986, 39, 75–6).

[74] *Complete Peerage*, xii, ii, 360, note (g), and App. a, 5–6 (Le Neubourg); iv, 311 (note b), 768–71 (Vernon), The earls of Devon and Warwick occasionally used the names of their ancestral Norman castles, even though the fortresses now lay with their cousins, a sign of the continuing importance of these castles to the senior, English line: *Redvers Charters*, 14 and especially nos. 85, 91; Crouch 1996, 4, 14–15 (n.4).

[75] Louise 1992, ii, 181; Thompson 1994, 181–2 and n. 78. 'Count of the Saosnois' is used by Diceto, i, 379, for John I and by a mid-thirteenth-century copy of an act of Bishop Hamelin of Le Mans

Parallels may be seen in the emergence of a county at Montfort-l'Amaury. The lords of Montfort-l'Amaury first achieved uncertain comital status from an elevated lordship in *Francia* (Rochefort-en-Yvelines), then more definitely from a Norman ducal apanage (Evreux) between 1118 and 1181. Through his third marriage, to Agnes de Garlande, Amaury III de Montfort (d. 1137–8) had acquired Rochefort-en-Yvelines, whose previous lord Hugh de Crécy had sometimes been designated 'count'; by inheritance he also became Count Amaury I of Evreux. At the death of his son Count Simon in 1181, the cadet branch received the French lands including, so Robert of Torigni tells us, the 'county' of Rochefort, and thereafter this branch often appeared as 'counts of Montfort'; from 1204 Simon V de Montfort invariably called himself earl of Leicester, an inheritance that he claimed but held only briefly. His son Amaury bowed to fate by resigning all claim to Leicester to his brother Simon and his father's Languedocien titles to the king of France, but meanwhile Montfort-l'Amaury had been permanently established as a county.[76] A still more curious mix of English earls and French counts transformed the Norman lordship of Aumale into a county. Before 1053 the town of Aumale had been held by the sister of William the Conqueror and her first two, 'French' husbands, the counts of Ponthieu and Lens. William granted the town to his sister's last husband, the exiled count of Champagne, Odo. Their son Stephen was sometimes referred to as 'Count Stephen' in the tradition by which grandeur alone conferred this title, and Stephen's son William le Gros in turn received the title of 'earl of Yorkshire' from King Stephen. Although William subsequently lost this dignity, he continued to call himself 'count of Aumale', and the 'county of Aumale' survived the annexation of the town to the French royal domain in 1196–1202.[77] As at Alençon, several different traditions

(1191–1214) for Count Robert (*comitis Roberti Sagonen*'): ADOR, H 2170, no. 50 (*Ctl. Perche*, no. 293). It is possible that the original act read *Sag*' for *Sagiensis* ('of Sées'). ADSA, H 927, no. 2 (*Actes de Ponthieu*, no. LXXXI; *Ctl. Perseigne*, nos. XXVII, CCCLXI), purporting to be an original charter of 'William, count of Ponthieu and Alençon' (*c.*1150), is a thirteenth-century forgery. Boussard (1956, 237 n.10) unconvincingly suggests that the Talvas were aspiring to resurrect the eleventh-century title of count of the Hiémois. For a comparable example of a cadet branch of a comital family being accorded the title so that its lordship evolved into a county, see Devailly 1973, 360 (Sancerre).

[76] Rhein 1910, 39; *Complete Peerage*, vii, 713–17, 536–44; Torigni, ii, 103; Power 2001a, 127–9, 131. A late drawing of Simon's seal (BN, ms. lat. 5441, I, p. 256) has 'sigillvm Simonis comitis Ebroicarum' on one side and 'sigillvm Simonis comitis Montefortis (*sic*)' on the other, probably fancifully (see frontispiece). *RHF*, xi, 275 (*c.*1175), refers to Count Simon of Evreux as 'count of Montfort'; in 1149 Bishop Goslin of Chartres referred to Amaury de Montfort by this title (*Ctl. Josaphat*, i, no. CLXV; cf. Gilbert of Mons, 46).

[77] *Complete Peerage*, i, 352–3; *EYC*, iii, 26–7; Dalton 1994, 146; Diceto, ii, 3. For the 'county of Aumale' after its fall to Philip Augustus, see Coggeshall, 136; *Layettes*, i, no. 734; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 862.

merged into one at Aumale, which acquired its own count despite never having been the seat of either a Carolingian county or a Norman ducal apanage.

Since the comital title embraced nobles of very different wealth and power, the scribes of their charters might look for ways of enhancing their status. The pretensions of Count William of Evreux led him to be described soon after the Conqueror's death, when the great king had been replaced by 'Count' Robert Curthose, as 'William, duke and count of the city of Evreux'.[78] A more common method by which counts sought to claim greater status was the attribution of their title to divine favour, in imitation of monarchs and bishops. In northern France this venerable tradition dated back to Carolingian times,[79] and was still employed in the eleventh century; in 1030, for example, a charter of Count Dreux of Amiens-Vexin for Jumièges had described him as 'count of the *patria* of Amiens by the will of the supreme King',[80] and the rulers of Normandy themselves invoked divine grace for their rulership.[81] In the twelfth century the title *Dei gratia comes* came to be used more systematically by the lesser counts of the northern Ile-de-France such as Meulan, Clermont and Soissons, and this has been interpreted as a sign that they were attempting to raise themselves above other *comites* in England, Normandy and *Francia*.[82] Yet this practice was then becoming far more widespread amongst *comites* of various types, including Mortain, Evreux, Eu, Aumale, Warenne, Dreux, Ponthieu and Perche, and the earls of Richmond, cadets of the Breton dukes and hence 'counts of Brittany' in the Breton tradition.[83] Since figures of much lower status were soon invoking divine sanction on a regular basis, however, none of these counts succeeded in making the divine sanction the exclusive preserve of their rank.

In sum, no fewer than five distinct traditions revolved around the title of *comes* (or *quens* in the vernacular) along the Norman frontier. It was perhaps unique in western Europe for so many different types

[78] *Ch. Jumièges*, i, no. xxxvi: 'Ego Guilelmus, dux et comes Ebroacensis civitatis' (Dec. 1087).

[79] For the origins of the practice, see Le Jan 2000, 56. Zimmermann (1991, 42 and n. 63) provides Carolingian equivalents from the Spanish march.

[80] *Ch. Jumièges*, i, no. xiv: 'Ego Drogo, nutu superni Regis comes patrie Ambianensis'.

[81] *RADN*, e.g. nos. 52 (Richard II), 86 (Robert I), 224 (William II).

[82] Crouch 1986, 63. For the significance of this style and its relationship to royal authority, see Crouch 1991, 70–1; 1992, 13–14.

[83] Mortain: BN, ms. lat. 5441, ii, p. 405 (William son of Count Robert of Mortain). Evreux: Dion 1888, nos. 2–3; Le Brasseur 1722, *preuves*, p. 6; Dor 1992, 548–9, App. ii, nos. 4–5. Eu: Crouch 1991, 70n. Aumale: ADSM, i h 1, no. 4 (Semichon 1862, i, 396). Perche: ADOR, h 2621 (Rotrou III, 1170); *Ctl. Trappe*, 457. Brittany: *EYC*, iv, e.g. nos. 6, 8, 12, 25, and pp. 89–91, 97–101. Warenne: *EYC*, viii, 45. Dreux: A. W. Lewis 1985, 176, no. xii. Ponthieu: *Actes de Ponthieu*, e.g. nos. xi, xv, lxxxvii, lxxxviii, cxliii. The counts of Ponthieu and Dreux also used *dei patientia*: *ibid*, no. xxviii; A. W. Lewis 1981, 203–5 (nos. 11–12, 14–15, 20).

of count to be found in such a small area, an indication of both the indigenous, creative traditions of Normandy and the region's function as the meeting-point between Scandinavian, English, Breton and Frankish traditions. Whether contemporaries recognised these subtle distinctions is another matter. When the English historian Ralph de Diceto described the attack of the counts of Perche, Dreux and the Saosnois upon Sées in 1174, for instance, the different origins of their three titles can hardly have concerned him.[84] A list of all the 'counts and dukes of the king of the French', drawn up by a clerk of Philip Augustus soon after 1204, suggests that there was little more awareness on the other side of the Channel: the scribe did not distinguish between the counts whom he listed, despite the great variations in their origins and power.[85] Roger Bigod's famous claim in 1249 that he was a *comes* just as the count of Guînes was, and therefore could charge tolls in his English lands as the count did in France, is a reminder of the universality of the comital title, despite the range of ways in which it had been acquired by the families that used it.[86] If the comital title in the frontier regions had diverse origins and its use was very varied, counts enjoyed a common status which was, moreover, more stable in 1200 than it had been a century earlier.

Frontier lords (2): domini and milites

Many of the great barons of the frontier regions bore no title apart from *dominus* but were often as powerful as the lesser counts. The lords of Mayenne and Fougères, for instance, were virtual arbiters of the regions where Normandy, Maine and Brittany met throughout the twelfth century. Like *comites*, *domini* varied enormously in origins, wealth, status and power. In addition, the use of the title of 'lord' was broadening during the period in question. By the early thirteenth century, it had passed down to quite humble landowners, for in much of France the *milites castri*, like their English counterparts, the barons and knights of the honour, were putting down roots in the countryside and becoming 'lords' of villages, which they often adorned with fortified manor houses in imitation of the magnates' castles.[87] The title of 'knight' (*miles*), meanwhile, had passed far up the social scale. By the 1230s even men such as Robert de Courtenay,

[84] Diceto, i, 379.

[85] *Registres*, 327–8. The clerk did not recognise the numerous Breton 'counts', for by then this usage was almost obsolete. The flight of Anglo-Norman nobles to England in 1204 meant that the only English earl he mentioned, William Marshal, appeared merely as 'lord of Longueville and Orbec'.

[86] *Chron. Maj.*, v, 85–6.

[87] Cf. Chédeville 1973, 317–19; Evergates 1975, 96–101; Fossier 1976, 109–17; Barthélemy 1993, 906–13; Barthélemy 1995, 65–7.

grandson of Louis VI and lord of Nonancourt and Conches, were using it with pride.[88] The extent of the title's transformation is demonstrated in an act of 1261, by which Hugh de Châteauneuf, 'squire', the lord of Brezolles and Ferté-Arnaud, confirmed a charter of his ancestor, Arnold de la Ferté, from 1165. The scribe who wrote Hugh's charter failed to understand the changes to diplomatic practice since 1165 and described Arnold as 'squire', for the earlier act, in accordance with mid-twelfth-century usage, did not accord Arnold the title of *miles*.[89] It was perhaps in recognition of the debasement of the title of *dominus* that an act of John III de Dol in 1223 described him as 'noble baron and lord of Combour'.[90]

Since *domini* were coming to comprise such a broad section of society, some of the greater lords imitated the counts in claiming divine sanction for their lordship. This development gives us a revealing insight into aristocratic self-fashioning: some families used these phrases consistently enough for them to be more than mere scribal quirks. Three generations of lords of Mayenne in the mid-twelfth century were styled 'lord of Mayenne by the grace of God', and two of the lords of Fougères adopted the same posture.[91] More unusually, Hugh II de Gournay on at least one occasion was styled *Dei permissione dominus Gorniaci* (although this act may have been drafted by the beneficiary, the Flemish abbey of Anchin),[92] and his neighbour Walter Tirel appears as 'by the grace of God lord and prince of the castle of Poix'.[93] It is true that the lords of Mayenne and Fougères were numbered amongst some of the greatest magnates in western France and the lords of Gournay belonged to the most powerful nobles in Normandy; but the *Dei gratia* style was also occasionally adopted by lords of perhaps modest means. Goscelin 'by the grace of God viscount of Arques', the eleventh-century founder of the abbey of La Trinité du Mont near Rouen, may be an early example, although his activities indicate a man of more considerable status than his vicecomital title alone suggests.[94] Richer II de l'Aigle, who was far from the most powerful nobleman in southern Normandy, was styled 'by the grace of God lord of l'Aigle' in an act issued in his name in 1136, and even 'prince of l'Aigle'

[88] ADE, H 1739: 'Robertus de Curtiniaco, miles, Francie buticularius, dominus Concharum' (1234).

[89] *Templiers en Eure-et-Loir*, no. CLIV, confirming no. II. Hugh's act also called his father Hervey 'squire', presumably because Hervey's act, now lost, did not accord him the title of *miles*.

[90] ADML, H 3332: 'Johannes de Dol nobilis baro dominus Comburnii'.

[91] AN, K 24, nos. 2^2, 16^7, and BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1022, pp. 368, 397, 412 (Mayenne); AN, L 973, no. 766 (Fougères). In the early twelfth century local acts referred grandiosely to the lord of Mayenne as 'dux Medavi castri' and even 'marchisus et nobilis decurio Meduanensis' (*Ctl. Abbayette*, no. 8; BMF, ms. 23, p. 872; BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1022, p. 583).

[92] ADN, 1 H 41, no. 466 (1177) (cf. *Actes de Henri II*, intro. vol., 390).

[93] *Ctl. Sélincourt*, no. CLXVII: 'Ego Galterus Tyrellus Dei gratia dominus et princeps de castello de Poiz' (1159).

[94] Crouch 1992, 101. For Goscelin, see Bates 1982, 96, 102, 104, 158–9, 171.

in his great charter of confirmation for the abbey of Saint-Lomer de Blois in 1155.[95] Richer's pretensions no doubt reflected his impressive family connections rather than his rather modest resources, for his mother was a daughter of the count of Perche, his sister was queen of Navarre, and by 1155 her daughter was queen of Sicily; but others with no such claims also appear with augmented seigneurial titles.[96] Thanks to his marriage to the heiress of the Breton magnate John II de Dol, Hasculf de Subligny, whose father John was a *curialis* of Henry II from the Bessin, was described in one of his acts as 'by the grace of God lord of Combour and standard-bearer of Saint Samson' (that is, of the metropolitan see of Dol).[97] Such pretensions were not confined to the Norman frontier: around 1200 Hervey Bagot, who had married the heiress of an English cadet branch of the Tosny family, issued a charter as 'Hervey by the grace of God lord of Stafford'.[98] For both Hasculf de Subligny and Hervey of Stafford, God's grace had manifested itself in marriage to a rich heiress and they were no doubt at pains to stress their enhanced status.

Another way in which barons enhanced their status was by flaunting an official dignity as a hereditary title. The lords of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe, amongst the greatest magnates in Maine, hardly ever failed to use their title of 'viscount' (of Maine); nor did the much humbler Norman viscounts, notably the viscounts of Aumale.[99] The title of *vidame*, or lay protector of a bishopric, was assiduously used by the two distinct seigneurial lineages of Gerberoy as *vidames* of Beauvais, and by the lords of Picquigny, *vidames* of Amiens.[100] A typically medieval habit of merging titles with surnames meant that the office was usually joined to the toponymic rather than to the name of the county or diocese; contemporaries invariably spoke of the viscount of Beaumont, the *vidame* of Gerberoy, and so on. Overall, however, titles are an incomplete guide to the power, authority and dignity of frontier magnates, and they varied significantly from district to district and over time as the castellan and knightly classes 'merged'. One of the most powerful families on the Norman frontier, the lords of

[95] *Ctl. Trappe*, 112–13; ADLC, 11 H 27: act of 'Richerius Aquilensis filius Gilberti', but naming 'Richerio principo Aquilensi' amongst those present (l'Aigle, 22 Sept. 1155).

[96] Thompson 1996a, 184; *Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, 242; *History of the Tyrants of Sicily*, 225 n.23, dates the marriage of Margaret of Navarre and the future King William I of Sicily to 1144 × 51.

[97] BN, ms. lat. 5441, III, p. 177 (*c.*1170 ×1206). For Hasculf, see Everard 2000, 74, 83–5, 212; Power 2003b, 202–6; below, App. 1, nos. 10, 28.

[98] ADE, H 251 (1193 × 1214); for Hervey, see Loyd 1951, 99; Sanders 1960, 81; Musset 1977, 57–9.

[99] App. 1, no. 6; for Norman viscounts in general, see Musset 1976, 76–7; Bates 1982, 117–18, 156–8; Bouvris 1985, 149–52.

[100] Guyotjeannin 1987, 109–13, 136–43 (Gerberoy); Darsy 1860, eg. 10, 23 (Picquigny). Guyotjeannin shows that the *vidames* of Gerberoy did not in fact exercise traditional vicedominal powers. Orderic, ii, 108, notes the castle's unusual custom of having two lords of equal status.

Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais and Brezolles, never called themselves lords 'by God's grace' and were indifferent to the seigneurial title. Their chief lands nominally lay in the counties of Blois-Chartres and Perche, which perhaps precluded their adoption of a comital title; instead, they referred to themselves merely as 'lord of Châteauneuf' or sometimes just 'of Châteauneuf' until, like most castellans, they adopted the title of *miles* in the course of the thirteenth century.[101] In the early twelfth century an act of Gervase I de Châteauneuf for Saint-Père de Chartres called him simply 'Castelli Novi naturalis dominus'; but the monks of the abbey described him as 'a nobleman who in his days was most distinguished amongst his countrymen'.[102] Yet despite their apparent indifference to grandiose titles, the lords of Châteauneuf were indisputably a force to be reckoned with on the Norman frontier, and a constant thorn in the side of the dukes of Normandy: the fortresses of Verneuil and Nonancourt were constructed primarily to ward off the ravages of this one family, and between 1058 and 1203 the dukes made repeated assaults upon their castles of Thimert, Châteauneuf, Brezolles, Rémalard and Sorel.[103]

One illuminating insight into how contemporaries ranked the *domini* into a rough hierarchy comes from the list of magnates that a French royal clerk compiled shortly after 1204.[104] The list is particularly informative because its author divided the barons by status, not province, implicitly judging barons from the erstwhile Angevin lands against their neighbours. After naming the dukes and counts of the realm, the clerk grouped the remaining magnates into three categories: 'barons', 'castellans' and 'vavassors'.[105] The 'barons' along the Norman frontier included the viscount of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe, Juhel de Mayenne, and the lords of Montfort-l'Amaury, Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme and La Roche-Guyon, but only four from Normandy were placed in this group: Fulk Paynel, Ralph Taisson, the 'lord of Orbec and Longueville' (William Marshal) and the constable of Normandy (William du Hommet). The 'castellans' from these regions were the lords of Ferté-Arnaud, Poix and Chevreuse, and perhaps the lady of Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais, as well as men who

[101] The sobriquet was used in the senior branch by 1247 (BN, ms. lat. 5417, pp. 273–4: 'John, lord of Châteauneuf, knight'), and in the junior in 1233 (*Templiers en Eure-et-Loir*, no. CXII: 'Hervey de Châteauneuf, knight, lord of Brezolles and La-Ferté-au-Perche', an example missed by Chédeville (1973, 317), who gives 1266 as the earliest example).

[102] *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 287, 585. [103] See 248, 364–5.

[104] *Registres*, 327–35, where it is dated Oct. 1203 × Jan. 1206; Baldwin 1986, 262, 533 n. 11. The absence of any of the great Norman lords who left the duchy in 1204–5 implies that it is subsequent to the fall of Normandy in May–June 1204.

[105] For this use of *vavassores*, unusual in a north-western French context, see Baldwin 1986, 533 n. 11, and Reynolds 1994, 288; for the term in general, see *ibid.*, 23; Guilhiermoz 1902, 150–1, 167–71, 183–8, 193–4; Navel 1934, 50–4; Yver 1990; Arnoux 1996, 334–5. Cf. Deck 1929, 19–21, for the status of the *vavassores* in the Forest of Eu.

had important Norman interests but whose inclusion may have been due to their more substantial lands in the Ile-de-France, such as John de Gisors, Richard de Vernon, and the lord of La Queue-en-Brie (Roger de Meulan).[106] There were also several who had been installed in their castles by Philip Augustus, such as the castellans of Ivry (Robert d'Ivry), Nonancourt (Robert de Courtenay) and Argentan (Henry Clément, marshal of France). The final group, the *vavassores*, included Guy Mauvoisin, Peter de Richebourg, and Robert and Simon de Poissy; a later hand added the lord of l'Aigle and several men from central Normandy, including Henry de Ferrières, William and Peter de Préaux, Robert de Harcourt and the lord of Courcy.[107] It is hard to discern what criteria the clerk used to decide who belonged to each category, unless complex rules of precedence now lost to us had been formulated at the Capetian court; many of the *barones* appear no greater in reality than the *castellani*, some of whom were perhaps no more powerful than certain *vavassores*. Nothing supports the list's implication that William Marshal had comparable power in the kingdom of France to the lord of Mayenne; the reverse seems true. Moreover, some important Normans, such as the lord of Tillières and Henry du Neubourg, were omitted altogether. What is immediately apparent, though, is the relative insignificance of the Normans compared to the great lords of the Loire regions or the numerous castellans of the Ile-de-France and Vermandois; this was partly because so many of the greatest nobles in the duchy had fled to England in 1204, but even before that date there had been few Norman lordships on a par with Mayenne, Fougères or Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais. For much of its length the frontier separated massive lordships bordering Normandy from relatively small castelries and honours within the duchy.

Overall, and despite numerous inconsistencies, the terminology of status had become far more standardised by the beginning of the thirteenth

[106] The *Dominus de Cauda* (*Registres*, 331) is more likely lord of La Queue-en-Brie (i.e. Roger de Meulan) than of La Queue-en-Yvelines, the editor's identification. Nor can the *Domina Novi Castelli* (p. 332) be the lady of Neufchâtel-en-Saosnois, a castle of the count of Alençon. Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais, often called *Novum Castellum*, is more likely: Gervase II de Châteauneuf (d. 1212) was absent on the Fourth Crusade and perhaps feared dead after the rout of Adrianople in 1205, where he escaped but his brother-in-law Renaud de Montmirail perished (Villehardouin, ii, 160–2, 170, §§ 352, 361); his wife Margaret (d. 1204) issued at least one act in his absence (*Inv. Somm. Eure-et-Loir*, ix, 125: ADEL, H 3907). Gervase may not have returned to France much before Feb. 1212 (cf. *Ctl. Josaphat*, i, no. CCCIX, note). Alternatively the *dominus de Castello*, one of the *barones* (p. 329), could be Gervase II de Châteauneuf or his eldest son Hugh IV. For the lords of Vernon in the Ile-de-France from 1196, see *Layettes*, i, no. 441; they were later often called 'castellans of Montmélian' (e.g. ADVO, 2 H 3, acts of John de Vernon (1228, o.s.), William de Chantilly (1236) and William de Vernon (1254, o.s.); cf. *CN*, no. 1234).

[107] *Registres*, 333–5. The Robert de Poissy mentioned is presumably the lord of Maisons-sur-Seine, not Robert de Poissy of Noyon-sur-Andelle.

century. Perhaps this reflects the general stability in social composition of the aristocracy after 1100 and in structures of lordship and power in the region, although it could also mirror increasing standardisation in charters and records of government; the more narrative sources continued to employ a variety of ways to describe the rank and power of the great landowners. Without good evidence for aristocratic incomes it is impossible to tell whether greater stability in terminology, lineage and the territorial extent of lordships meant that aristocratic power and influence changed little in reality. It is clear, though, that for contemporaries the designations of 'count' and 'lord' were so broad by 1200 that they were insufficient guides to the power of individual magnates or their adherents; the use of *dominus* had enlarged to embrace both village knights and castellans who were veritable rulers of their territories. In consequence, subtle qualifications in charters and chronicles distinguished many of the more powerful lords from lesser seigneurs, and the sources often make it abundantly clear where they thought power actually lay. The scribe who, early in the thirteenth century, described Count William of Aumale (d. 1179) as 'the ruler and lord of all that land' had a shrewd sense of that baron's territorial power in north-eastern Normandy some decades earlier.[108] It was magnates such as these who dominated the Norman borderlands. Their methods of protecting and enhancing their power will be the subject of the next chapter.

[108] BMRO, Y 13, fol. 81r, act of Hugh *des Haies* (1217), confirming gifts made by Ralph Mauclerc *de Noua uilla* at Frétils (cant. Neufchâtel) with the consent of Hugh's ancestors, 'sicut Willermi comitis Albemarle continetur in carta qui tunc temporis tocius terre illius rector erat et dominus' (possibly referring to the count's act on fols. 81v–82r).

Chapter 6

THE CONCERNS OF ARISTOCRATIC LINEAGES: MARRIAGE, KINSHIP, NEIGHBOURHOOD AND INHERITANCE

The aristocracies of medieval Europe used many means to protect and improve their positions. In their choices of spouses, in the arrangements that they made for their children's inheritance, and in their relations with their lords, cousins, neighbours and followers, the great landowners made far-reaching decisions to ensure the prosperity of their lineages. How far did the presence of the border of Normandy affect the strategies of local magnates? Their activities and attitudes represent one of the best guides we have to the significance of the political divide between Normandy and its neighbours. When a frontier lord arranged a marriage for his son or daughter, was his choice of spouse determined by the proximity of the Norman border? Was it expedient for frontier lords to divide their French from their Norman lands, in disregard of conventional inheritance practices? How far would a magnate who owed allegiance to the duke of Normandy associate himself in legal actions, whether by standing surety or witnessing ceremonies of endowment, with those of his neighbours and kinsmen who owed no such allegiance? A number of these concerns will be studied here to show how they illuminate aristocratic mentalities along the Norman frontier in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Whereas the functions of marriage in medieval noble strategies are familiar to historians of medieval Europe, the manipulation of ties of kinship and neighbourhood, notably for suretyship, has been far more neglected; it none the less reveals much about the associations between the Normans and their neighbours.

MARRIAGE

Analysing marriages

Since marriage has always been one of the most important political activities for landowning élites, it can reveal much about the effect of the border

of Normandy upon aristocratic strategies.[1] Yet identifying the importance of particular marriages is problematic. Options for marriage were greatly restricted by consanguinity and also by fear of disparagement, and so the greatest nobles might look far and wide for a suitable marriage: in the early twelfth century William Talvas II, count of Ponthieu, and Matilda, daughter of Walter de Mayenne, both married into the ducal house of Burgundy.[2]

It was in the interest of an aristocratic lineage to secure friendship with its neighbours through alliances, and these were most firmly sealed through marriage. Many were certainly contracted to end strife, and they often succeeded in doing so. In about 1091, after his knights had murdered Gilbert de l'Aigle, Count Geoffrey of Mortagne pacified the injured party by marrying his daughter to the dead man's nephew, the lord of l'Aigle, and according to Orderic Vitalis the resulting 'alliance between the two lines of cousins' (*foedus inter consobrinos heredes*) became the bedrock for maintaining peace in this region for many years afterwards: a generation later, the cooperation of Count Rotrou II of Perche and Richer II de l'Aigle in extorting vital border fortresses from King Stephen in 1137 shows that their kinship was still the fulcrum of politics in this part of the Norman march.[3] The l'Aigle family may well have contracted a match with the lords of La Ferté-Arnaud in the early twelfth century for similar reasons.[4] The marriage of Juhel I de Mayenne to Clemence, daughter of William Talvas II, contracted in the early 1120s, helps to explain why these two great families did not clash again as their forebears frequently had in the previous century. In 1203, in fact, the alliance of Count Robert of Sées (grandson of William Talvas) and his cousin Juhel II de Mayenne was a crucial aspect of the revolt at Alençon against King John.[5] During the troubles of King Stephen's reign, Earl Robert II of Leicester attempted to resolve his bitter rivalry with Roger III de Tosny in southern Normandy and the earl of Gloucester in England through marriage alliances.[6]

Yet marriages were sometimes ineffectual in establishing peace between feuding families. The many marriages between the Capetians and the

[1] For medieval marriage in general, see especially Duby 1978, 1984, Brooke 1989, and Bouchard 2001; Green (1997, 348–55) provides a useful summary of Anglo-Norman marriage practices after 1066.

[2] Thompson 1994, 171; Bouchard 1987, 259. For consanguinity, see Bouchard 1981b; Bouchard 2001, 39–58; for disparagement, Holt 1985, 24–8.

[3] Orderic, iv, 200–2 (and 202 n.1 for the date); vi, 484; Thompson 1996a, 183–4, 188.

[4] Thompson 1996a, 189 n.57.

[5] Power 1999a, 128–32. The conflict between the Talvas and the lords of Mayenne had focussed upon the misfortunes of the Giroies. For the marriage of Juhel and Clemence, see Barton 1995, 58 n.84, although the count of Ponthieu in question was William, not Guy.

[6] Crouch 1986, 38, 85; cf. 32 for previous rivalry between the lords of Tosny and Breteuil, and Musset 1977, 54, 73–4, for a Tosny marriage with the fitzOsbern lords of Breteuil.

house of Anjou in the twelfth century failed utterly to solve the rivalries between them. Moreover, some were actually counterproductive: instead of improving the relations between two families, they poisoned them by introducing intractable questions of inheritance and property into their relationship. Through his marriage and those which he arranged for his sisters, Waleran II, count of Meulan, built up a series of alliances which extended from central Normandy to western *Francia*. His sisters' marriages to Hugh de Montfort (-sur-Risle), Hugh de Châteauneuf and William Louvel of Ivry were unquestionably important in securing support for his rebellion in 1123; Waleran's own marriage to Agnes de Montfort (-l'Amaury) gave him greater influence and power in the Evrecin as well as lands as far apart as the Pays de Caux and east of Paris. By 1153, however, these alliances were worthless. In that year, Waleran was imprisoned by his nephew Robert de Montfort (-sur-Risle) for withholding Robert's inheritance, while one of Waleran's brothers-in-law, Count Simon of Evreux, devastated the lands of another, William Louvel. What now was the value of the count of Meulan's marriage alliances, one of which, between Waleran and Agnes de Montfort, had been contracted as recently as 1141?[7] Waleran's failures seem to prove the maxim of Chu Hsi, that 'Families linked by marriage often end up enemies.'[8]

Likewise, simply because two families were related by marriage or blood did not automatically mean that the individuals whom it united would always act together.[9] The sons of the Conqueror enjoyed the closest of agnatic ties, and Stephen of Blois and his wife each had a close cognatic link with the Empress Matilda, yet the story of their respective conflicts needs no retelling here. Their subjects were no less constrained by such difficulties; so bitter could conflict within families be that the thirteenth-century customs of the Beauvaisis made plenty of provision for warfare between kin, and only war between brothers of the full blood was unacceptable.[10] Yet at the same time a nobleman's war was the concern of his whole lineage to the seventh degree.[11] Memories within a lineage could be long, particularly where claims to land were concerned: in 1225

[7] Crouch 1986, 15–17, 52, 64–5, 71–6.

[8] *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, trans. P. B. Ebrey (Princeton, 1991), 55.

[9] Cf. Holt 1984b, 14–15, 20–1. As with many other topics discussed here, the bibliography for the role of kinship in aristocratic society is vast, but works relevant to the present discussion include Werner 1958–60; Leyser 1968; Duby 1977, 134–48; Génicot 1978, 17–35; Hajdu 1977, 117–39; Martindale 1989; Green 1997, 329–47; Lemesle 1999, 111–34; Aurell 2000b. For various approaches to the study of kinship and political structures, see the articles collected in Keats-Rohan (1997).

[10] Beaumanoir, ii, 354–5, §§ 1667, 1669.

[11] Beaumanoir, ii, 362–5, §§ 1686–9. By Beaumanoir's day this had been narrowed to the fourth degree, in accordance with the changes to the rules regarding consanguinity at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215).

Louis VIII forced the countess of Ponthieu to renounce her claims to the county of Alençon, which her great-great-grandfather Count William I of Ponthieu (d. 1171) had held, although the last count of Alençon had left much closer heirs than her, and in 1259 Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, abandoned his claims to the county of Evreux, which his family, the cadet branch of the Montfort dynasty, had evidently cherished since the extinction of the senior branch in the reign of King John.[12] Such memories could be perpetuated and proclaimed publicly through heraldry: the arms of the counts of Ponthieu and Alençon made clear reference to their blood relationship, for example.[13] The importance of ties of kinship for early crusading recruitment has also been forcefully demonstrated.[14]

A baron's kindred by marriage could also help him to stave off the effects of a political setback. If he found himself out of favour with his lord, his wife's relatives might more easily avoid his disgrace than his blood-relatives since they had their own distinct interests: they could therefore protect his lands against confiscation by taking them over, ensuring that the inheritance remained within the family circle. When Richard de Vernon joined the French king against King John in 1203, Thomas du Hommet received the Vernon lands in the Cotentin until the end of war: since Richard's wife was Lucy du Hommet, Thomas' possession of them looks like a family arrangement.[15] Arrangements of this type also helped to tidy over the separation of England and Normandy in 1204: William de Warenne, took over the l'Aigle lands around Pevensey in 1207, as brother-in-law of Gilbert de l'Aigle;[16] and in 1212 the earl of Chester claimed Ipplepen in Devon because it had belonged to the family of his wife, Clemence de Fougères, before 1204. Gilbert's lands preserved their identity and he eventually recovered his lands in the rape of Pevensey, holding them almost uninterrupted until his death, but it was another blood relative of the Fougères, Ralph de Meulan, who recovered Ipplepen

[12] *Actes de Ponthieu*, no. CCLXXVIII (p. 410), and below, App. I, no. 29; Maddicott 1994, 141. The last Montfort count of Evreux had died in *c.*1213 (*Complete Peerage*, v, 693).

[13] *Actes de Ponthieu*, lxxvii–lxxvii, 665 and Plate II, nos. 4, 5 (Count William II of Ponthieu, 1212–13, 1221), and ADC, H 6515*bis* (William, son of Count John I of Sées, *c.*1200): each man had a seal bearing a shield charged with three bendlets. William of Sées was the grandson of William Talvas II (Count William I of Ponthieu, d. 1171), William II of Ponthieu the great-grandson, and both were likewise sometimes called 'William Talvas'. Note, too, that William II of Ponthieu and Count Robert of Alençon, elder brother of William of Sées, joined the Albigensian Crusade together in 1215 (Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay, ii, 242–4, § 550).

[14] See Riley-Smith 1997.

[15] *RN*, 102; *Rot. Pat.*, 33; Power 1999a, 120 n.11. Lucy was probably the sister of Thomas du Hommet (App. I, no. 32); the date of her marriage to Richard II de Vernon is not known.

[16] Sanders 1960, 136–7; Thompson 1996a, 193. The marriage was possibly intended to end rivalry over the l'Aigle lands at Pevensey, which in 1153 had been given away to an earlier earl Warenne, William of Blois (*Regesta*, iii, no. 272).

for a time in the 1220s.[17] Marriages could provide allies more directly, of course. In 1138 the count of Hainault was prepared to ride over 150 miles across northern *Francia* in order to aid his sister Ida and her husband Roger de Tosny in their war against the earl of Leicester, although he lacked permission for his cavalcade to pass through the intervening territories.[18]

If kinship cannot be assumed to have counted on every occasion, the paradox is that it could also be the most important tie of all, and was never treated lightly. Hence a close examination of policies across several generations is necessary in order to show the effects of the frontier upon aristocratic marriages, and to reveal how kinship reacted with other factors such as lordship and political expediency.

A Franco-Norman marriage policy: the counts of Evreux

The marriage alliances of the lords of Montfort-l'Amaury show how this powerful family, whose original landed base lay to the west of Paris, attempted to secure its position through judiciously chosen matches on both sides of the political frontier of Normandy, only to find that the advantages gained were offset by the problems of dual loyalty which these frontier marriages created. By the late eleventh century the power of the lords of Montfort extended across much of the region between Paris and the Norman duchy, and so they often intervened in the turbulent politics of the Norman marches; two of them even died there fighting the families of Breteuil and Tosny.[19] It was natural for them to form marriage pacts with Norman frontier lords: Simon I de Montfort married the sister of Count William of Evreux, his daughter and sister married into the families of Tosny and Crispin, and in 1103 Count Robert I of Meulan betrothed his infant daughter to Simon's youngest son, Amaury III, as part of a treaty to end conflicts amongst the 'warlike marchers'.[20] Although this match did not take place, Amaury's daughter Agnes married Count Waleran of Meulan a generation later. Amaury's own marriages reflected his established French position: his second wife was the daughter of the

[17] Thompson 1996a, 193–5; for Ipplepen see *Rot. Lib.*, 36; *RB*, ii, 620; *Rot. Claus.*, i, 135, 481; *Bk. Fees*, i, 612 (cf. 97); ii, 1262; Stevenson 1974, ii, 439–40; Vincent 1997, 92–3. Ralph de Meulan was the son of Margaret, daughter of Ralph de Fougères.

[18] Gilbert of Mons, 71–2 (cf. Orderic, vi, 524).

[19] Orderic, iv, 198–200 (Amaury II), 214–16 (Richard de Montfort).

[20] Orderic, vi, 46 ('belligerantes marchisos'). Another of Simon's daughters, Bertrada, later queen of France, was first married to the count of Anjou. For the Montfort marriages, see *Complete Peerage*, vii, 708–17; Dor 1992, 18–47; below, p. 382 (Table III), and App. I, no. 14. For the Crispin alliance, see *PL*, cl, col. 741; Orderic, vi, 344. According to Orderic, iii, 128, the marriage of Agnes of Evreux and Simon de Montfort was arranged by her half-brother Ralph II de Tosny, who abducted her and was rewarded with Simon's daughter (by his first marriage) as wife for his trouble.

count of Hainault, and their daughter was married to Hugh de Crécy in about 1108; his third wife was Agnes de Garlande, niece of Stephen de Garlande, chancellor and seneschal of France, and this match brought him Gournay-sur-Marne and Rochefort-en-Yvelines.[21]

However, these marriages caused great difficulties for the lord of Montfort-l'Amaury. In 1118, the death of his uncle, Count William of Evreux, gave Amaury the best claim to the count's great Norman inheritance, but Henry I of England had no desire to see this powerful outsider holding a great estate within the duchy and at first prevented his succession.[22] Although King Henry accepted Amaury as count of Evreux in 1120, antagonism between them continued until Amaury fell out with the king of France in 1128. It was then that his links by marriage to the Garlandes enmeshed him in strife with Louis VI because Stephen de Garlande had fallen from grace, and Henry I profited from this discord by using Amaury's French castles against King Louis.[23] By the time of his death in 1137, Amaury had secured huge estates in Normandy and *Francia* and probably nurtured residual claims to his uncle's English possessions as well,[24] but marriages designed to stabilise the Montforts' position had also created serious new problems. Amaury's inheritance did not survive intact during the minorities of his sons, Counts Amaury II (1137–40) and Simon III (1140–81) of Evreux, for Waleran of Meulan secured the hand of their sister Agnes and later appropriated their mother's lands of Gournay-sur-Marne near Paris.[25] Even so, the weight of the family's interests, and of their marriages, still lay in *Francia*, especially as the counts also lost the honour of Gacé in southern Normandy, probably through

[21] Suger, 124–6; *Chr. Morigny*, 24, 43; Gilbert of Mons, 46; *Complete Peerage*, vii, 713–14. Hugh de Crécy had been lord of Rochefort-en-Yvelines, which Amaury later acquired from the Garlandes (for whom, see Bournazel 1975, 35–9, 57, 63–4).

[22] Orderic, vi, 188, 230, 276–8, 330–2, 358; Rhein 1910, 41–57.

[23] Suger, 254–6; *Chr. Morigny*, 42–3; Henry of Huntingdon, 478; Grant 1997, 124–9.

[24] Count William held numerous English lands in 1086 (*GDB*, fols. 60r, 157r) but granted nearly all of them to the priory of St-Evroul that he had founded at Noyon-sur-Andelle, according to an act of Count Simon of Evreux (BN, ms. lat. 11055, fols. 201r–v, ed. Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 495–6; *CDF*, no. 628; Orderic, vi, 146–8). Although this act poses problems of authenticity, Noyon certainly held many of these properties in the thirteenth century, sometimes expressly by William's gift (*Bk. Fees*, i, 108, 295–6, 300–1; ii, 831–2, 863, 865–6). Some of his lands, however, were held or claimed by Reading Abbey: *ibid.*, i, 108; 831; *Reading Ctls*, i, nos. 519–32 (Showell); ii, nos. 667–78 (Blewbury), 759, 761 (Sheffield in Burghfield), 786–7 (East Hendred), *passim* (Bucklebury). If Henry I endowed his foundation at Reading with confiscated Evreux estates, his charters do not mention it (*Reading Ctls*, i, nos. 1–7); both King Stephen and Empress Matilda claimed to have granted Blewbury to the abbey, and Stephen conferred East Hendred as well (*Regesta*, iii, nos. 675, 694, 703–4). Most probably Henry I had simply annexed the other Evreux lands to his domain in 1118, although they do not appear on the 1130 pipe roll.

[25] Crouch (1986), 34, 52, 64–5. Gournay-sur-Marne passed successively to Amaury and Roger, the younger sons of Waleran and Agnes (*Ch. St-Martin-des-Champs*, iii, nos. 466, 495; Power 2001a, 129–30).

a marriage with the family of Sablé; certainly Count Simon's 'nephew' Amaury de Sablé was lord of Gacé in the late twelfth century.[26]

Amaury III's second son, Simon III, count of Evreux from 1140 to 1181, was the one adult member of the dynasty to hold both Evreux and Montfort without repeated confiscations, although he revolted against Louis VII in 1159 in support of Henry of Anjou and lost his French lands for a time.[27] Unfortunately, the origins of his wife Matilda have not been identified, so we cannot know how his divided obligations affected his choice of consort. Significantly, however, Count Simon's children were all given Anglo-Norman spouses under the close supervision of Henry II of England. Simon's daughter was married to the king's ward, Earl Hugh of Chester, and at Henry's behest the count's elder son Amaury married one of the coheiresses of the earl of Gloucester in 1170. Count Simon's younger son, Simon IV, became the husband of Amice, daughter of Robert III of Leicester.[28] These marriages were followed by the division between Count Simon's sons, at his death, of his French lands from his Norman possessions. As a result, Count Simon of Evreux, who had been a Franco-Norman magnate with no English possessions, was succeeded in Normandy by his elder son, Count Amaury III of Evreux (1181–1187 × 93), an Anglo-Norman magnate with no material interests in *Francia*, and in his 'French' lands by Simon IV (lord of Montfort 1181–1183 × 87), a French lord with no Norman or English possessions except his wife's dowry.[29] Amaury's son, Count Amaury IV (1187 × 93–1200, d. *c.*1213), married the daughter of Hugh de Gournay, who brought him a dowry at Sotteville in the Pays de Caux and Houghton Regis in England;[30] in contrast, Simon IV's son Simon V married a French wife and fought in the ranks of the Capetian armies invading Normandy in the 1190s, and his daughter married Bartholomew de Roye, counsellor and later chamberlain of Philip Augustus.[31] Between the mid-eleventh and late

[26] App. I, no. 16. [27] Torigni, i, 326; ii, 178–9; *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CXLI.

[28] Torigni, ii, 22; *Complete Peerage*, v, 689, 692–3; vii, 536–8, 716–17. Henry II later bought Amaury out of his share of the Gloucester inheritance with 100 librates of English land (*Gesta Henrici*, i, 124–5).

[29] Torigni, ii, 103. ADE, H 438, refers to her Anglo-Norman dowry but does not give its location. It included Winterbourne Stoke (Wilts.), which was held by Simon IV ('de Rochefort') before 1185 and Simon V in 1201: *VCH Wilts*, xv, 277; *P.R. 31 Henry II*, 194; *Rot. Chart.*, 103.

[30] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 938; *Rot. Lib.*, 40. Powicke (1961, 341) errs in describing Petersfield and Mapledurham (Hants.) as Melisende de Gournay's dowry, since they had belonged to Earl William of Gloucester before 1160 (*Gloucester Charters*, no. 66); in fact, they formed her dower after Amaury's death (*Rot. Claus.*, i, 300; cf. 141). Mapledurham in Buriton (Hants.) should be distinguished from Mapledurham Gurney (Oxon.), a Gournay manor held of the honour of Warenne (*HKF*, iii, 420–3, nn. 7a, 33; ADSM, 53 HP 32, no. 5, act of Hugh III de Gournay). For Houghton Regis, see below, pp. 356–7; it had previously formed part of the dower of Melisende, wife of Hugh II (*CRR*, vi, 273; extract in *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CCCXXV).

[31] *Complete Peerage*, vii, 540, 717; *Philippidos*, 132–3 (v, lines 187–90, 218–19).

twelfth century, marriages and divisions of inheritance had brought the counts of Evreux fully into the Anglo-Norman orbit and separated them from their French patrimony, while the lords of Montfort-l'Amaury had been shorn of almost all their interests outside *Francia*. The problems of holding lands on both sides of the frontier had been resolved but at the cost of division of inheritance. At the same time, the family network which the marriages had created in Normandy lacked solidarity: in the early thirteenth century Earl Ranulf III of Chester was in dispute with Peter de Sablé, lord of Gacé, over Croisilles near Gacé despite – or perhaps because of – the close kinship of the disputants through the counts of Evreux.[32]

Princely control over marriages

Aristocratic marriages were a political matter of the highest order. Nowhere did they count for more than in frontier regions where, as the Montforts' marriages show, there was always the danger of local magnates establishing strong ties with their neighbours through marriage independently of their lords. It is surely significant, then, that marriages between the Normans and the 'French' appear to have all but died out in the period of Angevin rule.

Any ruler who wished to establish strong control over his most powerful subjects needed to be able to influence their marriages as much as possible. Most frequently he acquired rights only over the marriages of widows, heiresses and minor heirs. When Simon V de Montfort conquered the Languedoc, he forbade any indigenous widows and heiresses who held castles to marry local men for ten years, unless he had given his licence as count of Toulouse.[33] Yet some rulers went further, attempting to determine the marriages even of adult male barons or of children whose fathers were still alive. The ambitions of medieval rulers in this matter are most succinctly summed up in the Constitutions of Melfi, which Frederick II issued in Sicily in 1231, but his decree also indicated the difficulty which they faced in enforcing these claims:

> In order to preserve the honour due to our crown, we order by the present constitution that no count, baron, or knight, or anyone else who holds in chief

[32] *RN*, 39; *MRSN*, ii, 537; cf. Nortier 1995, 67, no. 43. Disputes over dowries would customarily be heard in the ducal court (*TAC*, i, 1, 83–4, c. lxxx); but the earls of Chester had held property at Croisilles since the early twelfth century (*Chester Charters*, nos. 10–11). *Rot. Dom.*, 15, is the only indication of the dowry of Earl Ranulf's mother Bertreia de Montfort, countess of Chester: it stated that both her dowry and her dower were *ultra mare*.

[33] Statute of Pamiers (1212), c. 46 (Timbal 1949, 183; cf. 23). The widows and heiresses were free to marry Simon's adherents from 'France'.

from us baronies or fiefs . . . should dare to marry a wife without licence. They should not dare to marry off their daughters, sisters, or granddaughters, or any other girls, whom they can and should arrange marriages for, or to marry off their sons with movable or immovable property, notwithstanding the contrary custom which is said to have been observed in some parts of the kingdom.[34]

Such sentiments were not restricted to the kings of Sicily. In his coronation charter Henry I of England had claimed a say in the marriages which his barons arranged for their female relatives, especially if they were to marry one of his enemies.[35] The charter made no mention, however, of royal rights over the marriages of adult male barons in England, and in Normandy the duke's stated rights did not extend beyond custody of the sons and 'donation' of the daughters of deceased tenants-in-chief.[36] Baronial marriages before 1150 suggest that the dukes either could not or would not restrict their magnates' marriage alliances.

At the height of Norman expansion and confidence in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the Norman duke had probably even encouraged his nobles to marry into neighbouring lineages in order to extend his influence over adjacent lands.[37] In the mid-eleventh century the marriage of Roger II de Montgomery to Mabel, daughter of William de Bellême, eventually brought her family the Talvas to heel, and William the Conqueror may have hoped that the marriage of Roger's eldest son Robert to the heiress of Ponthieu would bind that county more closely to him.[38] In about 1080 the Norman baron Robert de Beaumont successfully laid claim to the county of Meulan thanks to his father's marriage to the sister of Count Hugh of Meulan.[39] The marriage of Ralph II de Tosny and Elizabeth, daughter of Simon I de Montfort by the daughter of the great French magnate Hugh Bardolf, in about 1060, eventually brought Nogent-le-Roi to the Tosny family.[40] It was probably another eleventh-century marriage, between the Norman family of Vieuxpont and the 'French' family of Courville near Chartres, that later led Ivo de Courville to resign his lordships to Robert de Vieuxpont, with the concurrence of Henry I of England and the count of Blois.[41]

[34] *Liber Augustalis*, xxiii, trans. J. M. Powell (Ithaca, 1971), 117–18.
[35] *Select Charters*, 118, c. 3; cf. Milsom 1981, 64–5; Holt 1985, 6–8; Green 1997, 351.
[36] *TAC*, i, 1, 60–1, c. lxvi (inquest into ducal rights under Henry II); Petot 1978, 32–5.
[37] Green (1984, 51) suggests that these marriages represented a conscious ducal policy.
[38] Thompson (1987, 260–1), who argues that the duke played little part in the Montgomery–Talvas marriage (cf. *GND*, ii, 118); Thompson 1991, 264–6, 268–9.
[39] *GND*, ii, 96–8. [40] App. 1, nos. 14, 31.
[41] *Ctl. Tiron*, i, no. lxxxv. Lo Prete (1990, 587) argues for a date of 1116 × 19 for Ivo's act.

In the late eleventh century Anglo-Norman nobles contracted a series of marriages with castellan families in Picardy, more or less coinciding with William Rufus' ambitions in the French Vexin. The Clare family made matches with the count of Clermont-en-Beauvaisis and Walter Tirel, lord of Poix, the supposed killer of Rufus, and their kinsman Walter II Giffard married Agnes, sister of the lord of Ribemont;[42] the counts of Clermont also contracted an alliance with the earls of Chester and in the next generation with the lords of Gournay-en-Bray.[43] The Gournays, indeed, repeatedly turned eastwards for their marriages in the early twelfth century, even though most of their lands lay in the Anglo-Norman realm. The widow of Gerard de Gournay married Dreux de Mouchy, and as late as the 1150s her son Hugh II de Gournay married into the great Coucy dynasty from the Laonnais in eastern Picardy.[44] Together these marriages established a striking set of connections between northern Champagne and Picardy and north-eastern Normandy; they were replicated amongst lesser landowners.[45] In another turbulent border region, Count Robert I of Meulan's offer of his daughter to the French magnate Amaury de Montfort in 1103 was part of a more general treaty by which the count sought to pacify the barons of the southeastern Norman frontier on behalf of Robert Curthose; while Ralph the Red of Pont-Echanfray, close friend of Henry I, married into the Lèves family from near Chartres.[46] Another marriage linked the family of Crispin in the Norman Vexin with the counts of Dammartin, by virtue of the counts' lands in the French Vexin and Méresais, and probably also with the Mauvoisins of Rosny.[47]

Under the Angevins, however, such marriages all but died out. Once Henry of Anjou was established in Normandy, it became either impossible or disadvantageous for most Norman barons to arrange marriages with their neighbours in *Francia*. They remained associated with their 'French' neighbours in many ways, but not in marriage, the greatest of bonds, and this strongly suggests that the Norman nobles, conscious of the political problems which had arisen from such marriages in the reign of Henry I, avoided them at all costs, and that the Angevin rulers of Normandy were able to apply sufficient pressure to stop these matches

[42] Round 1895, 468–79; Mathieu 1996, 50–1; Orderic, vi, 38, and *Complete Peerage*, ii, 386–7.

[43] Orderic, ii, 262 (cf. *Ctl. St-Leu d'Esserent*, no. lix); App. i, no. 18.

[44] Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *MGH, SS*, xxiii, 824; Gurney 1848–58, i, 88, 111–13; Barthélemy 1984, 119–20, 167 n.86. Cf. ADN, i h 41, no. 466: act of Hugh de Gournay concerning his lands in the Laonnais, which he and his *dominus et cognatus* Ralph de Coucy both seal.

[45] See especially Bur 1997. Before 1144 Geoffrey de Mauquenchy, from the Norman lordship of Hugh de Gournay, married a woman from the lands of Dreux de Mouchy (ADOI, h 7603).

[46] Orderic, vi, 104; Riley-Smith 1997, 239, 249.

[47] See App. i, nos. 11, 20. For the numerous marriage ties between the counts of Dammartin and the Anglo-Norman realm, see Mathieu 1996, 18–19, although his hypothesis of a Dammartin marriage with the Gournays seems unlikely.

being contracted. Did the Angevin dukes have more extensive control in practice over baronial marriages than their predecessors? In England the treatise *Glanvill* (*c.*1189) threatened dire punishment for any man who married off his daughter without seigneurial consent, but only if she was his heir, as this might introduce the lord's enemy into the inheritance; no mention was made of the marriages of sons and other male heirs, however.[48] Across the Channel, the extension of Angevin dominance over Brittany was achieved in part through manipulation of heiresses. Henry first encroached upon Breton territory from Normandy by seizing the heiress of Dol and marrying her to the son of John de Subligny, one of his Norman *curiales*; this act of spoliation appears to have been in contravention of Breton custom in matters of wardship, for John de Dol had committed his daughter and lands to his neighbour Ralph de Fougères.[49]

Angevin control of the marriages of heiresses, widows and minors in the border regions of Normandy is well documented. For the marriage alliances of adult barons, however, the evidence of princely influence is mostly circumstantial. Henry II secured his dominance over Brittany through the marriage of his own young son Geoffrey to the heiress of the duchy although her father Conan was alive, but this case is *sui generis* since the fate of an entire principality was at stake.[50] At a far more mundane level there are isolated instances of Henry intervening in the marriages of his subjects in his continental lands. At some point in the first half of his reign, probably after the county of Mortain had escheated to him in 1159, the king confirmed a pact by which Michael de Sainte-Marie (also called Michael *Gaardi*), a landowner in the county, gave his elder daughter (and presumably heir) with all his land to Henry de Husson, whose kinsman William de Husson was in King Henry's service in 1175.[51] Although King Henry's act made no mention of it, both the bishop of Le Mans and the king's own *bailli* of Mortain later stated that this marriage had been arranged by King Henry himself, albeit with Michael's supposed consent.[52]

In this instance Henry II had dictated the marriages of two coheiresses even though their father was still alive. Moreover, although the bridegroom promised to provide a dowry and an honourable match for the younger daughter of Michael de Sainte-Marie, the elder daughter apparently received the whole inheritance at a time and place when equal division between daughters had developed into the normal practice in

[48] *Glanvill*, 85 (VII, 12); Milsom 1981, 65. [49] Torigni, i, 340, 353; Everard 2000, 41–2, 83–5.
[50] Torigni, ii, 361. [51] *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CCXCVI (1159 × 70?).
[52] AN, L 970, no. 495, an act of William bishop of Le Mans (*Actes des Evêques du Mans*, no. 269): 'cumque postea idem Michael [Gaardi] de uxore sua duas filias genuisset, et dominus rex primogenitam earum cum terra eiusdem Michaelis Henrico *de Hugoceon* in uxorem dedisset'. L 975, no. 1048 (Henry de Domfront, custodian of Mortain; see *Actes de Henri II*, i, 446 n.1).

Normandy;[53] and it is hard to escape the conclusion that King Henry was manipulating the Sainte-Marie inheritance in order to reward a loyal follower in the county. In another marriage contracted by the Husson family it was the dowry rather than the marriage alliance which King Henry exploited. Through the king's agency William de Husson recovered his wife's dowry at Marollette in northern Maine, apparently at the expense of Hugh de Merlay, a baron of the count of Sées; William also saw off a challenge to his possession of Marollette from another claimant to the property, the Percheron baron Aimery de Villeray, by marrying his son to Aimery's daughter.[54] King Henry's support for William de Husson, which trespassed upon the rights of both the count of Sées and a baron of the count of Perche, was clearly crucial to William's success in securing his wife's dowry; and since a William de Husson was King Henry's constable at Sées in 1175 – a highly sensitive office in the aftermath of the Young King's revolt, which the count of Sées had joined – it appears that the king of England was exploiting the claims of his servant William de Husson to discomfit the count of Sées and his adherents.[55]

It was one thing for Henry II to interfere in the marriages of minor barons or knights such as Husson and Sainte-Marie, but even his greatest subjects occasionally found themselves facing such royal pressure. We have already seen Henry II's demand that the heir of Evreux should marry one of the heiresses of Gloucester.[56] In central Normandy, too, there are signs that the dukes of Normandy occasionally imposed their will in matrimonial matters. In 1198 Ralph Taisson owed 60 *livres angevins* to Richard I for marrying his sister to William de Soliers; in 1200–1, a certain Roger Wascelin fined to have the right to award a dowry to his sister.[57] A charter issued by King John at the siege of La Roche-au-Moine during the Bouvines war of 1214 also testifies to a ducal veto over marriages, even when arranged by adult male barons. The beneficiary, Fulk Paynel, lord of Hambye in the Cotentin, presumably believed that John was poised to recover Normandy from its new Capetian ruler: as well as petitioning for the English lands that he had lost in 1204, Fulk also sought King John's confirmation for the recent marriage between his son and the eldest daughter of Ralph Taisson. Fulk evidently feared

[53] *TAC*, i, 1, 9–10, c. ix. Cf. Holt 1985, 10–20, for English parallels.

[54] *LCSV*, nos. 45, 88 (1154 × 82). William's wife Matilda was the daughter of a certain Robert Heron. Hugh de Merlay granted the church of Marollette to the abbey of St-Vincent du Mans after 1148, which was confirmed by Count John I of Sées (d. 1191), possibly before his father's death in 1171 (*Ctl. St-Vincent*, no. 633; *LCSV*, no. 98); this suggests that William de Husson 'recovered' Marollette from Hugh de Merlay. For the Husson family, see App. 1, no. 19; for the Villerays, see Thompson 1995, 70–1, 79, 82, 100–3.

[55] BES, *Livre Blanc de St-Martin de Sées*, fol. 13r.

[56] Above, p. 231. [57] *MRSN*, ii, 342, 375; *RN*, 42.

that a triumphant King John would disregard arrangements made in the duchy since 1204, but his charter is also a telling indication of the realities of Angevin interference in baronial marriage practices before 1204.[58]

Such explicit demonstrations of the ducal veto are very rare, and the rulers of Normandy preferred to find pretexts to interfere in the marriages of his most powerful subjects. When he gave his ward, Earl Hugh of Chester, to Bertreia, the daughter of Count Simon of Evreux, Henry II claimed the right to give the bride away because of his kinship with the family of Montfort, even though her father was alive.[59] In fact, since Henry was related by blood to many of his great barons, his appeal to kinship in this instance was a meagre cloak for exerting political influence over the Montforts; he may have been seeking extra justification for his actions on this occasion because he was lord of only one half of the Montfort lands. Henry may also have invoked his kinship when he gave the heiress of Rieux in Brittany to the Manceau nobleman William de Beaumont, for Robert of Torigni carefully recorded the king's kinship with the bridegroom, a descendant of Henry I.[60]

If examples of direct ducal control are rare, the dearth of marriages across the frontier after about 1150 is very telling. Frontier families whose lands lay primarily under Angevin rule almost invariably married within the Angevin lands after 1154.[61] The lords of Vernon married into the families of Tancarville, Haye-du-Puits, Hommet and Venoix; these matches all reflected their interests in the Cotentin, amounting to thirty-five knights' fees, rather than their sixteen fees of Vernon.[62] The marriage of Margaret de Vernon and John Arsic before 1203 may have been born out of the limited English interests of the Vernon family, for her dowry was Freshwater in Wight.[63] The Tillières family, despite retaining some lands in the Chartrain, found their spouses in central Normandy, England and Brittany.[64] Despite their earlier marriage alliance

[58] *Rot. Chart.*, 207. Ralph Taisson's lands had been divided between his daughters at the Norman Exchequer in Lent 1214 (*Jugements*, nos. 136–8, 137n.; *Registres*, 87–8).

[59] Torigni, ii, 22; *Complete Peerage*, vii, 716 (correcting iii, 167). The earl of Chester was a royal ward until 1162 (Warren 1973, 122). Henry II was the great-grandson of Count Fulk le Réchin of Anjou and Bertrada de Montfort, Count Simon's aunt.

[60] Torigni, ii, 3. William was a younger son of Roscelin, viscount of Beaumont, by Constance, an illegitimate daughter of Henry I; Torigni again noted the Beaumont kinship to Henry II when relating the election of William's brother Ralph, Henry's 'cognatus germanus', as bishop of Angers (ii, 79–80).

[61] *Ctl. Pontoise*, 263–4, 267, provides a possible exception, a match between the Breton family of Porhoët and the French family of Mauvoisin, which Depoin dated to before 1201, although it quite possibly dates from the 1130s; see App. 1, no. 20.

[62] App. 1, no. 32.

[63] For the Arsic family in England and Normandy, see *HGM*, i, lines 4719–22; Round 1903, 475–6; Le Maho 1976, 99; *Redvers Charters*, 17 and no. 121.

[64] App. 1, no. 30.

with the counts of Perche, the lords of l'Aigle now contracted marriages only within the Plantagenet lands, with the families of Avaugour in Brittany and the Anglo-Norman families of Tillières, Courcy, Warenne, Lacy and Goulafre, and possibly the Manceau magnates, the viscounts of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe.[65] Conversely, the 'French' lords of Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais did not marry into families with significant lands in Normandy after Hugh II's match with Albereda de Meulan (*c.*1122), and turned to *Francia* for their spouses instead.[66] It is likely that Gervase II de Châteauneuf married Margaret, daughter of the Burgundian castellan Hervey de Donzy, because her mother Matilda was heiress of the great Gouet family from the western Chartrain: Margaret's dowry lay at Brou, one of the Gouet castles, and the marriage also explains why Margaret's brother Renaud de Montmirail appears alongside Gervase and Hervey de Châteauneuf during the Fourth Crusade.[67]

The rulers of Normandy could not stop Franco-Norman barons who had significant interests in *Francia* taking 'French' brides: Hugh d'Oyry, for instance, married the daughter of Simon de Clermont in 1188, and after Hugh's death on the Third Crusade his widow married another Franco-Norman lord, Simon de Beaussault.[68] A number of other marriages between families along the Franco-Norman borders are known to have taken place in the late twelfth century. In the same region as Clemence de Clermont's two Franco-Norman marriages, Giles de Hodeng, who was one of the chief barons of the lords of Gournay but who also held lands in the county of Beaumont-sur-Oise, married Petronilla, the future heiress of Mouy and Mouchy-le-Châtel in the Beauvaisis; his aunt Alice had previously married into the Franco-Norman family of *Caigni* and the Beauvaisis family of Lihus.[69] The families of Mussegros in the Norman Vexin and Boury in the French Vexin were linked by a marriage which brought Boury to John de Mussegros at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[70] In the Chartrain the marriage of Albereda, daughter

[65] Thompson 1996a; App. I, nos. 1, 6.

[66] App. I, no. 9: certainly the family of Donzy, and probably also of Poissy and the *vidames* of Chartres.

[67] Thompson 1997, 313–14; ADEL, H 3966 (Brou); Villehardouin, i, 102 (§ 102); ii, 160–2, 170 (§ 352, 361). For the lords of Donzy, see Sassier 1980, 77–8, 81–90, 161–2, 170–5.

[68] See below, pp. 240, 256, 411; App. I, nos. 7, 25.

[69] 'Ctl. Lannoy', nos. XCI, XCIII, XCV, XCVII, XCVIII, CXIX, CCXXVII–CCXXIX, shows that Giles' wife Petronilla was daughter and eventual heiress of Edeva de Mouchy and her third husband Walter de Mouy, lord of Montreuil-sur-Thérain; cf. *Ctl. Pontoise*, 363–4; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 9; AN, J 168, no. 4 (*Layettes*, i, no. 301). For the Hodengs, see above, p. 191; *RHF*, xxiii, 638ef; Douët d'Arcq 1855, nos. CCXXXI (pp. 226–7), XL–XLI (*Layettes*, i, nos. 272, 793, 818); Lot and Fawtier 1932, CCV; Lohrmann 1973, 244, and ADSM, 25 HP 1 (Giles' father John); BN, ms. lat. 9973, fol. 32r, and ADOI, H 4816 (acts of Giles and Petronilla for Beaupré, 1207–8). Alice, sister of John de Hodeng, successively married Gerard *de Caigni* and Odo de Lihus: 'Nobiliaire du Beauvaisis', xxi, 143–4, 810–11, 841–2; AN, J 168, no. 34 (*Layettes*, i, no. 272).

[70] *Ctl. Pontoise*, 446–7.

of Simon d'Anet, to Ivo de Vieuxpont, lord of Courville, before 1187 was a match between two families that also had significant lands in Normandy.[71] Overall, however, there were strikingly few new arrangements between Norman families with no lands outside the Angevin provinces, and families whose lands clearly lay beyond Angevin control.

The obvious conclusion is that the Angevin dukes of Normandy exerted great pressure upon their barons' marriages, and not only when they could do so as kings of England. A small handful of marriages may demonstrate that Normans did occasionally marry their French neighbours. One is the marriage of Beatrice, a sister of Count Matthew III of Beaumont-sur-Oise, grand chamberlain of the king of France. In 1223, after the death of the last count of Beaumont, Beatrice's sons Guy, Hugh, Ralph and Adam d'Andely claimed a share of the county in right of their mother. It is possible, however, that this match was contracted after 1193, when Philip Augustus was attempting to annex the Norman Vexin and a marriage between his grand chamberlain's sister and a family from the Norman Vexin would have been a natural way to secure his hold over the district.[72] The marriage of Lucy du Neubourg, widow of a Franco-Norman baron (apparently William de Poissy), to the French captain Peter de Moret probably dates from the 1190s as well.[73] Manasser Mauvoisin, brother of the lord of Rosny-sur-Seine near Mantes, married a woman with lands in Devon whose family remains to be identified.[74] These exceptions prove the rule that, in contrast to an earlier period of Norman history, there were no marriages 'across the frontier' of Normandy in the Angevin era and that ducal pressure was a fundamental reason for this change.[75]

The French king's direct influence over marriage is harder to detect, but very occasionally visible.[76] Louis VII is said to have objected to the remarriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine to Henry of Anjou because she was an heiress to a great fief who had married without Louis' permission.[77]

[71] BN, ms. lat. 5480, I, p. 248: act of 'Albereia, daughter of Simon d'Anet and wife of Ivo de Vieuxpont' (1187).

[72] *Registres*, 530–2, 433–4; for the succession to Beaumont-sur-Oise, see Douët d'Arcq 1855, cxxiii–cxxxi and nos. CLIV–CLXVII; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, IV, nos. 1813, 1815; *Layettes*, I, nos. 1571–2, 1576, 1589. Count Matthew's title of grand chamberlain was largely honorific (Baldwin 1986, 32–3, 107).

[73] App. I, no. 24.

[74] *Cartæ Antiquæ Rolls 11–20*, no. 561.

[75] Another possible exception is Robert de Picquigny, second husband of Hildeburge de Baudemont (App. I, no. 5). He may have came from the English family of Picquigny (Pinkeny) but he could also have been a younger son of a *vidame* of Picquigny (*Complete Peerage*, X, 521–3; Darsy 1860, 30–2). In any case, he may well have married her after the fall of the Norman Vexin to Philip Augustus.

[76] Petot 1978, 31, 40–7; Baldwin 1986, 269–72.

[77] For the sources for this dispute, see Petot 1978, 42 n. 51; Martindale (1992, 31–2) expresses strong doubts about the story.

His complaint fell on deaf ears and he also seems to have been unable to veto the marriages which Henry II organised for the children of Count Simon of Evreux, despite the count's huge landed interests in *Francia*. However, the French kings exerted some influence over the marriages of widows, most significantly the widowed countesses of Perche in 1144 and 1202. Although the widow of Rotrou II of Perche (d. 1144), Hawise of Salisbury, was an Anglo-Norman noblewoman, Louis VII ignored her origins and conferred her upon his brother Robert. From then on this Capetian prince, the future count of Dreux, was called 'count of Perche' until the death of his new wife; and by this means, Louis extended his power across Perche, enabling him to attack Sées in 1150.[78] Between 1202 and 1204 another widowed countess of Perche, Matilda of Saxony, married Enguerrand de Coucy, one of the chief nobles of Vermandois. The marriage of this French nobleman to the most prominent widow along the Norman frontier suggests that Philip Augustus had a hand in arranging it, on the eve of the Capetian annexation of Normandy and Anjou.[79] A similar fate to the two countesses of Perche must have befallen Amice of Leicester, the widowed lady of Montfort-l'Amaury, whose second husband by 1188 was the French *curialis* William des Barres.[80]

The Capetian adoption of the traditional practices of the Norman dukes towards marriages may be seen in the terms which Philip Augustus imposed upon Alice, *suo jure* countess of Eu and widow of Ralph de Lusignan, in 1219, when he restored her Norman inheritance, which he had confiscated at the rebellion of her husband five years earlier: the king stipulated that she was not to remarry without his permission.[81] King Philip was also able to determine the marriages of the heiresses to the counties of Brittany and Nevers in 1213 and 1219 because their fathers held the counties only *iure uxoris*, leaving them vulnerable to royal pressure.[82] Yet these were all exceptional opportunities for the king of France; in general, although Philip Augustus seems to have encouraged prominent Norman nobles to contract marriages with his *curiales* after 1204, the Capetians rarely meddled in the matrimonial affairs of their barons even after the establishment of their hegemony in northern France. It is

[78] Torigni, i, 234, 254; *Ctl. Perche*, nos. 27–8; A. W. Lewis 1981, 60, 251 n.77; Crouch 1992, 78–9; Thompson 2002, 87–8. For the date of Louis' attack on Sées, see Grant 1997, 63–4.

[79] Count Geoffrey died in Lent 1202, probably 5 or 6 April (*Villehardouin*, i, 46–8; Thompson 2002, 143–4); Enguerrand was 'count of Perche' by Easter 1204. The papal letter which Thompson takes to refer to Enguerrand as count in Oct. 1203 actually refers to Geoffrey's brother Theobald (*Reg. Innocent III*, vi, no. 149 (150), p. 247). Enguerrand apparently played little part in Percheron affairs: he was still calling himself 'count of Perche' in 1207 but had renounced the title by 1212, after his wife's death (BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 2309, nos. 38, 45; Thompson 2002, 147–50).

[80] *Complete Peerage*, vii, 537; Power 2001a, 129, 134.

[81] *Layettes*, i, nos. 1353, 1360. In return the king agreed not to force Alice to remarry.

[82] Petot 1978, 43–4.

surely no coincidence that the late-twelfth-century epic *Raoul de Cambrai* depicted royal interference in marriages as a source of strife, resisted by noblemen and noblewomen alike.[83] If adult barons along the Franco-Norman frontier were being prevented from marrying their neighbours across the border in the late twelfth century, the pressure upon them was coming from the Angevins rather than the Capetians.

The few surviving marriage agreements do not mention the princely overlord. When Hugh d'Oyry, soon to perish at the siege of Acre, married the daughter of Simon de Clermont in 1188, it was the lord of Poix, Walter Tirel, who added his seal, because the dower which Hugh d'Oyry provided for his bride lay in the Tirels' lordship.[84] Hugh d'Oyry had lands in the county of Aumale and his cousin Fulk d'Oyry, a prominent Lincolnshire baron, was later steward to the counts of Aumale in England, but the count of Aumale does not appear to have had any say in the Oyry-Clermont contract. Although the deed was preserved at the Norman priory of Clair-Ruissel, it was essentially drawn up in a non-Norman context; the chief witnesses were the bride's uncle, Count Ralph of Clermont, and the Picard baron Baldwin de Dargies, who was almost certainly her brother-in-law.[85] Nor was any representative of Philip Augustus present, although by this time the Amiénois had been annexed to the French royal domain. Within the Angevin lands no princely representative witnessed the extant marriage agreements. The pact for the marriage of Waleran III de Meulan to Margaret de Fougères in 1189 made no reference to their Angevin lord; it was guaranteed instead by the chief associates of their fathers, Count Robert of Meulan and Ralph de Fougères.[86] The agreement for another Norman–Breton marriage between Eleanor de Vitré and William Paynel, in which the bride's brother granted her a dowry from the Vitré lands in the Bessin, also lacked any certain representative of Henry II, although the local aristocracy who witnessed included the prominent Angevin *curialis* John de Subligny.[87]

The rights of the dukes of Normandy and kings of France to control baronial marriages in Normandy and surrounding provinces were never

[83] *Raoul de Cambrai*, e.g. lines 113–220 (King Louis attempts to force Raoul's widowed mother Alice to remarry), 5379–6398 (Beatrice persuades her father to betroth her to Bernier, but the king captures her and strives to marry her to one of his men); cf. p. lxvi. In both episodes the women have a strong say in the choice of their husband and are bitterly hostile to the king's candidate.

[84] ADSM, 53 HP 32, no. 76; for Hugh's death at Acre, see *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 148.

[85] App. I, nos. 7 (Oyry), 25 (Simon de Clermont and his daughters); for Fulk, see English 1979, 65–9, 154–5; Major 1984, 16–24. The deed may have been deposited for safekeeping at Clair-Ruissel after Clemence's second marriage, to the neigbouring lord Simon de Beaussault.

[86] See below, pp. 251–2.

[87] ADC, H 6389, fol. 7r–v, no. XVII: Andrew de Vitré grants William Paynel a dowry at Trungy, Ryes and Ducy-Ste-Marguerite (pre-1179).

explicitly stated, but from the mid-twelfth century the baronial families on one side of the political frontier of Normandy rarely intermarried with those across the border, which suggests that this political barrier deeply influenced their behaviour. The contrast between the popularity of marriages into 'French' families in the late eleventh century and the scarcity of such contracts a century later is very suggestive. Moreover, the lack of Franco-Norman marriages contrasts strongly with the numerous matches made between the Anglo-Norman baronial families and those from the Plantagenet provinces further south. In 1175 Richard, viscount of Beaumont, gave his daughter Constance to the young Roger de Tosny, and twelve years later Henry II arranged for Richard's other daughter, Ermengarde, to marry the king of Scots. The king of England invoked his kinship with the Beaumonts once more, no doubt to enhance the bride's status in the eyes of her prospective husband.[88] In addition to the marriage of Margaret de Fougères to Waleran de Meulan in 1189, the Fougères dynasty contracted matches with the earls of Chester[89] and possibly the lords of Mayenne.[90] Henry II gave the heiress of Châteauroux in Berry in marriage to Baldwin de Redvers and apparently considered her as a bride for William Marshal in the last months of his reign.[91] The Talvas counts of Sées and Alençon, mindful of their Manceau inheritance, married into the cadet branch of the Angevin dynasty itself, as well as the lineages of Châtellerault and La Guerche-sur-Creuse from the borders of Poitou and Touraine and the Anglo-Norman families of Warenne, Salisbury, Malet and Roumare.[92] The lack of Franco-Norman marriages in the late twelfth century also contrasts with the opening up of the marriage market immediately after 1204. Numerous matches were made between French *curiales* or *baillis* and prominent Norman baronial families,[93] and at a more local level, marriages 'across the frontier' seem to have become more popular again: for instance, the Norman baron Fulk d'Aunou married into the Percheron family of Prûlay.[94]

[88] BES, *Livre Rouge du Chapitre de Sées*, fols. 76v, 79r; *Gesta Henrici*, i, 347, 351.

[89] *Chester Charters*, no. 318; Planché 1850, and Delisle and Planché 1852.

[90] App. I, nos. 15, 21.

[91] For Henry II's treatment of Denise de Déols, heiress of Châteauroux, see Vincent 2000.

[92] App. I, no. 29. In view of the fluctuations in the fortunes of the Talvas, it would be interesting to know the exact date of the marriage between the daughter of Count John I and the viscount of Châtellerault; it would have been an undesirable match in Henry II's eyes after 1166.

[93] E.g. Baldwin 1986, 108, 110.

[94] BN, ms. lat. 11059, fol. 72r–v: acts of Lucy, widow of Gervase de Prûlay, for the soul of her daughter Beatrice, late wife of Fulk d'Aunou, and of Lucy's son Gervase (1225). Fulk's marriage to Beatrice most probably took place after 1204, for his mother Agatha de Médavy was still alive in 1230 and Fulk appears to have survived until 1244 at least (*ibid.*, fols. 68v, 63v). For the elder Gervase, seneschal of Mortagne, see Thompson 2002, 126, 156.

The Normans' reluctance to marry their French neighbours forms part of a more general trend to avoid divided loyalties in an age when the kings of England and France were so often at loggerheads. Several of the greatest Franco-Norman inheritances were divided at this time, disregarding the usual patterns of inheritance, notably Montfort-l'Amaury from Evreux (1181), the county of Ponthieu from Alençon (1171), and Ivry from Bréval (*c.*1162).[95] Aristocratic strategies needed to be sensitive to political climate; the rarity of Franco-Norman marriages and the division of cross-border inheritances are some of the best demonstrations of the difficulties which the frontier created.

Dowries and dowers

As well as their role in creating ties of kinship, aristocratic marriages had important material aspects in the form of dowries and dower. Dowries cemented the contract with annuities or fiefs and created permanent material ties between the two families, a continual reminder of their mutual interests.[96] Moreover, a particular dowry could create new links between families in more than one generation: the family who received a dowry would generally treat it as an acquisition rather than a patrimony, and so might often pass it to another family when the women of the next generation married.[97] When William de Vernon married Lucy de Tancarville, she brought him the manors of Saint-Floxel and Vaudiville in the Cotentin as her dowry; these manors were remote from the main Tancarville lands in the Pays d'Auge and Pays de Caux but were close to William de Vernon's chief castle of Néhou in the Cotentin, so they made an ideal dowry for this match. Their daughter Juliana was endowed with revenues from Vaudiville when she married William de Venoix, whose lands in the Bessin lay close to the Vernon lands at Reviers.[98] Dower was outwardly less important since it brought the bride a life interest only in her husband's property, to be given to her after his death, but for that period it could comprise anything up to half of his inheritance, according to local custom and family claims; and if she remarried, her second husband would often gain practical control over this property as long as she lived, a matter of great material and often political significance.

[95] Torigny, ii, 28, 105. William Louvel (d. *c.*1162) held Ivry and Bréval, but whereas Ivry came to his eldest son Waleran d'Ivry, Bréval passed to Simon d'Anet (see above, p. 207).

[96] For discussion of dowries, see Barthélemy 1992a; Green 1997, 364–83; Thompson 1996b; Livingstone 1997b; Lemesle 1999, 124–31.

[97] For this use of dowries, see especially Thompson 1996b.

[98] BN, ms. lat. 10087, pp. 72–3, nos. 158–61. *RRAN*, ii, no. 1012 (ed. p. 326, no. lxxv), shows that St-Floxel and Vaudiville were Tancarville lands in 1112–13.

The implications for the Norman frontier of these property arrangements could be profound. The effects of a marriage between a family based within the duchy and one who held lands on both sides of its borders could continue for several generations, bringing more than one non-Norman family into contact with the duchy. One such dowry was Marbeuf, a fief of the honours of Evreux and Le Neubourg.[99] By the late eleventh century Marbeuf had been acquired by Theobald Payn de Gisors, who had some landed interests in Normandy and England but whose domains lay mainly in the French Vexin, in the Capetian sphere of influence.[100] In the early twelfth century Theobald Payn de Gisors seems to have passed this outlying possession to his daughter Margaret when she married William Aiguillon of Trie, another lord from the French Vexin, although the Gisors family retained lordship over the dowry. So Marbeuf in Normandy was used as the dowry for a pact which had been contracted in the French Vexin. In the mid-twelfth century William Aiguillon and Margaret in turn granted dowries from Marbeuf to two of their daughters: Oda married into the family of Tournebu, which had lands near Evreux, so the award of a dowry at Marbeuf was obviously a very practical arrangement; yet although the other daughter Idoine was given in marriage to the French *curialis* William II de Garlande, she also received a dowry at Marbeuf.[101] For a second generation the distant Norman fief formed part of an agreement between two French lords.

William II de Garlande appeared in a number of acts of the bishops of Evreux concerning Marbeuf, and secured exemption from tallage there from his lord and cousin, Count Simon of Evreux, while both he and his son, William III (d. 1216), who was so prominent at the court of Philip Augustus and married a cousin of the king, made several gifts to the abbey of Bec from Marbeuf.[102] The fief was important enough to be included in a settlement between William III and his younger brothers which King Philip confirmed in 1194, at a time when the king of

[99] *RHF*, xxiii, 635, 711 (*Registres*, 297), 717; *RN*, 56.

[100] Porée 1901, i, 649 ('Payn de Neaufles'); Green 1984, 50–1, 58–9, 63.

[101] *Ctl. Pontoise*, 363, 407–8; Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 377; Bournazel 1975, 39. Depoin identified Idoine as the sister, not cousin, of John de Gisors, who referred to the son of William de Garlande as his *nepos* (*Ctl. Pontoise*, 410 and n. 658, and for John's sister Idoine, no. CXVI); but *nepos* could also refer to a younger cousin, and Margaret de Trie certainly had a daughter called Idoine (*ibid.*, no. CII). Either way, Marbeuf was the dowry for a second match contracted in *Francia*.

[102] ADE, H 91, fol. 66v, acts of bishops Rotrou (1159) and John (3 acts, 1181 × 91) for Bec (cf. Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 238); *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1162. The episcopal acts show that the lords of Gisors retained rights at Marbeuf and St-Aubin d'Ecrosville. For Count Simon's exemption, see Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 378. For William de Garlande, father and son, see Baldwin 1986, 113–14, and *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, nos. 451–2, for William III's marriage to King Philip's cousin Alice de Châtillon.

France was encroaching upon the Evrecin.[103] By 1198, however, Marbeuf had been confiscated by Richard the Lionheart, who must have feared that William de Garlande would fortify this strategically sited manor against him. Marbeuf was returned to William de Garlande, perhaps as part of the peace of Le Goulet in 1200, but King John confiscated the manor once more in 1202: since Le Neubourg was by then the furthest outpost of ducal control, it was now even less desirable for the ruler of Normandy that Marbeuf should belong to a French courtier.[104] In other words, a Franco-Norman marriage from the early twelfth century was still causing political difficulties for the couple's descendants several generations later; these recurring troubles help to explain the decline of new marriage alliances 'across the frontier' by the end of the twelfth century.

The manor of Agon near Coutances was another Norman dowry that was used in marriages contracted in other parts of France. Although the house of Mayenne had held Agon for three generations, Juhel II de Mayenne awarded it to Robert de Sablé when this Angevin baron married Juhel's sister, Clemence, probably in the 1170s.[105] With the death of Clemence by 1189, Agon passed to her daughter, Margaret de Sablé, afterwards wife of the seneschal of Anjou, William des Roches. As long as Maine and Normandy were under a single ruler, this was a less politically charged action than the granting of Marbeuf to French lords; in 1202, however, William des Roches and Juhel de Mayenne supported Arthur of Brittany against King John, who promptly confiscated Agon as a fief of William des Roches held of Juhel de Mayenne, even though it was too remote from John's enemies in Maine, Brittany or Anjou to pose much threat to him.[106] The political significance of Agon ended when King John fled Normandy, since it was restored to William des Roches, but its later history is of interest for a survey of Norman dowries. In the mid-thirteenth century it formed the dowry of William's granddaughter, Isabella de Craon, when she married Ralph de Fougères, and then came to her daughter's husband Hugh de Lusignan. The manor passed through the female line for six generations in between *c.*1170 and *c.*1265,

[103] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 452.

[104] *MRSN*, ii, 368; *RN*, 56.

[105] ADSA, H 1001 (abbey of Perray-Neuf), edited in *Inv. Somm. Sarthe*, iv, 1–2: 'Dedit . . . Robertus de Sabolio predicte abbatie, pro anima Clemencie uxoris sue, decem libras andegavensium annuatim in determinato redditu in villa que dicitur Agun, que sita est in Costentino prope Constancias, quam dederat ei Juhellus dominus Meduane vice maritagii Clemencie uxoris sue.' Agon, a ducal domain in 1026, had probably come to the lords of Mayenne through the marriage of Walter I de Mayenne (d. *c.*1118) to Adelina de Presles, a (Norman) kinswoman of the earls of Chester: *RADN*, no. 58; Actes *de Henri II*, i, no. xxviii, p. 127; Keats-Rohan 1993b, 27–9. Juhel's father Geoffrey was still alive in 1168 (*Mon. Hist.*, no. 614).

[106] *RN*, 65.

four times because there was no male heir and twice as a dowry for a daughter who was not an heiress; and none of the six families who held it (Mayenne, Sablé, Roches, Craon, Fougères and Lusignan) had its chief interests in Normandy. Six of the most powerful dynasties in Maine, Anjou, Brittany and Poitou chose to confirm their marriages not with lands where their interests abutted one another but with a distant Norman manor. Perhaps the value of Agon, which derived revenues from the important fair of Montmartin nearby, made it particularly attractive despite its remoteness.[107]

In its discussion of dowries the earliest Norman custumal does not indicate how they should be constituted if part of the inheritance lay outside the duchy.[108] However, we are fortunate to have terms for several marriages concerning one of the chief Franco-Norman families, the counts of Meulan. In the 1140s Count Waleran II married the sister of Count Simon of Evreux: the dowry that her young brother provided for her consisted of the *haia* of Lintot near Lillebonne, supplemented with revenues from Gravenchon, but Waleran afterwards augmented this grant by appropriating Count Simon's castelry of Gournay-sur-Marne near Paris.[109] Later in the twelfth century, as political problems of double loyalties to the Capetians and Angevins increased, the counts of Meulan were careful to seal a French match with French lands, and marriages within the Angevin lands (in Brittany and Maine) with Norman property. When Waleran's daughter Isabella married the great Manceau baron Geoffrey de Mayenne, her dowry included an annuity from the revenues of the count of Meulan's port of Pont-Audemer.[110] After Mabel, daughter of Count Robert II, married William de Vernon, earl of Devon and Wight, she was promised a dowry comprising her mother's dowry in Devon and

[107] For the Fougères–Craon marriage pact, with Agon as dowry, see *Ctl. Fougères*, nos. XXIII–XXIV. For the connections between Craon, Fougères and Lusignan see *RHF*, xxiii, 585–6 (Savigny Chronicle); AN, L 970, no. 439 (Ralph de Fougères grants revenues at Fougères for the soul of the late Joanna de Craon, 1239); L 973, nos. 814 (Isabella [de Craon], wife of Ralph de Fougères, grants revenues from the fair of Montmartin in her dowry of Agon, with the consent of her daughter Joanna, wife of Hugh de Lusignan, count of La Marche, 1253), 816 (act of Philip IV of France concerning a dispute between Savigny and the count of La Marche, lord of Fougères, over Isabella's gifts at Agon, 1287).

[108] *TAC*, i, 1, 83–5, c. LXXX; cf. 3, c. IV. Barthélemy (1992a, 15–17) analyses dowry customs in the *Usage de Touraine et d'Anjou* (*c.*1246).

[109] ADE, H 711, fols. 39v–40r, no. 79; 1986, 52, 64–5, 69; 1994, 303–4. Waleran may have gained Gournay after the death of Agnes de Garlande, his mother-in-law.

[110] See Isabella's alms to Savigny from Pont-Audemer: AN, L 974, nos. 929–45; *Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. XCXXVIII (1180 × 83); cf. Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 564–6. In return Geoffrey provided her with a dower that included revenues at Belgéard (cant. Mayenne): see ADC, H non classée, fonds de Vignats, carton 153 (1). In 1210 Juhel de Mayenne exchanged revenues from Villaines-la-Juhel with his mother's consent, which suggests that they formed part of her dower (ADSA, H 783).

Cornwall along with the Meulan lands in Dorset (her mother's dower);[111] yet when Mabel's sister Agnes married the French lord Guy de la Roche, their alliance was sealed with a dowry at Mantes and in the French Vexin, in the region where the two families rubbed shoulders, and at Meulan itself.[112]

Such arrangements suggest that the Norman frontier with *Francia* was creating far more political difficulties by 1200 than it had a century earlier. Nevertheless, the connections formed through marriages in earlier generations were long-lasting, not just because they created bonds of kinship but also because those ties were usually made concrete through an inheritable dowry. Notwithstanding the division of some of the great inheritances into 'Norman' and 'French' halves, a significant number of aristocratic lineages continued to have lands both within and beyond Normandy, a factor that prolonged and continued to foster connections between the Norman baronage and its neighbours. Marriage arrangements were still hindering the Angevin dukes' attempts to gain the undivided loyalty of their barons in 1204, when King Philip's annexation of Normandy freed the barons of the frontier from these concerns.

NEIGHBOURHOOD AND SURETYSHIP

'Neighbourhood': coexistence and conflict

While historians often focus upon the roles of lordship and kinship as determining aristocratic relationships, neighbourhood was also supremely important in an age of very localised communities, and nowhere was this relationship more important than in border districts, where princely conflict could easily transform neighbours into adversaries. The difficulties and resolutions of neighbourhood in a frontier region may be seen in the relationship between the Crispin family of Tillières, whose interests lay primarily in the Anglo-Norman realm, and the lords of Brezolles, who from the late eleventh century were also lords of Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais near Chartres. Robert I of Normandy had established Gilbert Crispin at Tillières to defend this important castle for him, but the Crispins soon acquired substantial property in the surrounding lands, including the castle of Damville; they also exploited their position at Tillières to acquire possessions on the Chartrain plain beyond, probably at least in part through marriage, for Hersendis (fl. 1107), the wife

[111] *Redvers Charters*, 202–3, App. no. 38 (s.d.): the editor's date of May 1204 is open to dispute for a number of reasons. See also *P.R. 7 John*, 140; Holt 1992, 174–6 and n. 221.

[112] *Ch. Meulan*, no. 37 (1180 × 88); *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, no. CXL (1185); *Registres*, 307–8. For this marriage, see also *QN*, no. 286.

of Gilbert III Crispin (d. 1096 × 1107), may have been a member of the family of Brezolles.[113] The Tillières family had a share in seigneurial revenues at Brezolles such as the *péage* and oven by the early twelfth century.[114] Conversely, in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the lords of Brezolles had lands and revenues in and around Verneuil, in the midst of the Tillières lands and partly on the north, 'Norman' side of the River Avre;[115] these may have been inherited from Albert (d. *c.*1036), abbot of Micy, whose lands had been strewn across much of the borderland of Normandy, the Chartrain and Perche.[116] The simplicity of the Avre as a political and ecclesiastical border was more than outweighed by this district's complexities in land tenure, jurisdictions and loyalties. The treaty of Le Goulet (1200) testified to this tenurial intricacy by simply ordaining that, 'Tillières and its appurtenances and Damville shall remain with the king of England, yet the lord of Brezolles shall have what he ought to have in the lordship of Tillières; and the lord of Tillières shall have what he ought to have in the lordship of Brezolles.'[117]

The relations between the two families were certainly strong in the opening years of the twelfth century, when they witnessed each other's charters and came to each other's court, whether in Brezolles, Tillières or even Dreux, attended by many of the same local knights.[118] When a woman called Seberga granted part of the mill of Armentières-sur-Avre, west of Verneuil, to the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres, the monks sought the confirmation of Seberga's lords, who steadily increased in importance: first the brothers Hugh and William de Neuilly, from whom she held the mill directly, gave their assent at Chartres; next, Guérin de Rémalard and his son Gasco confirmed Seberga's donation at La Ferté-Arnaud, in the presence of William, lord of that castle; afterwards Gilbert de Tillières and his wife also confirmed the act, followed by Hugh de Châteauneuf, who finally sought the confirmation of 'the king of England' (probably Henry I) at Argentan. Since Armentières lay at the

[113] App. I, no. 30.

[114] *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 518–19; *Ch. Meulan*, nos. 53, 65 (spurious but based upon genuine details); for other Tillières rights in the Chartrain, see ADEL, H 1261, p. 153 ('high justice' at Allainville near Dreux, 1243); ADEL, H 409 (rights in the woods of the prior of Brezolles, 1259); *Ctl. St-Jean*, no. 183 (claims at *Vallis Cupreii*, apparently Val du Cuvray, cne. Boissy-lès-Perche, 1214).

[115] ADEL, H 5166 (revenues from the *péage* of Verneuil, mid-twelfth century); ADSM, 9 H 4, p. 90, no. 147 (Vieux-Verneuil); *Ctl. Trappe*, 13–14. For Tillières lands around Verneuil, notably at Les Barils, Bourth and Vieux-Verneuil (all cant. Verneuil), see *Ch. Jumièges*, i, nos. XXIV, XLIII; *Ctl. Trappe*, 292–3; *Jugements*, nos. 546, 556, 628, 637; *QN*, no. 247.

[116] See above, pp. 204–5.

[117] *Dipl. Docs.*, no. 9 (Philip's version): 'Tilleres cum pertinenciis suis et Danvilla remanent regi Anglie, ita tamen quod dominus de Brueroles habebit id quod habere debet in dominatu de Tilleres, et dominus de Tilleres habebit id quod habere debet in dominatu de Brueroles.' Cf. *Layettes*, i, no. 578 (John's version).

[118] *Ctl. St-Père*, i, 141, 227, 253 (Dreux); ii, 518–19, 536–8.

very limits of ducal power, on the 'French' side of the river in the diocese of Chartres, the great Benedictine abbey of Saint-Père believed it necessary to seek the confirmation of the families of Rémalard and Tillières and the lords of Brezolles, for their jurisdictions were entangled along the plain of the Upper Avre, and it was Hugh who then, for good measure, sought out the duke of Normandy.[119] On the other hand, when a certain Gaudin made gifts at Le Vaudry, on the 'French' side of the Avre between Tillières and Brezolles, to the lazarhouse of Chartres in the mid-twelfth century, Gilbert de Tillières and Hugh III de Châteauneuf confirmed his gift in the presence of separate retinues and presumably in separate courts.[120]

Attempts at coexistence had to be reconciled with the recurrent threat of war between the king of England and the duke of Normandy in the district. Henry I's construction of the triple *bourg* of Verneuil on the Avre not only reinforced the protection which Tillières gave to the duchy, it also became a magnet for French attacks.[121] For the Crispins, it must have seemed that Verneuil had been deliberately placed in the very midst of the lordship which they had carved out for themselves. From then on they must have been kept under surveillance as much as the men of the king of France to the south of the Avre, and the value of this ducal fortress was seen in 1173–4, when both Gilbert de Tillières and Hugh de Châteauneuf aided the rebellion of Henry the Young King but the garrison of Verneuil defied the armies of Louis VII.[122] In 1180 Tillières itself had a ducal castellan.[123] Yet the relationship between Tillières and Châteauneuf-Brezolles was not always cosy. In 1152 the duke of Normandy attacked Brezolles at the behest of Gilbert de Tillières; in 1168, Henry II's forces attacked both Brezolles and Châteauneuf in reprisal for Louis VII's burning of Chennebrun; and in 1193 Tillières fell into the hands of Gervase de Châteauneuf.[124]

While we do not know how the families of Tillières and Châteauneuf overcame these difficulties, we are better informed about arrangements in north-east Normandy, and they are instructive. Despite the simplicity of the River Bresle as the duchy's notional border,[125] tenurial ties in this region were every bit as intricate as along the River Avre. In the late twelfth century the count of Eu held fiefs in Ponthieu, while Bernard de Saint-Valéry held many of his fiefs in Ponthieu from the count of

[119] ADEL, H 359; *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 536–8 (1125 × 35). The act could date from 1129, when Hugh returned to France from imprisonment in England: *ASC (E)*, 49; *ASC*, trans. Whitelock, 195; Orderic, vi, 356.

[120] *Ctl. Grand.-Beaulieu*, nos. 54, 55. The participants and witnesses suggest a date of 1160 × 70. Le Vaudry, cant. Dreux, cne. St-Rémy-sur-Avre (*Dict. topog. Eure-et-Loir*, 185).

[121] For Henry I and Verneuil, see Yver 1967–89, 331–2.

[122] Torigni, ii, 38–40, 42, 45.

[123] *MRSN*, i, 84.

[124] Torigni, i, 268–9; ii, 8; Howden, iii, 258–9.

[125] See above, pp. 13–14.

Aumale and a great part of his wealth lay in England and Normandy. When Bernard arranged to marry his eldest son to the prospective heiress of Ponthieu in 1178, she brought the Norman village of Saint-Aubin-sur-Dieppe as her dowry.[126] Careful regulation was clearly necessary in a border region with so many overlapping interests, but warfare between the duke of Normandy and the count of Ponthieu, in 1167, 1168 or 1193–9 for instance, made little allowance for such fine considerations.

At an unknown date, probably in the second half of the twelfth century, the counts of Eu and Ponthieu and the lord of Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme made two *conventiones* with the express intention of limiting the damage from raids across the Norman frontier. The importance of the agreements was demonstrated in the early thirteenth century, for a royal clerk inserted a summary of them into King Philip's Register *C*. It stated that when Bernard, lord of Saint-Valéry, wished to fortify Gamaches on the River Bresle, he needed to neutralise the inevitable opposition of the count of Eu to this move. Bernard therefore agreed not to let the count of Ponthieu attack the county of Eu from Gamaches, even though the count of Ponthieu was Bernard's lord. If the count of Ponthieu invaded the county of Eu from elsewhere but wished to return home via Gamaches, Bernard would allow him to pass only if he brought no booty. In the event of war between the counts of Eu and Ponthieu, the captain of Bernard's garrison at Gamaches was to yield his heir to the count of Eu as a hostage for Bernard's compliance with the agreement. The count of Ponthieu, for his part, was nervous about the power at Gamaches of the lord of Saint-Valéry, who thereby controlled a strategic causeway across the Bresle from the county of Eu, and so he made a similar pact with Bernard to prevent the count of Eu attacking Ponthieu through Gamaches.[127] These arrangements demonstrate the complicated relationships that existed between the chief magnates along the north-eastern frontier of Normandy; moreover, they also assumed that the count of Eu might wage war against Ponthieu without any reference to the duke of Normandy or king of France.

The pacts which Bernard de Saint-Valéry made are an interesting reflection of the relations between the border magnates, in a region

[126] *Actes de Ponthieu*, no. CLXXX; *RHF*, xxiii, 718; *Layettes*, i, no. 291.

[127] *RHF*, xxiii, 718; Power 1995, 190. The *conventio* may refer to Bernard who was lord of Saint-Valéry from *c.*1163 to 1191, and who certainly had a castle at Gamaches (PBSG, ms. 1850, p. 158), but it could date from earlier. Bernard endowed his foundation, the abbey of Lieu-Dieu (cne. Gamaches), with lands bought in the fief of the count of Eu (*GC*, viii, instr., cols. 329–30). William the Breton described Bernard's son Thomas as lord of Gamaches, and Thomas' daughter Aanor, countess of Dreux, held it as an allod until she did homage to Louis IX for it in 1237: *Philippidos*, 302, 332 (x, lines 490–2; xi, lines 344–5); Duchesne 1631, 271–2; cf. *Layettes*, ii, no. 2363. For *conventiones* intended to limit destruction in wartime, see especially King 1992; Crouch 1994, 306–14.

where the defence of Normandy relied entirely upon the aristocracy because there were no ducal castles. Other measures taken there involve mutual grants of 'refuge'. In 1200 or 1207, when William II of Ponthieu took the homage of Count Ralph of Eu for the fief which Ralph's predecessor had held from Count William's father, he granted refuge in his land to Ralph for as long as the latter acted lawfully as the count decreed. When, in 1234, Count Simon and Countess Mary of Ponthieu resolved various differences with Countess Alice of Eu, each party granted the other refuge in their land, although it was now expressly stated that *refugium* could not be offered against the king of France.[128] Perhaps the families of Tillières and Châteauneuf drew up similar terms in order to cope with the dangerous circumstances which threatened their lands and property; but the presence of ducal officials, fortresses and garrisons in the Avre valley probably vastly reduced their freedom to regulate war damage in the ways that the magnates of the north-eastern frontier did.

Suretyship

One particular situation more than any other can inform us about the relationship between kinship, lordship and neighbourhood in the context of frontier politics. This is suretyship, the giving of pledges by third parties: since this action depended upon mutual, genuine trust, it is highly informative as a guide to those connections between aristocratic families which mattered to them the most.

Suretyship has a venerable history in European law and custom.[129] It developed as a means of coercion in societies where the 'state' lacked the power to enforce the performance of contracts, but it took several distinct forms. The most common type in Europe from the thirteenth century onwards was indemnifying suretyship (*Zahlsbürgschaft*), which corresponded approximately to the *fideiussio* of Roman law: if one side defaulted in an agreement, or a debtor failed to pay his debts, the surety

[128] *Actes de Ponthieu*, nos. CLXXX, CCXCVII. The county of Eu was in royal hands from 1214 to 1219 and Ponthieu from 1221 to 1225, although Count Simon (de Dammartin) was not restored to Ponthieu until 1231. Grants of *refugium* to monks and their beasts also appear in acts of the counts of Ponthieu and Eu: *ibid.*, no. CLXI; 'Ctl. Lannoy', no. LXXXVIII.

[129] For sureties in European legal tradition, see Binchy 1972; Yver 1971b, 221–61; Gilissen 1974; Davies and Fouracre 1986; Charles-Edwards *et al.* 1986, especially 2–6, 10–12, 337–54 (glossary), and the following chapters: W. Davies 1986 and Walters 1986, which also (108–9) usefully summarises Gilissen's classifications of different types of surety. The term 'pledge' is used here for the property handed over and for the action of giving that property, and 'surety' for the individual making this undertaking. For the terminology of suretyship, see Charles-Edwards *et al.* 1986, 10–12, 337–54; Davies and Fouracre 1986, 275.

agreed to compensate the other party or creditor from his own resources, but without danger to his life or liberty. Such a system required sufficient superior coercing authority, such as the Roman or late medieval English state, to enforce payment.[130] Where such authority was lacking, however, two other forms of suretyship developed instead, which together may be called suretyship for performance (*Leistungsbürgschaft*): the surety was either a hostage (*garant-otage*), frequently a young kinsman of the party, who stood to lose his own life or liberty if a contract was broken, or a 'surety of influence' (*garant influent*), who pledged a piece of moveable or immoveable property. An example of *Leistungsbürgschaft* was the act of ensuring appearance in court (*Gestellensbürgschaft*), comparable to the modern bail. The pledge of a *garant influent* was not intended to indemnify losses if a contract were breached; it was a sign that the surety would use either his influence or brute force to ensure that the party for whom he stood surety would fulfil his part of the bargain.[131] However, while the legal distinctions between the various forms of suretyship are important – not least because they originated and developed quite separately – all sureties, whether for performance or for indemnity, could have a heavily political significance.[132]

Both indemnifying sureties and sureties for performance are found in northern France and England in the twelfth century, and the use of sureties for performance by the Norman frontier aristocracy reveals important links between different families.[133] At the negotiations at Mortain in 1189 for the marriage of Margaret de Fougères and Waleran de Meulan, several of the greatest barons from the marches of Normandy, Maine and Brittany gave pledges on behalf of Ralph de Fougères, namely his redoutable brother William and the lords of Laval, Mayenne, Vitré, Montfort-en-Goël and Châteaugiron, and Hasculf de Subligny, lord of Combour.[134] The witnesses (and presumably pledges) on behalf of Count Robert of Meulan included two powerful members of his affinity, Payn de Montreuil and William du Homme, and his Norman neighbour and cousin, Hugh de Montfort, who was also a nephew of

[130] Binchy 1972, 361–4; Gilissen 1974, 65–9; Walters 1986, 94–6; Yver 1971b, 233–6.

[131] Binchy 1972, 361–4; Gilissen 1974, 52–64; Walters 1986, 104–5; Yver 1971b, 228–9.

[132] See Holt (1961, 72–7) for the politicisation of pledges for English debts between 1199 and 1214.

[133] For Norman suretyship, see Yver 1971b; Tabuteau 1988, 163–9. An early example of pledges for merchandise is 'Consuetudines et Justicie', c. 11, in Haskins 1918, 283. The two types of suretyship are reflected in *Glanvill*, 19–20 (appearance), 117–20 (debt).

[134] *Ctl. Beaumont*, nos. CCLV, CCLXI. William de Montfort was probably the lord of Montfort-en-Goël in Brittany, although Hugh de Montfort also had a brother of this name (AN, I 979, no. 72).

Ralph de Fougères.[135] The connections between these men were not limited to mere witnessing or standing surety for marriage agreements: two of Ralph's sureties, Guy de Laval and Juhel de Mayenne, rebelled with him against Henry II that same year,[136] and Payn du Montreuil and William du Homme revolted with Count Robert's son Peter de Meulan against King John in May 1203.[137]

Yet suretyship was significant for its place not only in the relationship between landowners of broadly equal status, but also in their relationship with their lords. On the one hand, the relations between the Angevins and Capetians, which were *de facto* if not *de jure* between equals, were defined in part by sureties for performance drawn from amongst their chief nobles: these were the chief mainstay of the many treaties which regulated power between the Angevin and Capetian spheres of influence, notably at Messina (1191), Louviers (1196) and Le Goulet (1200).[138] In July 1193, during the captivity of Richard I in Germany, William du Hommet, constable of Normandy, Robert de Harcourt and Stephen de Longchamps negotiated a truce between the Normans and Philip Augustus, and they promised to go to Paris as *garants-otages* if the Normans did not abide by the terms of the truce; at the same time, the four important castles of Loches and Châtillon-sur-Indre in Touraine and Neufchâtel-en-Bray and Arques in Normandy were handed over as pledges for the fulfilment of these terms.[139]

Moreover, suretyship gave a distinct political advantage to a ruler who had the wherewithal to exact pledges from his subjects – or from his neighbours' subjects. King John routinely demanded hostages from his own subjects, and did not scruple to mutilate the young Welsh princes in his custody in 1212 when he believed Llywelyn ap Iorwerth had defaulted

[135] For Hugh's descent from Adelina, sister of Waleran II of Meulan, see Mayer 1990, 488–99. His mother was Clemence, sister of Ralph de Fougères (Torigni, ii, 77; *MRSN*, i, 40; *Ctl. St-Ymer*, nos. XI–XIII); acts for Notre-Dame de Mortain identify Hugh's sister Alina, its prioress, as Ralph's *neptis* and the *amita* of Ralph's granddaughter Clemence, countess of Chester (AN, L 979, nos. 13, 72, 80, 98; cf. Planché 1850, 135, and Delisle and Planché 1852, 128). Hugh took his name from Montfort-sur-Risle, although that castle and honour was in ducal hands after 1161.

[136] *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 72; Diceto, ii, 63–4. The first version of the marriage pact has 'William de Mayenne', but the second has 'Juhel'. Ralph de Fougères witnessed an act of Guy de Laval for the abbey of Bellebranche in Maine in 1186 (ADSA, H 665).

[137] Powicke 1961, 161, 176. Payn de Montreuil and William du Homme were the first two witnesses to Count Robert's act for the abbey of Lyre (ADE, H 562); Payn also witnessed an act of the count for La Noë (BN, ms. lat. 5464, no. 31). For William, who should not be confused with the constable of Normandy William du Hommet, see *Ctl. Beaumont*, no. XXXIV; Le Prévost (1862–9, i, 220) identifies him with Le Homme, cne. Beaumont-le-Roger. For Payn, see Bauduin 1992, 343–5.

[138] *Dipl. Docs.*, nos. 5, 9 (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 376; ii, no. 633); *Layettes*, i, no. 432, 578.

[139] Howden, iii, 217.

on the peace of the previous year.[140] For his part Philip Augustus astutely and unscrupulously exploited suretyship to consolidate his authority and power, particularly at the fringes of his effective sway in western France and in Flanders, with untiring demands for money, lands and fortresses as pledges for performance.[141] The numerous deeds concerning suretyship in the Trésor des Chartes and the long lists of sureties in the French royal registers are testimony to his use of this procedure as a tool to gain and retain control over the barons of his realm. Ironically, his manipulation of *Leistungsbürgschaft* helped to establish the power of the Capetian state to an extent where its coercive apparatus removed the need for this type of suretyship in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[142]

King Philip's manipulation of suretyship amongst the frontier nobility was central to his expansion into Normandy, for he used it adeptly to tighten his grip upon the Norman castles which fell under his sway. He appears to have preferred taking castles or money as pledges, rather than hostages, whether from the other party directly or from third parties, although at the surrender of Rouen in 1204 he demanded hostages from all the castellans of Normandy.[143] Where he was installing one of his own adherents in a captured castle, Philip could take sureties without difficulty, since he already had a defined relationship with the other party and they would usually be open to his coercion. However, where a Norman lord was coming to terms with him, no previous relationship between the two parties normally existed, and so it was both difficult and essential for the king of France to find ways of guaranteeing the loyalty of the Norman defector. One obvious method was to exploit any existing ties of kinship or association between the lord of the frontier castle and his 'French' neighbours, by taking suretyship for performance from 'French' nobles on whom he could rely. Not only do these agreements demonstrate that ties existed between the aristocracy on each side of the frontier, they also reveal their fundamental importance to border politics. Count Robert of Alençon, for instance, stood surety for the Manceaux and Angevins on several occasions after 1204, an association reinforced by rebellion in

[140] Painter 1949, 266.

[141] Baldwin 1986, 266–9; Metman 1982, 503–17, at 515–16. *Registres*, 385–437 (*Securitates*), provides eighty-three occasions of pledges being taken by Philip Augustus, mostly after 1204. Cf. *Catalogue*, nos. 994, 1229, 1255–6, 1340–3, 1494–5, for pledges given for castles, either entrusted or demanded, and nos. 1223, 1304, 1324–7, 1343, 1420, 1427–9, for fidelity. Even the lord Louis was expected to provide his royal father with sureties for his lands in Artois in 1212, an indication of the importance of suretyship to King Philip's methods of ruling (*Catalogue*, nos. 1353–62).

[142] For the transition from *Leistungsbürgschaft* to *Zahlsbürgschaft*, generally seen as a crucial stage in the development of suretyship, see Gilissen 1974, 63; Binchy 1972, 361; Yver 1971b, 222–5, 229–36; Gay 1971, especially 88–110.

[143] *Layettes*, i, no. 716.

1203 but harking back to older ties of marriage, land and camaraderie.[144] The king's use of suretyship in the conquest of Normandy itself is most clearly seen in the arrangements which he drew up for three Norman castles on the eastern Norman frontier: Ivry, Beaussault and Pacy.

The sureties of Robert d'Ivry (1200)

In the first example, concerning Ivry on the River Eure, King Philip granted away a castle which he had captured from the domains of Richard I to the man who claimed it as his rightful inheritance. In July 1200, shortly after he had gained a firm grip upon south-eastern Normandy through the treaty of Le Goulet, Philip Augustus conferred the castle of Ivry upon Robert IV d'Ivry, whose father had lost it to Henry II in 1177.[145] The French king augmented this restoration by granting Robert the castle of Avrilly, which Philip had seized from the count of Evreux the previous year following the death of Richard the Lionheart.[146] Robert promised to hand over the two castles to him if required, and gave as his sureties Guy Mauvoisin, lord of Rosny near Mantes, Guy's uncles Manasser and Peter Mauvoisin, Peter de Richebourg, Roger de Maule and Philip de Blaru. These sureties were tightly bound by longstanding kinship ties and by neighbourhood. The Mauvoisins were the most prominent family in the marches of *Francia* between Vernon and Mantes, and Peter had also recently been awarded Nonancourt by the French king.[147] Peter de Richebourg was a nephew of Manasser and Peter Mauvoisin and he and his ancestors were benefactors of the abbey of Ivry and of the priory of Saint-Georges near Nonancourt.[148] Robert d'Ivry's mother Regina may have been a Mauvoisin; Roger de Maule's mother was certainly Regina Mauvoisin, the sister of Peter de Richebourg's mother Agnes.[149] In other words, Robert's sureties were nearly all closely related to each other, and possibly also to Robert himself. Their kinship was matched by their acts of association. Robert d'Ivry, Guy Mauvoisin and Peter de Richebourg were all witnesses when Peter Mauvoisin exempted

[144] See p. 451.

[145] *Layettes*, i, no. 594; Torigni, ii, 68; *Gesta Henrici*, i, 191. See Coulson (1984, 32) for the Ivry pact in the context of King Philip's policy of taking pledges. The king of France had captured Ivry in 1193–4.

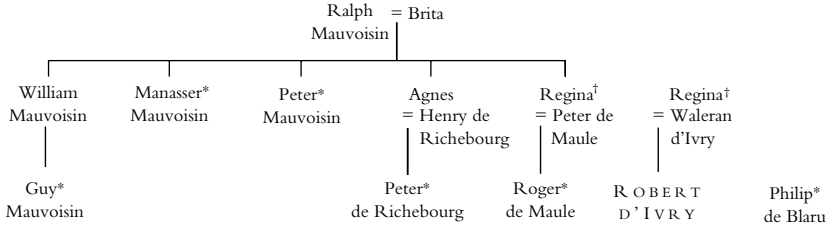
[146] Rigord, i, 145. For Avrilly as a comital castle and *villa*, see *MRSN*, ii, 463; BN, ms. lat. 5464, no. 25.

[147] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 548; for the date of this grant, see Coulson 1984, 32 n. 30. For the Mauvoisins, see *Ctl. Pontoise*, 256–8, 263–4.

[148] *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 569–72 (St-Georges). The Richebourg connection with the abbey of Ivry reached back at least to 1154 (ADE, H 415), and persisted in the early thirteenth century (H 407, H 415).

[149] App. I, no. 20; *Ctl. Pontoise*, 255–6, 272. Were the two Reginas in fact the same woman, married twice, or else aunt and niece? Orderic, iii, 180–2, records an earlier match between the families of Mauvoisin and Maule.

Table 1 *The sureties of Robert d'Ivry*



* Sureties of Robert d'Ivry.

† Possibly the same person? An alternative possibility is that Regina, wife of Waleran d'Ivry, was Guy Mauvoisin's sister.

the ships of the Norman abbey of Bonport from paying customs on the Seine at Rosny and Mantes.[150] Philip de Blaru is not known to have been related to this group, but he was prominent in this marcher district, for the castle of Blaru lay between Vernon and Rosny: one of the chief honorial barons of the castelry of Vernon before it fell to the king of France in 1193, Philip de Blaru also stood surety with his brother Amaury in 1206 for the lord of the nearby 'French' castle of La Roche-Guyon, whom Philip Augustus had accused of treachery.[151] The choice of sureties was based on longstanding ties of kinship and neighbourhood coupled with acceptability to the king of France, ties that were strong enough for the sureties to pledge their lands for Robert d'Ivry; these connections happily straddled the old Franco-Norman frontier around the Seine and Eure valleys and helped the king of France to consolidate his hold on his conquests within Normandy.

The sureties of Simon de Beaussault (1203)

At Beaussault the king of France secured right of entry to a castle which had not previously been in his domain. The fortress stood near Drincourt in north-eastern Normandy; it appears to have lain within the lordship of Hugh de Gournay, and, like Hugh's lands, the fiefs of Simon de Beaussault sprawled beyond the limits of Norman authority (so far as these were defined at all in this district) to include the fortress of Formerie in the

[150] *Ctl. Bonport*, no. IX: the editor suggested a date of 'vers 1190' for this act.

[151] *RHF*, xxiii, 622 (cf. 631); *Layettes*, i, no. 799. Philip held fiefs from Guy de la Roche (*Registres*, 307); Amaury de Blaru held fiefs in the French Vexin and the county of Meulan: *ibid.*, 300, 307. Blaru is recorded as a fief of Meulan in *c.*1207 (*ibid.*, 304), but this entry is ambiguous. Members of the Blaru family appear in most surviving acts of the Vernons for the honour of Vernon.

diocese of Amiens.[152] In the late spring and summer of 1202, with Drincourt already in the hands of his partisans, King Philip invaded north-east Normandy and expelled Hugh de Gournay; but he also seized Formerie from Simon de Beaussault and conferred it upon the bishop of Beauvais, his cousin, for a term of twenty-two years, after which the king might return it to the 'rightful heir' to hold as a fief of the bishop.[153] Simon's other lands were not so harshly treated, although Beaussault was probably seized when Gaillefontaine fell to the French in 1202;[154] but in July 1203 Simon agreed to hand over his castle of Beaussault to the king of France whenever he demanded, giving as his sureties three lords from the Beauvaisis, Guy de Senlis, Baldwin de Dargies and Ralph de Clermont.[155] All three men were closely related to Simon's wife Clemence through the families of Breteuil-en-Beauvaisis and Clermont, two of the greatest lineages in southern Picardy: Ralph was apparently her brother, Baldwin her brother-in-law and Guy her cousin.[156] Simon's marriage alliance had been contracted since 1190 but cemented an existing relationship with the house of Clermont, for in 1174 Simon's father William de Beaussault was holding a fief near Formerie from Count Ralph of Clermont.[157]

The selection of Ralph, Guy and Baldwin as sureties should be seen in the war-torn circumstances of 1203. Simon promised to hand over his Norman castle at a crucial moment in King Philip's subjugation of Normandy, for the acts of suretyship were given at Vaudreuil in July 1203,

[152] For Simon's lands, see *RHF*, xxiii, 639bc (cf. *Registres*, 310, wrongly identifying Simon's home as Beaussain near Briouze); ADSM, 2 H 17 (Formerie), 51 HP 5 (Hodeng); 'Ctl. Lannoy', e.g. nos. CII–CIII, CCV (Blargies and Monceaux, cant. Formerie; Feuquières, Oise, cant. Grandvilliers); 'Nobiliaire du Beauvaisis', xxi, 62–6. In 1233 his wife Clemence had dower rights at Cormeilles-en-Parisis near Paris, possibly from her first marriage to Hugh d'Oyry (AN, LL 1157, pp. 600–3, acts of Hugh Tirel, who had reversionary rights to them; for the evidence for this marriage, see App. I, nos 7, 25). In 1226 Simon and Clemence succeeded to Breteuil-en-Beauvaisis (*Layettes*, ii, no. 1829; Dion 1883, 225).

[153] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 714. Simon recovered Formerie from the bishop in 1210 (*ibid.*, iii, no. 1137).

[154] Lot and Fawtier 1932, CLVIII (Nov. 1202): the accounts for Gaillefontaine include 60 *li.* from Beaussault and the prior of Beaussault (a dependency of Bec).

[155] AN, J 399, nos. 3 (Baldwin), 3*bis* (Guy), 3*ter* (Ralph de Clermont) (*Layettes*, i, nos. 680–2). The acts from Ralph and Guy are in the same hand.

[156] For Simon de Beaussault's wife Clemence, believed to be the sister of Ralph de Clermont and Joanna, wife of Baldwin de Dargies, see App. I, no. 7. Margaret, mother of Guy de Senlis, was a sister of Count Ralph of Clermont and aunt of the surety Ralph de Clermont (*Ctl. Pontoise*, 304; Newman 1971, i, 200–1); Diceto, ii, 86, refers to Guy's elder brother William (k. 1190) as 'pincerna Silvanectensis, nepos scilicet comitis de Claro Monte' (1190).

[157] BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1801, fols. 3v–4r: act of Ralph count of Clermont (1174), and confirmations of Bartholomew bishop of Beauvais (1175) and Theobald bishop of Amiens (1175), concerning a dispute between the count and the abbey of Beaubec over William de Beaussault's fief in the district known as La Montagne. 'Ctl. Lannoy', no. LVII: Ralph count of Clermont resolves dispute with Lannoy over his fiefs pertaining to William de Beaussault and Gerald de Conty in La Montagne (1174); no. LVIII (confirmation of Bishop Bartholomew).

the month in which that great fortress fell to the king of France. King Philip needed men he could trust, and so was more likely to accept pledges from Simon's Beauvaisis connections through his wife rather than from his Norman neighbours and relatives, since the chief lords of Picardy were then fighting for the French king against King John; indeed, one of the king's chief commanders in this district was Count Renaud of Boulogne, whose mother was a Clermont.[158] Baldwin de Dargies was no more powerful or influential than Simon de Beaussault, but Guy de Senlis, butler of France, and Ralph de Clermont, lord of Ailly, were of considerably greater importance. Control of the Beauvaisis largely lay with a small, endogamous group of powerful lineages that included the Clermont and Senlis families; by taking pledges from this group for the Franco-Norman Simon de Beaussault King Philip was invoking a well-established web of connections amongst Picard families, a network upon which the security of his lands north of Paris largely depended.

The significance of this kin-group for the political stability of Picardy would be proved a few years later. In 1209 Guy de Senlis, Ralph de Clermont and another cousin through the Clermont line, Robert de la Tournelle, stood surety for their kinsman Count Renaud of Boulogne when the king of France, anxious to retain Renaud's loyalty, married his own son Philip Hurepel to the count's daughter.[159] In 1211, however, the readiness of the count of Boulogne to support his cousin Catherine, countess of Blois and Clermont and head of the Clermont family, against the bishop of Beauvais sparked the war that culminated in the battle of Bouvines; the king may well have feared that the whole kin-group would slip into the Angevin camp.[160] As late as 1231 the sureties for the peace between Louis IX and Count Renaud's brother, Count Simon of Ponthieu, included William, son of Simon de Beaussault, and Simon, son of Baldwin de Dargies.[161] The solidarity of this group explains why King Philip had used it in 1203 to bind one of its lesser members, Simon de

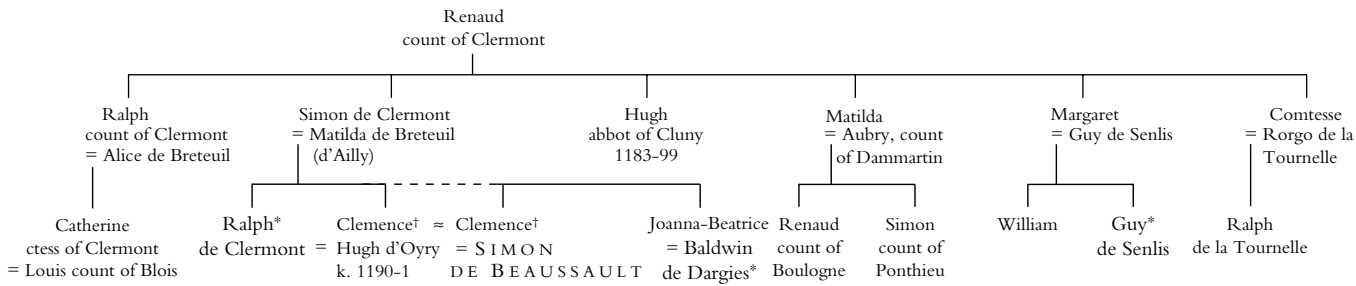
[158] Coggeshall, 136; Mathieu 1996, 52.

[159] *Registres*, 392–3, 508–9 (*Catalogue*, nos. 1178–9, 1245); A. W. Lewis 1981, 158–61; Baldwin 1986, 201. For Robert de la Tournelle's mother Comtesse de Clermont, see Newman 1971, i, 200–1. The marriage of Matilda of Boulogne and Philip Hurepel had been arranged in 1201 (*Layettes*, i, no. 613).

[160] Malo 1898, 139–41; Baldwin 1986, 202. Ralph de Clermont witnessed an English act of Count Renaud in 1201 (Oxford, Brasenose College, Cold Norton deed 3; transcript courtesy of Nicholas Vincent), as well as an undated act for Fécamp concerning Harfleur (BMRO, Y 51, fol. 11v, no. 30), testimonies to the importance of their kinship. In 1214 Ralph de Clermont and his cousins Guy the butler of Senlis and Robert and Rogo de la Tournelle all stood surety for the Picard knight Manasser de Conty, captured on the allied side at Bouvines (*RHF*, xvii, 105; cf. *Registres*, 564).

[161] *Layettes*, ii, nos. 2101, 2102 (cf. 2121).

Table II *The sureties of Simon de Beaussault and the kin-group of the counts of Clermont (simplified)*



* Sureties for Simon de Beaussault (1203).

† Clemence, daughter of Simon de Clermont and wife of Hugh d'Oyry, and Clemence, wife of Simon de Beaussault and sister of Joanna-Beatrice, wife of Baldwin de Dargies, are assumed here to be the same person (contrary to the received genealogy: see App. I, no. 7). Joanna-Beatrice was probably the elder sister.

Beaussault, a relatively minor Franco-Norman lord but from a strategically sensitive frontier region, in order to consolidate his grip upon Normandy.

The cession of Pacy (1196)[162]

The most remarkable demonstration of a network operating across the Norman frontier is seen in the sureties for the earl of Leicester's cession of Pacy to Philip Augustus in 1196. Robert IV, earl of Leicester, had been captured by the French in 1194;[163] to secure his liberty as part of the treaty of Louviers, he had to abandon all his rights in his castelry of Pacy-sur-Eure, which had fallen to the French a couple of years earlier. The release of such a prominent captive and the strategic location of his castle imbues the earl's quitclaim with a peculiar importance. Philip Augustus was very concerned that Earl Robert might attempt to recapture the castle, and so the earl pledged not to attempt to retake Pacy except during 'public war'.[164] Significantly, the earl's sureties for this promise were three prominent 'French' barons, Simon de Montfort, Roger de Meulan and Gervase de Châteauneuf.[165]

How did these three magnates qualify as suitable sureties for Earl Robert's behaviour? They were all adherents of the king of France, certainly, but they all also had longstanding connections of blood and association with the earl of Leicester in the Franco-Norman marches. Simon de Montfort was Earl Robert's nephew and could hope in 1196 to inherit one half of his honours if the earl died childless. Roger de Meulan, viscount of Evreux and lord of La Queue-en-Brie and Gournay-sur-Marne near Paris, was the brother of the count of Meulan, and like the earl was descended in the male line from Robert I (d. 1118), count of Meulan and earl of Leicester.[166] Earl Robert and Roger de Meulan must have been acutely aware of the agnatic kinship between the two branches of their renowned dynasty. Gervase de Châteauneuf was also descended from Robert I of Meulan, but through the female line.[167] Half a century after that match, Gervase's father, Hugh III de Châteauneuf, fought alongside Earl Robert's father in England during the Young King's revolt: Robert of Torigni implied that Hugh's support for Earl Robert arose from the

[162] For a detailed discussion of this case, see Power 2001a.

[163] Howden, iii, 253–4; *Melrose Chronicle*, 49; Rigord, 127.

[164] *Layettes*, i, nos. 433, 435–7. For 'public war' see below, pp. 342–4. Another sister, Margaret, wife of Saher de Quency (later earl of Winchester), had an equal claim with Amice to the earl's lands, but did not quitclaim Pacy in 1196; but see *Layettes*, i, no. 738; Holt (1984b, 10) for Margaret's claims after Earl Robert's death in 1204.

[165] *Layettes*, i, nos. 438–40.

[166] Power 2001a, 129–30.

[167] Hugh II de Châteauneuf had married Albereda, daughter of Count Robert I of Meulan (Crouch 1986, 16–17); Gervase was their grandson (App. 1, no. 9).

fact that Hugh de Châteauneuf was the earl's maternal cousin (*consobrinus*).[168] It cannot be assumed, then, that the ties of kinship between Earl Robert and Roger or Gervase were too remote in 1196 to account for their readiness to stand surety for his behaviour. Moreover, another close blood tie between two of the three sureties reinforced the connections within this group, since Simon de Montfort and Roger de Meulan were both descended from Count Amaury I of Evreux.

Yet kinship alone is an insufficient explanation for the choice of these men as sureties. The French king needed reliable sureties to bind the earl, and this may explain why Roger de Meulan's elder brother, Count Robert of Meulan, was not a surety: he had too much at stake in the Anglo-Norman realm, and would spend most of the next few years attempting to avert the disaster which his divided loyalties threatened to bring him. In contrast, his brother Roger's Norman lands were insignificant compared with his castles in *Francia*. Earl Robert's numerous cousins amongst the aristocracy of the Angevin dominions were also not acceptable as sureties in view of their allegiance to Richard I.[169] Simon, Roger and Gervase, on the other hand, were all firmly tied to the French king's camp. Simon de Montfort distinguished himself fighting for Philip Augustus at Aumale later in 1196; Gervase de Châteauneuf had held Tillières for King Philip in 1194 and even taken an oath to observe the truce of July 1194 on the king's behalf; Roger de Meulan would be one of the French knights captured in the rout outside Gisors in 1198.[170]

Suretyship was effective only if there was genuine trust between the first party and his sureties. In the context of the treaty of Louviers, which pitted the earl on the opposite side from those who were acceptable sureties to the king of France, this was particularly important. It is significant that there were recent demonstrations of trust between these lords, notably witnessing of each other's acts of piety.[171] More sinister are the connections of all four families with the faction of the younger Plantagenets in the 1170s. In view of the plots of Louis VII with this group, a series of local relationships in the Franco-Norman marches between the chief landowners of the region takes on a much more dangerous hue, even though the earl himself had been so active on behalf of the duke of Normandy.[172]

The terms of their pledge-giving stated that if the earl broke his agreement with King Philip, the three French barons were expected to enforce his promises: if he failed to appear in the French court for judgment in

[168] Torigni, ii, 45; cf. Newburgh, i, 179; Jordan Fantosme, 72–8. [169] Power 2001a, 132.
[170] *Philippidos*, 132–3 (v, lines 187–90, 218–19); Howden, iii, 258, 260; iv, 56.
[171] Power 2001a, 133–4. [172] Power 2001a, 133–5.

due course, King Philip's officers would seize their lands. *Garants influents* normally had clear means of coercion to enforce an agreement, but what pressure could Simon, Roger or Gervase actually bring to bear upon their kinsman if he tried to recover Pacy? Perhaps Philip hoped that the three sureties would have a vested interest in repelling any attempt by the earl to regain Pacy; presumably the various connections between the earl and his sureties meant that they would find out in advance of any planned attack. Otherwise, short of raiding his other Norman lands such as the honour of Breteuil, the only pressure they could exert upon the earl of Leicester was moral. The earl had been one of the heroes of the Third Crusade and was renowned for his valour and integrity. Was this honourable and trusted noble to risk endangering the inheritance of his three great kinsmen by his breach of faith? Danger there certainly was: when the peace of Louviers broke down, King Richard seized the Anglo-Norman lands of the four abbots who had stood surety on behalf of the king of France.[173] The careful preservation of the acts of Simon, Roger and Gervase in the Capetian archive shows that their pledges had more than a symbolic value. Furthermore, the three barons were agreeing to permit far more royal intrusion into their own lands than was customary; the king of France had little if any ordinary judicial or fiscal rights in Montfort or Brezolles.[174] The earl of Leicester's three sureties were conceding much for the sake of their Anglo-Norman kinsman.

Despite the political divide between Normandy and *Francia*, the connections between the nobility of the frontier regions were strong enough to become a powerful weapon in the hands of the king of France. At Pacy (1196), three great French barons were prepared to jeopardise their lands for Richard I's chief commander in Normandy if he did not answer a summons to the French court. At Ivry (1200), the heir of a family dispossessed by the Angevins turned to his relatives and neighbours in *Francia* for sureties when the French king restored him to his ancestral fortress. At Beaussault (1203), a comparatively recent marriage furnished a Franco-Norman lord with a set of Beauvaisis relatives who could tie him to the French king's loyalty. None of these barons had any extensive ties of land, service and tenure with one another, although some of their knights had overlapping interests; their connections were not material but political, biological and spiritual. Suretyship is a powerful reminder that the medieval nobility had other strong interests apart from lordship and land; in the confusion of a war-torn frontier zone these were of vital importance. While marriages were far harder to arrange as a means

[173] Howden, iv, 5. [174] See pp. 92–5, 100–1.

of regulating the border zones, the magnates whose castles dominated these regions still had close and effective relations with their neighbours, despite the permanent threat of internecine conflict out of loyalty to their rulers. For the Angevins, who wished to exclude all external influences from their duchy of Normandy, such ties were an irritant and a danger; for the king of France, who wished to intrude his power into Normandy, they served as a vital tool.

Chapter 7

THE LESSER ARISTOCRACY

STATUS AND CONCERNS

The status and concerns of the milites

Chroniclers usually noticed only the frontier magnates, paying little attention to the lesser barons and knights who held land from them or formed their entourages. Yet the growth in standing, wealth and power of *lignages chevaleresques* has been widely noted in twelfth-century western Europe. In regions of France as far apart as Burgundy and the Vendômois, the *milites castri* were moving from castle garrisons to country manors, where they fortified their manor houses; they adopted toponymic surnames, although these often referred not to their own fortress but to that of the lord in whose service they had established themselves; and they sometimes secured their position by lucrative marriages into the noble families which they served. They increasingly adopted the title of *dominus*, although their dominion was a village or manor rather than a castelry. In Lower Maine, for instance, the number of families using the title of *dominus* increased five or six times between 1170 and 1250, and the new *domini* were some of the chief beneficiaries of land clearance and the foundation of new villages.[1] Throughout western Europe, the spread of the seigneurial title also reflected the growing confidence of the lesser aristocracy. In England members of this 'gentry' class were soon to play an important and often remarkably independent part in the Magna Carta revolt.[2] Conversely, the title of 'knight' began to be adopted as a sobriquet by the great nobles. It is true that, as early as the mid-eleventh century, charters from Normandy and neighbouring provinces often describe magnate donors as *milites* and frequently add epithets such as *strenuus* or *optimus*; and from the early twelfth century lists of witnesses are regularly divided into groups such as *clerici*, *milites* and *laici*, the latter often remaining distinct from the knights. Yet if the term *miles* could be applied to both great nobles and very

[1] Pichot 1995, 310–15 (an increase from about ten or twelve to about sixty-five families).
[2] Holt 1961, e.g. 55–60.

humble landowners throughout these two centuries, it does not appear in these regions as a sobriquet of someone issuing a charter until around the year 1200; its spread into Normandy in the early thirteenth century may in part have been hastened by changes in diplomatic fostered by the Capetian annexation, but its use in northern France was not standardised until about 1225. Once established, the title 'knight' would become an increasingly rigid category.

For medievalists these changes have posed a great challenge of interpretation, and especially for assessing their significance for the relationship between magnates and knights. For a generation after Duby's seminal study of the Mâconnais, first published in 1953, historians tended to treat the magnates and knights as originally distinct classes which merged into a single noble, knightly class: the knights came to be regarded as noble while the magnates adopted the ethos and trappings of knighthood.[3] Duby originally saw this change as primarily an eleventh-century development, but Fossier (studying Picardy), Génicot (Namurois), Chédeville (Chartrain), Evergates (Champagne) and others preferred to place it in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, a redating which Duby himself later partly acknowledged.[4] By this token, the nobility of northern France was in the process of absorbing the knightly lineages during the period under consideration in the present study, but clear social divisions still existed at the fall of Normandy in 1204. A more radical revision, espoused by Dominique Barthélemy and Bruno Lemesle and, in a different form, by Matthew Strickland, is the rejection of the notion of the 'fusion of knighthood and nobility' altogether: since the nobility was a quintessentially military élite from before the end of the Roman Empire in the West, many of the *milites* were of noble blood, impoverished not by birth but by the growth of primogeniture, although conversely there were many knights of humble birth who raised their social status through the profession of arms.[5] A further consideration is the status of landowners designated in English historiography as 'honorial barons', lesser landowners who were nevertheless of sufficient local importance to be distinguished from the ordinary knights and to wield real influence upon the magnates from whom they held their chief lands.[6] Given the

[3] Duby 1971, 191–201, 317–58.

[4] Duby 1972. For a summary of these early revisions to the Duby thesis, see Evergates 1975, 144–53, and Hunt 1981, 1–8; see also Martindale 1977. More recent works with a broadly similar thesis and chronology for the rise of the *milites* in northern France include Chédeville 1973, 310–17; Pichot 1995, 178–94; Barthélemy 1995, in a paper originally given in 1991, provides a useful summary of these developments, although he has repudiated many of his findings in subsequent publications.

[5] See especially Barthélemy 1994 and Lemesle 1999, 176–9; Strickland 1996, 20–2, 142–9.

[6] The classic model of the honorial baronage was by Stenton (1961, 83–113); see Crouch 1995 and Cownie 1997.

nature of the documentation available to historians on the south side of the Channel, it is often hard, and probably undesirable, to distinguish men called simply 'knights' from those whom magnates designated as their 'barons'. French historiography has barely registered the concept of the honorial baron, but undoubtedly many of those regarded as *chevaliers* in French historiography would be dubbed 'honorial barons' by historians in the 'Anglo-Saxon' tradition.

A notable lacuna in these studies has been the lesser aristocracy of Normandy.[7] The basic distinction there between *barones* and *milites* in the twelfth century is attested by the inquest of 1172, which listed about 240 individuals by name and stated that there were 2000 knights owing service to the king or barons of Normandy.[8] A generation later the first part of the *Très Ancien Coutumier* repeatedly distinguished between *barones* and *milites*, although it revealed in passing that these groups were usually considered as peers before the law.[9] The second custumal in the *Très Ancien Coutumier* (*c.*1220) specified a relief of 100 *li.* (*tournois*?) for a barony but only 15 *li.* for a knight's fee.[10] Nevertheless, legal distinctions between baronies and knights' fees do not necessarily equate to sharply defined social differences between barons and knights or their kinsfolk. In the absence of estate records and complete genealogies, the question of differing status can be answered only by an extensive inquiry which lies beyond the scope of the present study. It should be noted, though, that people bearing toponymic surnames that are not recorded on the Continent before the mid- or late twelfth century appear much earlier in the richer English documentation. Undoubtedly the land bonanza of 1066 dramatically enhanced the wealth and status of many humble French landowning families in England, but their continued use of Continental toponymic surnames implies that these families were already well established in their French properties some generations before they are recorded in Continental documents.[11] Of the lineages discussed below, Vautorte was the name of a powerful West Country family from Domesday Book onwards but the late-twelfth-century Manceau

[7] For some exceptions, see n. 19 below.

[8] *RB*, ii, 645 n.6, 647 (*Registres*, 276; *RHF*, xxiii, 698); above, pp. 26–7.

[9] For clauses distinguishing between *barones* and *milites*, see *TAC*, i, 1, e.g. 9 (c. VIII, § 5), 15 (c. XV, § 1), 45 (c. LVI, §§ 1–2); for clauses according them equal status, see 8 (c. VIII, § 1); 24 (c. XXVI); 25 (c. XXVIII, § 1). The equivalent French texts are *TAC*, i, II, 6–7, 14–15, 22, 41. Cf. Evergates 1975, 148, 250 n.38.

[10] *TAC*, i, 1, 93, c. LXXXIV, § 1. This bears a passing resemblance to Magna Carta, c. 2, which fixed reliefs at £100 for an earldom or barony and 100s. for a knight's fee, but these were priced in pounds sterling, normally worth four times as much as the money of Anjou or Tours. However, at Runnymede a relief of 100 marks (about 266 *li.* 6*s.* 8*d. ang.*) was originally proposed for a barony (Holt 1992, 450–1, 304–6, 309, 445–6).

[11] Cf. Holt 1996, 179–96; for *cognomina* see also Bouchard 2001, 158–61, and the sources cited there.

family of that name cannot be traced for certainty before the early twelfth century, and while the English family of Bacquepuis gave its name to Kingston Bagpuize (Berks.), the Norman family is rarely recorded before 1150.[12]

Two features of the lesser aristocracy along the Norman frontier stand out: many held land or other property from more than one magnate, and the holdings of even minor barons and knights often straddled the political frontier. The allegiance of a knight to more than one magnate has long been recognised as a characteristic feature of English aristocratic society;[13] Normandy and its neighbours, however, have usually been seen as lands of compact castelries where knights held from one lord to whom they owed their loyalty alone. After examining the honours of Meulan, Beaumont and Breteuil, David Crouch concludes that 'an efficient Norman magnate would be backed up by a coterie of powerful barons, whose allegiance was often to him and to no other man'.[14] Yet, as Crouch himself underlines, lesser landowners who owed loyalty in theory to a great noble did not perform their duties automatically: loyalties had to be earned.[15] Lesser barons frequently appeared in the retinues or courts of other magnates than their chief lords, and although the interests of religious houses may distort our impressions at times, it is clear that few frontier magnates could expect the unqualified allegiance of their knights.[16]

Whenever there was fighting between the duke of Normandy and the king of France, or between the magnates themselves, the lesser aristocracy of honorial barons and knights faced severe conflicts of interest. At the same time, their connections with more than one lord must have enabled them to influence events considerably, for in times of crisis magnates were only as strong as the loyalties of their adherents. Count Robert of Meulan held about seventy knights' fees in Normandy in 1172 and could muster many of these men if need be, for he sent sixty knights to fight for the Plantagenets at Vendôme in 1188.[17] In 1193–6, however, some of the knights of Hugh de Gournay did not follow their lord into

[12] Vautorte: Sanders 1960, 90–1. Although a *Radulfus Valis Torte* was a benefactor of St-Evroul de Mortain before 1082 (*Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 215, p. 682) and a Hugh de Vautorte appears at Mayenne around 1100 (*Ctl. Manceau*, ii, 6–7), the later Manceau family of Vautorte initially appears in the early twelfth century with the surname *Piscis* (*ibid.*, ii, 6–7, 10–11; BMF, ms. 23, p. 872; for the descent, see *ibid.*, pp. 559–60, 630; AN, L 977, nos. 1252–4; *Généalogies mayennaises*, 703–10). Both the English and the Manceau Vautortes used the names Ralph and Hugh, which may denote kinship. Bacquepuis: *VCH Berks*, iv, 349–50; below, pp. 283–4.

[13] E.g. Holt 1961, e.g. 36–7; English 1979, 153–4; Crouch 1986, 128–31.

[14] Crouch 1986, 138. His conclusion (p. 130) that none of the barons of Breteuil held lands elsewhere was no longer true by 1200 (see below, pp. 279–80).

[15] Crouch 1986, 214–15.

[16] See below, pp. 288–300.

[17] *Philippidos*, 68 (III, lines 77–89). In 1172, the count had $63\frac{1}{2}$ or $73\frac{1}{2}$ knights in his service (*RB*, ii, 626; *Registres*, 268).

rebellion against Richard I, and the count of Alençon's revolt in 1203 did not command the support of many of his knights in central Normandy.[18] Studies of three of the best-known families from the Norman frontier, Meulan, Tosny and Talvas, have all emphasised the significance of the lesser aristocracy whose loyalty formed the basis of magnatial power. While some of them held fiefs from the magnates, others served powerful neighbours as stewards or constables or secured money-fiefs from them despite having no landed feudal bond with these magnates.[19]

A clear example of divided or multiple interests may be found amongst the knightly lineages of the Eure, Iton and Avre valleys, on the borders of south-eastern Normandy. Along the river valleys there were a series of modestly sized, relatively compact castelries such as l'Aigle, Conches, Dreux, Bréval and Pacy, which were sandwiched between the much larger lordships of Breteuil, Evreux and Montfort, Châteauneuf-Brezolles and the county of Perche. It has been seen that, even at the level of the magnates, the pattern and distribution of landholding in this district in the late twelfth century was far from simple;[20] at the level of the lesser aristocracy, it was more complex still. Many minor landowners held lands or even small castles in more than one magnate's castelry, and the tenants of one honour often appeared as witnesses elsewhere, suggesting that there were many more links, both material and spiritual, than can be traced through known fiefs alone. While sometimes they may have witnessed on behalf of the beneficiaries, normally religious houses, it is often clear that they were present because of connections with the donors. Moreover, in many cases the estates of these lesser landowners were far more scattered than their lords' relatively concentrated castelries; they did not dominate any one locality but could be found in several. For instance, Philip de l'Aulnay witnessed an act for Gilbert de Tillières at Tillières in 1188 and another for the countess of Blois in 1190, but a generation later a Philip de l'Aulnay held fiefs in the castelry of Anet.[21] The same act of Gilbert de Tillières was witnessed by Eustace de Hellenvilliers, who was then the steward of the earl of Leicester but also appeared in acts of Robert count of Meulan.[22] In about 1220 Robert *de Sancto Tèloro* and Simon du Val-Comtat had property in both the 'Norman' frontier castelry of

[18] Gournay: see the terms of treaty of Louviers (1196) (*Dipl. Docs*., no. 6; *Layettes*, i, no. 431); Gillingham 1999, 297. Alençon: Power 1999a, 131; 2001b, 447–8.

[19] Crouch 1986, 101–38; Musset 1977, 74–7; Thompson 1994, 178–81. English (1979, chapter iv) provides a comparable study of the knights of the Aumale lordship of Holderness, many of whom also had connections to the counts of Aumale in France.

[20] Above, pp. 246–8. [21] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, nos. 131, 148; *RHF*, xxiii, 625.

[22] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 131; ADE, H 1227 (*CDF*, no. 417, dated 1184 × 89 by Round); BN, ms. lat. 5464, no. 31. For Eustace, see also Power 2001a, 133.

Pacy and the neighbouring 'French' castelry of Bréval;[23] Simon du Val-Comtat also held revenues at Courville in the Chartrain, the chief castle of the Vieuxpont family, but his lord for these revenues was Amaury de Maintenon, the head of a Chartrain family which had important connections with the lords of Montfort-l'Amaury.[24] The families of Gastinel and Nonancourt furnish other examples of divided interests in this region.[25]

The interests of the families of Rémalard and Ilou were particularly widespread. They were associated with the families of Châteauneuf-Brezolles, from whom they held land at Digny, and Tillières throughout the twelfth century, and Rémalard itself was one of the castles of the lord of Châteauneuf;[26] but by the late twelfth century they also held lands from the counts of Perche and rents near Châteaudun,[27] and before 1155 a family called Rémalard also held lands near l'Aigle in Normandy.[28] In addition, men called Rémalard witnessed acts for the lords of Ferté-Arnaud and Courville, as well as for lesser families from the region where Normandy and Perche met.[29] The family of Ilou had comparably diverse

[23] *RHF*, xxiii, 622, 623. The two castelries partitioned the hamlet of Chambines: ADE, G 122, fol. 22r–v, no. 89; G 165, fol. 50r–v, no. 84 (Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 247).

[24] ADEL, H 5207, grant of Simon to Belhomert from the fief which he holds from Amaury de Maintenon (1197).

[25] For Gastinel connections with the Tosnys at Conches, see Musset 1977, 76; ADE, H 91, fol. 75; H 262, fol. 77v; for connections with the l'Aigles, G 122, fols. 23v–24r, no. 98; ADOR, H 725. For the Nonancourt family at or near Nonancourt and Dreux, see Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 429–30; *Ctl. St-Jean*, no. 71 (1155 × 64); *Ctl. Josaphat*, i, nos. CXXII, CCXXVIII; A. W. Lewis 1985, 171 and n. 6, 174.

[26] *Actes de Philippe Ier*, no. VIII; *Ch. Jumièges*, i, no. XLIII; *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, nos. 106 (Digny, cant. Châteauneuf), 111, 126; ADEL, H 3914, no. 2 (Gazo de Rémalard witnesses an act of Hugh de Châteauneuf for St-Vincent-aux-Bois, 1182); *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 518–19, 536–8, 559–61. In the last of these acts (1101 × 29), Gazo de Rémalard was a witness on behalf of Gilbert de Tillières, in whose court it was performed. In 1214 Gerard *de Boceio* envisaged making a 'peace' with the lord of Tillières concerning Le Val de Cuvray near Verneuil (*Ctl. St-Jean*, no. 183); he had inherited Gazo de Rémalard's lands by 1202, and *Gatho* de Rémalard (fl. 1241) was probably descended from him (Romanet 1890–1902, ii, 242–3). Thompson (1995, 77, 85) suggests that the original lineage was replaced by another from Perche-Gouët in *c.*1100; but naming patterns suggest that a single lineage can be traced from the 1060s, although not everyone called Rémalard necessarily belonged to it. For the Châteauneufs at Rémalard, see Orderic, ii, 358; *Ctl. Trappe*, 18.

[27] *Archives de Châteaudun*, no. XXXXII (*census* at Mottereau, ar. Châteaudun, cant. Brou, and St-Mards, ar. and cant. Nogent-le-Rotrou, cne Vichères, 1191). ADEL, H 5211: Gerard *de Boceio* confirms revenues granted by Isabella de Rémalard to the priory of Belhomert in the oven of Brou (1204); Count Geoffrey of Perche confirms gifts of Gazo de Rémalard at Longny-au-Perche (ar. Mortagne, ch.-l. du cant.) and Bassières (cne. Belhomert-Guéhouville) (s.d. and 1202). An Ivo de Rémalard was a seneschal for Rotrou II or Rotrou III of Perche (*Ch. Nogent*, no. XCII).

[28] ADLC, 11 H 27 (Richer II de l'Aigle, 1155): the possessions of St-Sulpice-sur-Risle include gifts of Engenulf and Payn de Rémalard at Rai (cant. l'Aigle), whom Thompson (1995, 77) identifies as members of the original Rémalard lineage.

[29] *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 611; *Ctl. Josaphat*, i, no. CCCXXXVI (*c.*1180 rather than the editor's date of *c.*1213); ADOR, H 716 (Gazo de Rémalard stands surety for Vivian *de Bernart* in a concord with St-Evroul concerning Moulicent in Perche, late twelfth century).

interests, with land in Simon d'Anet's Norman and French fiefs,[30] and in the castelries of Brezolles, Nogent, Dreux, and the Montforts' castle of Epernon.[31] Such Janus-like obligations were duplicated the length of the frontier: some of the knights of the counts of Sées held fiefs from other Norman magnates such as William de Briouze and remained loyal to King John when Count Robert revolted in 1203.[32] These multiple duties must have had a significant effect upon the *mentalité* of the region's inhabitants in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, diluting the knights' loyalty to one lord and encouraging them to independent action;[33] but the knights also risked the dangers of conflicting obligations to different magnates, similar to the problems that their lords faced in their dealings with the kings of England and France.

The lesser aristocracy: Muzy and Donjon

Most of the time the lesser aristocracy remains in obscurity, and its history tends to be visible only when extraordinary events sweep away the cover of overlords, as happened during the struggle for the succession to Breteuil in the early twelfth century.[34] Its members rarely appear on their own terms, only as witnesses for the magnates who dominated their localities, or occasionally as donors to their lords' religious houses. Nevertheless, a coherent picture of their interests can occasionally emerge. One example is the family of Donjon or Muzy.[35] The derivation of the first of these names is unknown, although it has been suggested, for a lesser family of Donjon discussed below, that it referred to the tower of Dreux which this family is said to have held in custody for the Capetians.[36] The earliest appearance of an identifiable member of this family was Rahier I, first called 'de Dreux',[37] and the Muzy family certainly developed connections at Dreux with the Capetian kings and their successors, the counts of Dreux. As Rahier 'du Donjon' he appears in the entourage of Louis VI

[30] ADE, H 319, fols. 14r–15r, nos. 24–5 (Merville, cne. Nonancourt; cf. Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 429–31); H 320, cote 3; *RHF*, xxiii, 625. Ilou (cant. Brezolles, cne. Dampierre-sur-Avre) is near Nonancourt on the Avre's 'Norman' bank, but IGN 1:25000, sheet 20/15-ouest, marks a *Puits de la Motte* on the south, 'French' bank.

[31] ADEL, H 1261, pp. 84 (Broué), 277 (lands near Nogent); BN, ms. lat. 10106, fol. 41v (Comteville, cne. Dreux); *RHF*, xxiii, 628. For Epernon, see Morice, *Preuves*, i, col. 1103; Ralph d'Ilou held revenues in kind at St-Lubin, near the Montfort castle of Houdan, in 1220 (ADE, H 432).

[32] Below, pp. 299–300.

[33] For comparable examples amongst the knights of northern England, see Holt 1961, 55–60.

[34] Crouch 1986, 104–13.

[35] For this family, see also Power 1995, 194 n.57.

[36] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 172n. No link has been traced to the family of Donjon in the Orléanais; Luchaire (1885, 480) derives that family's name from a lordship at Corbeil (dépt. Essonne, ch.-l. du cant.).

[37] *Ctl. St-Père*, i, 274–7.

at Dreux in 1110 and Louis VII in 1139, in acts concerning Dreux itself;[38] a Rahier du Donjon later witnessed an act for the canons of Dreux in the presence of Countess Agnes of Dreux, and his descendant, Rahier de Muzy, witnessed an act of her son, Count Robert II, for the abbey of Vaux-de-Cernay.[39] Much of what we know about the family connects it with the neighbouring Franco-Norman border district at the junction of the Avre and Eure valleys, where in 1144 Rahier I du Donjon was the leading founder of the Cistercian abbey of Estrée.[40] From the 1150s onwards the family usually took its surname from its nearby castle at Muzy, midway between Dreux and the Norman stronghold of Nonancourt. In 1155, Rahier's grandson, Rahier II de Muzy, travelled to the castle of the count of Meulan at Beaumont-le-Roger in the entourage of Simon d'Anet, and he also witnessed an act of Gilbert de Tillières for the lepers of Chartres; the connection between this Rahier and the families of Anet and Tillières took a more sinister form early in the reign of Henry II, for the king of England warned Rahier, Simon d'Anet and Gilbert de Tillières to respect the rights and possessions of Estrée.[41] The lords of Muzy also had connections deeper into Normandy: the bishop of Evreux was their lord, and before 1195 Rahier III de Muzy had lands in the *bailliage* of Lisieux.[42]

Notwithstanding its interests in the Avre valley and Lieuvin, the family had strong links with the Chartrain from the beginning of the twelfth century. Rahier I married the sister of Goslin II, lord of Lèves, one of the leading barons of the Chartrain, and of Geoffrey de Lèves, the distinguished reforming bishop of Chartres. It was Geoffrey, by then also papal legate, who oversaw his brother-in-law's foundation of Estrée, even though the abbey stood in the diocese of Evreux.[43] Rahier's esteem for his wife's kin led him to name his eldest son, Geoffrey, and two other sons, Goslin and Milo, after their maternal uncles, and Goslin was one of the numerous nephews whom Bishop Geoffrey advanced in the chapter of Chartres Cathedral, becoming provost by about 1144. Marriage into

[38] *Actes de Louis VI*, i, no. 43 (dispute between the abbey of Coulombs and chapter of St-Etienne de Dreux); BN, ms. lat. 17048, pp. 434–5 (Luchaire 1885, no. 50, n.4, and *Ordonnances*, xvi, 322–3), act for Coulombs.

[39] BN, ms. lat. 10106, fols. 13v–14r (*c.*1152 × 80); *Ctl. Vaux-de-Cernay*, i, no. LXXII (1184 × 1218).

[40] See below, pp. 309–10.

[41] *Ctl. Beaumont*, no. XXVII (cf. Crouch 1986, 60, 77); *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 111; *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CLXI (1156 × 61). At Beaumont the three witnesses from the Eure valley, Rahier de Muzy, Morhier le Drouais of Illiers and Robert *Crassa Lingua*, must have accompanied Simon d'Anet rather than Count Waleran of Meulan, who had no lands close to theirs.

[42] ADE, H 319, fol. 73v, no. 161: act of Giles, bishop of Evreux, 1170 × 79, calling Rahier II 'homo meus'; *MRSN*, i, 254; ii, 333.

[43] Below, p. 310.

the dynasty of Lèves also linked the Donjon family to some of the greatest families of the Chartrain and Beauce: the mother of Rahier's wife Berta was the daughter of Hugh I du Puiset and a niece of Milo I de Montlhéry, and the *vidame* of Chartres was Berta's kinsman (*cognatus*).[44] In the next generation Hildeburge, wife of Geoffrey de Muzy, may well have belonged to another prominent castellan dynasty, the family of Gallardon.[45] A further demonstration of the family's ties with the Chartrain was its foundation of a priory of the abbey of Coulombs at Muzy. These connections with *Francia* continued into the thirteenth century: in 1234 Rahier III's son John stood surety for another baron from this border region, Guy Mauvoisin.[46]

Capetian encroachments upon Norman territory in the 1190s must have come as something of a relief to the Muzy family, for, at the cost of their lands in the Lieuvin, it ended their divided loyalties in the Avre valley. In 1193 Robert II of Dreux took control of Nonancourt on behalf of Philip Augustus and confirmed all the gifts of the Muzy family to the priory of Muzy, as if he had now become overlord of Muzy itself.[47] Rahier de Muzy's lands near Lisieux were in ducal hands in 1195 and 1198, which suggests that he was fighting on the French side: his castle at Muzy was soon destroyed in the fighting.[48] Since Nonancourt remained in French hands except for a brief interlude in 1196, we may presume that the lords of Muzy henceforth held all their remaining lands from the count of Dreux, the king of France, the bishopric of Evreux – under French control from 1200 – or the men to whom King Philip entrusted Nonancourt after Robert of Dreux, first Peter Mauvoisin and then (from

[44] *Ctl. St-Père*, i, 274–7; *Ctl. Fontevraud*, nos. 201, 536; ADE, H 319, fols. 4r–5v, no. 5 (Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 430–1, which misprints the crucial phrase: 'Gollenus, prepositus ecclesie nostre, nepos noster et filius supradicti Raherii senis'). For comparable nepotism in Norman cathedral chapters, see Spear 1998, 214–16, 219–21. For Rahier's son Milo, likewise a canon of Chartres and provost of Nogent-le-Phaye, see also Lemoine 1998, 531 n.21: cf. *Ctl. Josaphat*, i, no. LXIV, witnessed by Goslin the provost (of Chartres) and his brother Milo (*c.*1140).

[45] For Hildeburge, mother of Rahier II, see ADE, H 319, fol. 16r–v, no. 28 (*c.*1160). Her name, associated with the lords of Bellême, certainly occurs in the Gallardon family, who were benefactors of Estrée (ADEL, G 1174; ADE, H 319, fols. 18v–19v, nos. 33–4). *Ctl. Josaphat*, i, no. LXVIII, an act of a knight of Hervey, lord of Gallardon, for the Lèves mausoleum of Josaphat, includes a ceremony at Dreux witnessed by Rahier du Donjon, his brother Ursio and Goslin de Lèves (*c.*1130).

[46] *Layettes*, ii, nos. 2389, 2393; cf. Douët d'Arcq 1863–8, i, no. 3022, for his identity.

[47] ADEL, H 1261, p. 287 (1196). Even before 1193, the counts of Dreux confirmed property of Estrée on the 'Norman' side of the Avre: see below, p. 272.

[48] *MRSN*, i, 254; ii, 333. For the ruin of Muzy by 1196, see ADEL, H 1261, pp. 284–6; Merlet 1864, 37. Chédeville (1973, 110n.) attributes its destruction to Henry II's assault on Dreux in 1188; but the wars of 1193–6 seem more likely, especially since Nonancourt was hotly contested in 1193–6.

1205) Robert de Courtenay.[49] In 1234, John de Muzy was a justice or *bailli* at Dreux.[50]

In his act recording the foundation of the abbey of Estrée, the bishop of Chartres described Rahier de Muzy as *vir nobilis*, and another of the founders, a certain Amaury, as *miles strenuus*; the contrast between these two epithets implies that Rahier (who also appears in the act as *Dominus Raherius*) enjoyed a higher status that Amaury, whom other sources show to have been called Amaury de l'Estrée. Nevertheless, Amaury's descendants were also known as 'du Donjon', and it is possible that this second family was a cadet branch of the lords of Muzy, from whom they held lands at Estrée.[51] Like the Muzys, this second Donjon family held lands in both *Normannia* and *Francia*. Amaury's son Peter, a knight like his father, had a house in the count's castle at Dreux and it has been suggested that he acquired his surname because he was the castle's hereditary constable; but he also held land further south from Roger de Tosny, the lord of Nogent-le-Roi, and from Hugh de Châteauneuf.[52] In addition to these 'French' lands, Amaury d'Estrée granted the land at Estrée upon which the abbey itself was founded, which lay in the diocese of Evreux, and Count Robert I of Dreux confirmed the gifts of the Donjon family at Estrée even though they lay on the northern bank of the River Avre and were described in his act as lying *in Normannia*.[53] So the two families called 'Donjon' appear in association with the magnates around Nonancourt and Dreux and had lands in both Normandy and 'France'. They were not attached to any one honour and cannot be described as 'honorial barons', but they were perhaps no less typical of the lesser aristocracy of this district than those whose lands were concentrated in a single magnate's lordship.

[49] Rigord, 135–6; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 548, 875.

[50] BN, ms. lat. 10106, fols. 7v–8r ('Johannes de Musiaco ballivus Drocensis'); Chédeville 1973, 319n. The cartulary copyist may have elided John de Muzy and John de Châtillon, *bailli* of Dreux, into one, for the act afterwards states that it was sealed by these two men.

[51] ADE, H 319, fols. 4r–5v, no. 5, at 4v; Le Prévost (1862–9, ii, 430) omits the crucial words 'vir nobilis'. Amaury's grants were made with the consent of Rahier and his sons, 'de quorum cassamentis erant'.

[52] *RHF*, xxiii, 628; *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, nos. 104–6, 129, 172 (cf. nos. 234, 236). For the surnames 'Donjon' and 'Estrée', see *ibid.*, no. 172n.; A. W. Lewis 1985, 170–4, nos. IX, X, especially 170n. Peter also held a mill which was probably near the priory of Brou in Perche-Gouët (*Ctl. St-Jean*, no. 161).

[53] ADE, H 303, cote 4 (eighteenth-century Fr. translation of Peter's lost act); H 320, cote 6 (John, bishop of Evreux, 1181 × 92); A. W. Lewis 1985, 170–4, nos. IX, X. Both Peter and the count of Dreux described Amaury d'Estrée as the founder of the abbey. The phrases *in Normannia* and *in Francia* occur in numerous twelfth-century acts in the sixteenth-century cartulary (e.g. ADE, H 319, fol. 13v, no. 23, *c.*1160 × 73); although these could be interpolations, the translation of Peter's original act has the phrase 'en France et en Normandie' several times.

The lesser aristocracy: the borders of Normandy, Maine and Perche

Whereas the district of the Eure and Avre was divided between numerous castellans, a few great lords seem to have dominated the frontier region where Normandy, Maine and Perche met, of whom the foremost were the counts of Perche and the Talvas counts of Sées or Alençon. At the level of the lesser aristocracy, however, the pattern of landholding was complex, largely as a consequence of the tumults that had often engulfed the Talvas lordships. Although William Talvas was expelled from Bellême in 1113, his adherents in the Bellêmois seem to have retained their fiefs and held them from the count of Perche thereafter; when Henry II seized the Alençonnais from William Talvas in 1166, many of William's knights in that district of southern Normandy were brought under ducal control but continued to hold fiefs from William Talvas in Maine. In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, for instance, the family of Oison, which may have been a cadet branch of the Talvas, occurs at Montgaudry near Bellême and Courtomer near Sées as well in the city itself,[54] and in the thirteenth century was still holding land from the (Talvas) count of Alençon in southern Normandy.[55]

Could the Talvas still exert influence upon the Bellêmois through their followers in Maine or southern Normandy? The history of the Quarrel family suggests that the dynasty managed to retain some loyalty in Perche even after the loss of Bellême. Under the aegis of the Talvas the Quarrels had acquired properties in the Alençonnais, Saosnois and Bellêmois, splitting into several branches. In 1088, Robert Quarrel had been blinded by the duke of Normandy for defending Saint-Cénery on behalf of Robert de Bellême;[56] he was probably the ancestor of the family called Quarrel that held land on both the Norman and Manceau banks of the Sarthe near Alençon a century later.[57] Other branches of the Quarrels, whose lands lay closer to Bellême, were increasingly drawn towards the counts of Perche: in the late twelfth century one line held Barville, on the 'Percheron' bank of the Sarthe, and turned to Count Geoffrey III of Perche (1191–1202)

[54] *Ctl. Fontevraud*, no. 309 (Courtomer); BES, *Livre Blanc de St-Martin de Sées*, fols. 50r–v (Courtomer), 59r (Montgaudry); Haskins 1918, 307, no. 22 (*RRAN*, ii, no. 1974) (Sées); Orderic, iii, 134. For the Oisons' putative origins, see Louise 1992, ii, 143–7, 246. By 1203 Courtomer belonged to Guérin de Glapion (*Rot. Lib.*, 67–8; cf. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iv, no. 1463).

[55] *Jugements*, no. 200.

[56] Orderic, iv, 154–6; Thompson 1991, 270, 283.

[57] Condé-sur-Sarthe (Alençonnais) and Lignières-la-Carelle (Saosnois): BES, *Livre Blanc de St-Martin de Sées*, fols. 63v–65v (1084–8, 1213); BN, ms. lat. 13818, fol. 199r, notice of confirmation by Count Robert of Sées (1191–1217) of Quarrel gifts at Condé to St-Martin de Sées; *Ctl. Perseigne*, no. CCCXLVIII ('Robert Quarrel of Lignières', *c.*1188). For other Quarrels in the western Saosnois, see *ibid.*, nos. CCCXXXIV–CCCXXXVI (Neufchâtel); *Ctl. Tiron*, i, no. LXXXIX (possibly St-Michel du Tertre, cne. Bourg-le-Roi).

to confirm their grants to Sées Cathedral;[58] and the counts also exerted an increasing influence over the most prominent Quarrel family of all, which since the mid-eleventh century had been based at Vauvineux, Pervenchères and Contilly on the fringes of the Bellêmois and Maine.[59] Kathleen Thompson has demonstrated that Count Geoffrey used English lands to tighten his hold over Robert Quarrel of Vauvineux.[60] Yet at almost exactly the same time this Quarrel family appears in the company of the counts of Sées: in 1191 either Robert Quarrel of Vauvineux or his uncle and namesake was acting as seneschal for the counts of Sées.[61] The Talvas evidently still wielded some influence in the lands which they had lost decades before. Nevertheless, the Quarrels would soon find a still more illustrious patron: Fulk or Fulcher, the son of Robert Quarrel of Vauvineux, was *bailli* of Bellême for Philip Augustus and one of the *milites Pertici* recorded in the royal registers on the eve of Bouvines.[62]

The connections that ran across the Norman frontier here were not all due to the dismemberment of the Talvas inheritance, however. An important group of families held lands in both southern Normandy and the county of Mortagne, even though Mortagne had never been under Talvas rule. In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries Simon de Manou held land near Moulins-la-Marche but also at Manou in eastern Perche.[63] A family called Ferrières derived its name from a fief in the honour of Saint-Scolasse (part of the honour of Gloucester by 1200) and had land at several places in this district, but Roger de Ferrières was one of the knights of the count of Perche from the Corbonnais in the 1090s,[64]

[58] BES, *Livre Rouge du Chapitre de Sées*, fol. 75v: act of William Quarrel with his son Geoffrey, and confirmation of Count Geoffrey (1191 × 1202).

[59] *Ctl. St-Vincent*, 584, 635–7 (including the wood of Blavou, on the borders of Maine, Normandy and Perche); *LCSV*, nos. 72, 79, 115, 288, 301 (mentioning two Roberts, uncle and nephew), and ADSA, H 97 (Fulcher, 1218, and Odo Quarrel, lord of Vauvineux, 1237). A Robert *Carro* appeared in an act of Bishop Guy of Le Mans, concerning gifts for the priory of Ste-Gauburge near Bellême (1133): AN, S 2238[I], no. 12.

[60] Thompson 1995, 87–8; cf. Thompson 2002, 176. It may be this Robert who witnessed for Count Geoffrey and some of his barons: ADEL, H 5211 (Count Geoffrey of Perche, 1202); *LCSV*, no. 88 (Aimery de Villeray); BN, ms. lat. 11055, fol. 45r, no. 54 (Gerard Chevreuil, concerning Réno, 1207).

[61] *LCSV*, no. 113 (1191); *Ctl. Perseigne*, no. CCCXLIX (1191 × 1203). This Robert Quarrel appears in a great number of Talvas acts.

[62] *RHF*, xxiv, I, *préface*, 126*; *Registres*, 311; Power 1995, 189. Thompson (2002, 155–6), who notes that a number of Percheron knights, including Robert and Fulk Quarrel, were recipients of money-fiefs from royal revenues at Mantes (*Registres*, 202). Another Robert Quarrel appears in 1221 in the lordship of Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais (*Templiers en Eure-et-Loir*, nos. LXXXVIII–XC).

[63] *RHF*, xxiii, 617; *Ctl. Trappe*, 228–32; *Templiers en Eure-et-Loir*, no. LXVII, which shows that Simon d'Ilou was the lord of Simon's son Gervase de Manou for Manou itself.

[64] *RHF*, xxiii, 716, 618; *Ctl. Trappe*, 37; ADE, H 1437, pp. 11, 45 (Planches near Sées); *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 682–3 (Brullemail near Sées); *Ctl. Fontevraud*, no. 306 (Ménil-Gautier, cne. Planches?); Orderic, iv, 200. For Robert's lands near Mortagne, see *Ctl. Trappe*, 588. Ferrières is either Ferrières-la-Verrerie, cant. Moulins-la-Marche, or Ferrières, cant. Moulins, cne. St-Martin-des-Pézerits.

and Robert de Ferrières was acting on behalf of the count of Perche in about 1191,[65] and was seneschal of Mortagne in 1208.[66] In the second quarter of the twelfth century William des Aspres was the seneschal of Richer II de l'Aigle, but by 1191 his descendants were acknowledging the authority of the count of Perche over some of their land in this border district.[67] Such tenancies were replicated throughout the frontier districts along the Sarthe valley by families such as Blavou, Montcolin and Montgoubert. These connections had more than local significance, for the counts of Perche acquired the castelries of Moulins and Bonsmoulins (given to Richer de l'Aigle) in 1137, and, having lost them in 1158, recovered them in about 1197. If a number of *lignages chevaleresques* from Perche already held lands around Moulins in 1137, this must have aided Count Rotrou's establishment of his lordship there; yet conversely, it is also possible that Rotrou strengthened his position at Moulins from 1137 by granting lands to men from Perche. In either case their presence here must have helped Count Geoffrey to absorb the castles into his sphere of influence.[68]

Nowhere along the Norman frontier could magnates ignore families of this rank with impunity. Along the southern frontier in particular, the repeated shifts of castelries from royal to seigneurial control meant that the lesser aristocracy provided the chief continuity of lordship in these regions. The county of Mortain experienced long periods of ducal control, in effect absentee lordship. As a result a close-knit knightly community evolved, consisting mainly of the descendants of the knights of the eleventh-century counts.[69] Some of these, notably the lords of Saint-Hilaire-du-Harcouët, were major lords in their own right. Others, such as Fontenay, Husson or Silvain, were more modest in status but profited from ducal custody of the county to make their way in ducal service. The solidarity of this group was probably reinforced by its endogamy: although many wives are known only by their Christian names, between the mid-twelfth and early thirteenth centuries marriages linked the family of Virey with those of Saint-Brice and Fontenay and the family of Ferrières with Saint-Patrice (at Le Teilleul) and Bastard (at Savigny).[70]

[65] ADOR, H 1846: 'ego R. de Ferrariis ex precepto comitis Perticensis feci diuisiones fieri inter Freteium et elemosinam monachorum de Trapa quam de Girardo de Aspris apud Barras habuerunt'. For the context, see *Ctl. Trappe*, 457–8.

[66] *Ctl. Trappe*, 207–8.

[67] *Ctl. Trappe*, 402, 457–8, 587; Thompson 1996a, 197–8.

[68] *Ctl. Trappe*, e.g. 223–8, 459; for Rotrou and the men of Moulins, see Thompson 2002, 80.

[69] In general, see Pouëssel (1981), although he has significant lacunae because he does not use the numerous original charters for Savigny in the Archives Nationales and Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen.

[70] Virey: AN, L 978, no. 1354 (Ralph de Fougères confirms gifts to Savigny of Payn de St-Brice and his wife Gervaise, daughter of Ranulf de Virey, 1162); cf. nos. 1353, 1355–8; L 967, no. 156;

Within this group several families, such as Saint-Brice and Leonesius de Fougères, held lands from the lords of Fougères on both sides of the nominal border of Normandy and Brittany, and were themselves linked by marriage in the mid-twelfth century.[71] In the absence of the counts of Mortain the lord of Fougères had the opportunity to cultivate and nurture these ties, and several knights of the honour of Mortain joined Ralph de Fougères and Hasculf de Saint-Hilaire in revolt in 1173.[72] In the neighbouring Passais, even so great a nobleman as Juhel de Mayenne had to take great note of his knights in 1199–1201, when King John attempted to force Ralph de Vautorte, William de Montgiroux and William de Gorron away from Juhel's lordship. The king of England succeeded in driving a wedge between the lord of Mayenne and one important family in the district, the family of Poisson or Vautorte, but Juhel's success in defying the king of England and holding on to the castles of Gorron and Ambrières between 1199 and 1203 must in part be due to the fact that John failed to retain the loyalty of William de Gorron, lord of La Tannière. The Vautorte family, meanwhile, may have been expelled from its lands near Mayenne as a result.[73]

Inevitably, then, there were casualties amongst the lesser aristocracy during the calamitous conflicts that afflicted the Norman frontier between 1193 and 1204, but in general these communities continue to function very much as before – even as many of the magnates were swept away. At Mortain, Philip Augustus evicted its rebellious count Renaud de Dammartin in 1211 but there were no casualties amongst the knights of the honour, who merely did homage to the king *en masse*.[74] In 1224 William de Heussé (*de Oisseio*) was seneschal of Mortain for King Philip's son Philip Hurepel (who had succeeded to the county as Renaud de Dammartin's son-in-law); the fact that a Roger de Heussé had been the *bailli*'s sergeant in 1162 is a sign of the extent to which the local aristocracy represented continuity in governance at a local level.[75] At the other end of the duchy, the county of Eu was confiscated when Count

l 968, no. 233. Gervaise's youngest son Ranulf took her surname but, as an avid partisan of King John, stayed in England after 1204: *RN*, 90, 93; *P.R. 7 John*, 197; *CRR*, xiv, no. 2310; xv, no. 1380.

Ferrières: BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 4 (Bastard); AN, l 976, no. 1143 (St-Patrice).

[71] St-Brice: AN, l 978, no. 1354; l 971, no. 616. Leonesius (de Fougères): above, pp. 52–3, 175. William de St-Brice, elder brother of Ranulf de Virey, married Theophania, daughter of Guerrehes and niece of Leonesius (AN, l 973, no. 767, act of Ralph de Fougères, mid-twelfth century).

[72] *Gesta Henrici*, i, 57–8: Leonesius, William de St-Brice and Bencellard de Celland. Most knights of Mortain did not join the revolt of 1173, *pace* Pouëssel (1981, 30); the rebels captured at Dol came mainly from the lordships of Fougères and Mayenne, the Norman lands of the earl of Chester, or the Pays de Dol itself.

[73] Below, pp. 436–7.

[74] *Registres*, 305–6 (*RHF*, xxiii, 716).

[75] AN, l 969, no. 421; BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 4.

Ralph adhered to King John in 1214, but Ralph's seneschal Robert de Melleville remained in place,[76] and together with the abbots of Foucarmont and Eu he oversaw the restoration of the county to Countess Alice in 1219.[77] By then, as the terms of Alice's restitution reveal, Robert de Melleville had also acquired the fief of Bully: Countess Alice had sought this inheritance on both sides of the Channel but Robert now retained its Norman part.[78] Whether Robert had acquired it by gift of Count Ralph or Philip Augustus, the dispossession of his count and countess between 1214 and 1219 had evidently not been to his disadvantage. For some local knights there were profits to be made from the discomfiture of the great Anglo-Norman magnates around them.

Opportunities for advancement amongst the lesser aristocracy

In the reign of Richard I scurrilous stories accused William de Longchamps, chancellor of England and bishop of Ely, of being of very low birth indeed. 'The chancellor's grandfather', claimed Hugh de Nonant, bishop of Coventry, 'was a man of servile status from the Beauvaisis, who fled to the borders of Normandy to gain his liberty.'[79] The unfortunate Longchamps was by no means of such humble origin as his noble enemy insinuated, and indeed his mother was probably one of the Herefordshire Lacys;[80] but such comments reflected the anxieties of the greater nobility at the spectacular advancement of supposedly 'low-born' men all around them. Like William de Longchamps and his brother Stephen, who was a seneschal of Richard I for a time,[81] many such men rose through service to the duke: examples include Ralph the Red of Pont-Echanfray in the reign of Henry I and Durand d'Alençon and Herbert d'Argentan in the reign of Henry II, and numerous others from the frontiers of Normandy could be mentioned.[82] Apart from the

[76] ADSM, 8 H 70: notification of an adjudication in favour of Foucarmont, made by order of Philip 'king of Gaul', before William de la Chapelle and his son Geoffrey, castellan of Arques: Robert de Melleville witnesses first (Ponts (cant. Eu), 1214 × 19, mid- or late-thirteenth-century copy). He was Count Ralph's *bailli* by 1205 and a knight by 1210 (BMRO, Y 13, fols. 78r–v, 90v). For the family see also ADSM, D 20, fols. 25v–26r (no. 23), 55r–56v (nos. 80–1, 83).

[77] *Layettes*, i, nos. 1353, 1360. He also appears as her *bailli* in one of her acts in 1222 (n.s.) (ADSM, 6 H 6).

[78] For the counts of Eu and the Bully honour of Tickhill (Yorks.), see *Complete Peerage*, v, 154, 162–4; Sanders 1960, 147; Holt 1961, 47–8, 105, 233.

[79] *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 216.

[80] Howden, iii, xxxvii–xl; Balfour 1997, esp. 79–80 (Beauvaisis), 84–5 (Eve de Lacy), 79–80. Balfour accepts the story of the grandfather's flight but not his servile origins; neither he nor Conway (1923, 16–18) identifies the grandfather, who could be the William de Longchamps who issued numerous undated acts for Beaubec (BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1801, fol. 39r). For Hugh de Nonant, see Desborough 1991.

[81] Landon 1935, 8–33 *passim*.

[82] Crouch 1986, e.g. 107–8; Thompson 1994, 179–80.

Longchamps brothers, most prominent of all those from the frontier zones were Guérin de Glapion, seneschal of Normandy: at the outset of his career he probably held only half a knight's fee of the earl of Gloucester, who was lord of Sainte-Scolasse, but by 1205 he held the entire honour of Sainte-Scolasse along with lands in the Cotentin, Passais, Hiémois, Bessin and Pays de Caux, and Maine.[83] He had also acquired manors in Sussex and Rutland, only to lose them in 1203–4.[84] It is easy to imagine that the adroit rise of men like Guérin was galling to magnates whom the twelfth-century dukes of Normandy rarely permitted to increase their power in any way; those who tried to do so, such as Count Waleran of Meulan, were soon cut down to size again.[85]

The rapid rise of these officials was by no means restricted to the Norman marches; but the political uncertainties of the frontier regions offered particular opportunities to the more enterprising scions there. As the king of France encroached upon Norman territory some of the local knights found service with him. A few, such as John de Rouvray, found their skills were valued more highly at the Capetian court. Through service to Philip Augustus in the eastern marches of Normandy John became castellan of Arques in 1204, and effectively became the most powerful man in Normandy north of the Seine; through his marriage to the widow of William Martel he ended his days as guardian of the lordships of Bacqueville and Auffay.[86] John de Rouvray's neighbours Enguerrand and Nicholas de Montagny also profited from the conflict: Enguerrand, initially rewarded by King John for his loyalty, subsequently joined the king of France, who rewarded Nicholas with the lordship of Massy, an escheat of Hugh de Gournay, and lands confiscated from the hated seneschal of Normandy William le Gras.[87]

The family called Le Drouais or Illiers illustrates some of the ambitions, strategies and difficulties of one marcher family. The forebear of this

[83] Powicke 1961, 173–4; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 793, 802, 902; iii, no. 986; iv, no. 1463. For his lands and privileges in Normandy, see *RHF*, xxiii, 618, 706 (*Registres*, 283); *QN*, nos. 476, 498, 516, 523, 527, 530, 532, 542, 549; *RN*, 52–4, 111, 115; *Rot. Chart.*, 59; *Rot. Lib.*, 67–8; *Jugements*, no. 352 (Cotentin); *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 156; *CN*, no. 705 (cf. no. 759); ADOR, H 1977, H 3349; BN, ms. lat. 11059, fol. 42r; BMRO, Y 201, fol. 68r. For Guérin in Maine, see *RN*, 27; *Ctl. St-Aubin*, ii, 314–15, 315–16, where he appears in the entourage of Ralph, viscount of Beaumont.

[84] *Rot. Lib.*, 66–7; *Bk. Fees*, i, 619; ii, 1151; *RB*, ii, 535.

[85] Crouch 1986, 64–79.

[86] See Power 1997.

[87] Powicke 1961, 176; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 778, 937; iii, no. 985; for Nicholas as the Gournays' successor at Massy, compare *Ch. St-Wandrille*, no. 88 (Hugh II de Gournay, 1157), with BN, ms. lat. 17132, fols. 73r–75v (Nicholas de Montagny, 1223). For Enguerrand and Nicholas, see Power 1997, 366 (map), 369n; below, pp. 426–8. *RHF*, xxiii, 639j, proves that each took his name from Montagny (*Montegniacum*) in the Andelle valley, as Powicke suspected, and each had rights in the nearby Forest of Lyons, Enguerrand for use at Montagny and Nicholas at Normanville (*Registres*, 136–7); but the kinship between Enguerrand and Nicholas is nowhere stated.

family may be a certain 'worthy knight' (*quidam miles bonus*) called Gado de Dreux, who gave a church in the Avre valley to the abbey of Saint-Evroul in the mid-eleventh century.[88] Over the next hundred years it is impossible to know if any of the numerous people called *Drocensis* were Gado's kinsmen,[89] although a second Gado *Drocensis* (fl. *c.*1130) almost certainly was,[90] but in the mid-twelfth century a certain Morhier d'Illiers or Le Drouais emerged from obscurity to become a significant landowner in the district of Dreux and Nonancourt, probably through service to the lords of Anet and Nogent-le-Roi and possibly the count of Dreux. In 1155, Morhier was another companion of Simon d'Anet, like Rahier de Muzy, when Simon was the guest of Waleran of Meulan at Beaumont-le-Roger, and Simon is said to have sold Morhier a fortified house at Illiers along with half the vill. In 1192, soon after the death of Simon d'Anet, Richard I warranted the *domus fortis* of Illiers to Morhier le Drouais, against a certain William d'Anet.[91] Morhier also appears in Roger de Tosny's retinue in an act concerning the 'French' castelry of Nogent-le-Roi where, in 1220, Morhier's son Gado held a *fief-rente* in the castelry in return for military service.[92] When Morhier bought the fortress of Illiers he acquired a third lord, the bishop of Evreux, from whom Simon d'Anet had once held this house; and in 1185, he was also the leading lay witness in the count of Dreux's foundation act for the priory of Fermaincourt.[93] Hence the family of Le Drouais, like its lords of Anet and Tosny, furnished links between 'Normandy' and 'France'. By *c.*1175 Morhier's horizons had expanded some way beyond the district of Anet and Dreux: the evidence suggests that he married the widow of Simon de Grandvilliers, a minor baron from the Avre valley who was also lord of Pont-Echanfray in the honour of Breteuil, and in doing so he extended his influence considerably.[94] By the time of his death, between

[88] *RADN*, no. 122 (version *C*); Orderic, ii, 38 (cf. 32 n.1 for the problems of Orderic's account); cf. *Ctl. St-Père*, i, 139–40 (Gado and his son Baudry). Le Prévost (1862–9, iii, 280) argued that the church was Alaincourt (cne. Tillières); see Musset 1957–8, 46.

[89] E.g. a Guado and Hugh *Drocensis* (*Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 126–7, 251), and a Baudry de Dreux, who married a daughter of Peter de Maule, and the seneschal of Philip I of that name: Orderic, iii, 176, 186; *Actes de Philippe Ier*, cxlii, clxix, cc (n. 1); cf. Rahier de Dreux above, p. 269.

[90] *Ctl. Fontevraud*, nos. 201, 536 (1116 × 48, probably pre-1133).

[91] *Ctl. Beaumont*, no. xxvii; *QN*, no. 251; ADE, G 6, p. 17, no. 10 (*CDF*, no. 309, which should read *Droeis*, not *Diveis*). William d'Anet may have been a Leicestershire knight (*RB*, ii, 552); in 1231–2 the bailiff of Leicester bore this name (Maddicott 1994, 17). A William *de Anet* in the county of Beaumont should probably be identified with the father of Simon d'Annet (fl. 1209), from Annet near Meaux (Douët d'Arcq 1855, 226, 227; *Ch. St-Martin*, iii, no. 683). A William *de Aneto* in the castelry of Paris in *c.*1220 could be Morhier's rival, however (*RHF*, xxiii, 689de),

[92] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 105; *RHF*, xxiii, 626, 628.

[93] ADE, G 6, p. 17, no. 10; Duchesne 1631, 248.

[94] App. I, no. 12; cf. Petit 1859, 78, no. II (1165 × 83), in which Morhier witnesses an act for Simon de Grandvilliers, probably his stepson.

1192 and 1198, Morhier had acquired a significant share of the Anet lands in Normandy and his own petty fortress.

Morhier's son, Gado le Drouais, was for a time lord of part of Pont-Echanfray, perhaps in right of his infant nephew Simon de Grandvilliers, and appears there in an act of the lord of Breteuil, Robert IV, earl of Leicester.[95] Like his father, Gado improved his position by marrying a widow: his second wife, Alina, whom he married in 1224, had previously been married to a prominent knight from central Normandy, Hugh d'Orbec.[96] However, by then events far beyond Gado's control had halted his family's rise. In 1194 the fortified house at Illiers-l'Evêque, Morhier's chief acquisition, fell to the French king when he invaded Normandy. Richard I sustained Gado with subsidies, perhaps because of his connections with the earl of Leicester; Illiers had probably fallen once more to the Normans by 1198, when King Richard warranted the fortress to Gado.[97] However, the ruin of the Angevins in Normandy in 1204 deprived him of any hope of regaining Illiers, for the king of France had conferred it upon another claimant to the fortress, William du Fresne, who was lord of Illiers in 1200.[98] 'Gado, the knight of Illiers', as one contemporary referred to him, recovered some of his property at Illiers in the early thirteenth century, but had to settle for some form of *coseigneurie* with William du Fresne at Illiers: the two knights issued and sealed a charter together in 1219.[99] From the wreck of Angevin Normandy Gado had failed to rescue more than some fragments of the inheritance of Simon d'Anet, despite the opportunities which the extinction of the Anet dynasty (in the male line at least) in 1191–2 had seemed to offer.

Gado's rival, William du Fresne, also came from the ranks of the honorial barons: his family had been associated with the Tosnys for several generations.[100] William du Fresne had also witnessed an act of Simon d'Anet

[95] ADE, H 1437, pp. 27–8; BN, ms. lat. 11055, fol. 50r, no. 70 (act of Gado concerning Pont-Echanfray, probably pre-1204), fols. 30v–33v, no. 32 (*CDF*, no. 653; the manuscript reads 'Guadone', not 'Guidone').

[96] ADE, H 571; App. I, no. 12. Alina's parentage is unknown, but her dowry had been at *Martinvilla*, apparently near Orbec (ADSM, 56 HP 1). The parentage of Gado's first wife Alice (d. 1224) is also unknown.

[97] Howden, iii, 258; *MRSN*, i, 238, 239; ii, 314; ADE, G 6, pp. 184–5, no. 246 (*CDF*, no. 310). *Rot. Claus*, i, 14, concerns lands of 'Guy le Drouais' at *Pinipr*', perhaps Pimperne (Dorset), which Earl Robert II of Leicester had given to his daughter, Countess Hawise of Gloucester (d. 1197), in dowry (*Gloucester Charters*, nos. 67, 78; cf. *Bk. Fees*, i, 87).

[98] *QN*, no. 251; ADE, H 305, cote 1 (act of William du Fresne, 'lord of Illiers', 1200).

[99] BN, ms. lat. 5464, no. 51: act of Roger de Portes concerning Illiers, where he owes 12d. p.a. to 'Gazoni militi de Illeiis' (s.d.). No. 103 (*Sceaux de la Noë*, nos. 61–2): William du Fresne and Gado le Drouais ratify the gift of Roger de Portes at Illiers (1219).

[100] Musset 1977, 77. Acts for the abbey of Conches suggest that William's name refers to Le Fresne (cant. Conches). A William du Fresne was lord of Mesnil-Hardray (cant. Conches) in 1174 (BN, ms. lat. 5464, no. 4).

concerning Bréval, so he was no stranger to the Anet lordships before King Philip granted him Illiers.[101] To strengthen William's claim to Illiers, the king of France gave him an illegitimate kinswoman of Simon d'Anet in marriage. Their son William secured the family's position further by marrying a woman who was apparently a bastard daughter of Robert de Courtenay, the grandson of Louis VI who had replaced the Tosnys as lord of Conches and also acquired Nonancourt, the chief fortress in the neighbourhood of Illiers. Once again Philip Augustus gave his blessing.[102] Such marriages were clearly one way in which these petty lords attempted to raise their status in the power vacuum of the Franco-Norman marches. William continued to acquire property around Conches,[103] and by 1224, he or his son may have had land in Perche as well, for in that year, the monks of La Trappe granted a fief to a certain knight called William du Fresne in return for 5 *s. percherons* a year and his 'help and counsel'.[104] However, like its rival at Illiers, this family's rise was curtailed, for the younger William du Fresne exchanged Illiers and its lordship with Robert de Courtenay himself. The ultimate beneficiary of the contest for Illiers was not a minor local baron but a cousin of the king of France.[105]

On the borders of the county of Mortagne and the Alençonnais, the family of Le Véer, *Viator* or *Viarius*, offers another example of minor barons with several lords who exploited the conditions of the frontier to climb through service, war and inheritance. Their surname betokened a judicial official, not found in Normandy, beneath a count; there had been a *viator regis* at Bellême in the eleventh century who may have been the forebear of this family,[106] and a Ralph *Viarius* held lands at Malèfre, south of Alençon, from William Talvas in 1145, but also lands and a pension from the count of Perche.[107] We may presume, then, that the family had been in the service of one of the comital dynasties in the lands to the south of Normandy for some generations. In the late twelfth and early

[101] *Ch. St-Germain*, ii, no. CCLXIX (1186).

[102] *QN*, no. 251; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iv, no. 1536.

[103] ADE, G 6, pp. 29–31, nos. 37, 39, 41: the families of St-Hilaire and La Ferté-Fresnel grant the patronage of the church of Nagel (cant. Conches) to William du Fresne, in the court of (Robert de Courtenay) the lord of Conches (1214–15); in 1215 William gave it to the bishop and chapter of Evreux (*ibid.*, p. 31, no. 40).

[104] *Ctl. Trappe*, 44: the fief was at Courteraie, between Moulins-la-Marche and Mortagne.

[105] *QN*, no. 251. Gado's son William le Drouais recovered some property at Illiers in 1240 (ADE, G 6, p. 193, no. 257).

[106] Guillot 1972, i, 84–5 (Anjou); Boussard 1956, 312–19 (Maine); Chédeville 1973, 299–304 (Chartrain), esp. 301, showing the merging of *vicarius* with *viarius*.

[107] *Actes de Ponthieu*, no. XXXII (*Ctl. Perseigne*, no. 1); *Ctl. Trappe*, 584, 589. Hugh *Viator* witnessed an act of Countess Matilda, wife of Rotrou III of Perche, in 1165 × 83 (*Ctl. Perche*, no. 234), and confirmed the grant of land at Les Barres (cant. Moulins-la-Marche, cne. Les Genettes), on the fringes of Normandy and Perche in 1191 (ADOR, H 1846, a detached list of witnesses to an act of Countess Matilda of Saxony, wife of Geoffrey III).

thirteenth centuries, however, the family acquired greater prominence. Simon le Véer witnessed the foundation of the Carthusian priory of Valdieu by the count of Perche in 1170 and endowed La Trappe from lands in Perche, and his son Matthew was receiving a *fief-rente* from the count of Perche at Mortagne in 1220; but Matthew also profited from service to Count Robert of Sées, who granted him a wood in return for performing castle-guard at his fortress of Essay near Alençon, just about the time of his revolt against King John.[108] Matthew evidently served Count Robert well, for in 1204 he was one of the witnesses for an act of the count in favour of the hospital at Alençon, and the following year Matthew was one of the guarantors of the marriage agreement for the count's son.[109] His ambitions were not confined to the southern frontier: in 1212 he was amerced for falsely claiming a fief of Grandmesnil in central Normandy.[110] Whatever Matthew's private ambitions, his association with the count of Alençon went some way to compensate for the failure of the count's men in central Normandy to join his rebellion, for it brought the count military support from Perche.[111]

We should not exaggerate the advantages which accrued to the lesser aristocracy in these troubled times. Powicke described Richard de Fontenay, one of the barons of the county of Mortain, as 'perhaps the most important local official in Normandy during the last year of John's rule', but his sons held no office and those who made their careers in the duchy were of little importance outside their native district.[112] John de Rouvray operated within the inner circle of Philip Augustus, but his descendants were just one of many baronial families in the Pays de Caux and Bray, probably no different in status from the senior line descended from John's elder brother Osbert de Rouvray.[113] Another lineage under the shadow of the lords of Gournay, the family of Beaussault, gained as much as the Rouvrays through that most traditional of methods, an advantageous marriage.[114] There are few other examples of local knights being welcomed

[108] ADOR, H 2621; *Ctl. Trappe*, 6–7, 11–12, 584, 588; *Olim*, i, 324–5, reproducing an act of Count Robert 'of Alençon' dated '1202'; for this act, see Power 2001b, 448–9.

[109] BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1245, fol. 3r–v; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 905.

[110] *Jugements*, no. 107 (Occagnes; cf. no. 91). [111] Power 1999a, 131.

[112] Powicke 1961, 339; cf. 248, 253. For Richard (d. by 1223) see above, pp. 60, 79. Between 1204 and 1208 Guérin de Glapion gave him land in the Cotentin (*Jugements*, no. 352). AN, L 971, no. 149, reveals that Richard's brother Robert was dean of Avranches and names five of his sons: Robert de Fontenay, knight (fl. 1228), husband of Matilda de Vassy (AN, L 973, no. 800; Le Hardy 1897, 283–4, no. 17), whose son-in-law Geoffrey de Husson was lord of Fontenay by 1236 (AN, L 967, no. 176); Alexander (fl. 1222), husband of Olive, coheiress of Robert de Virey (AN L 967, nos. 156–64); William (cf. *Bk. Fees*, ii, 1019?); Richard, perhaps the Richard de Fontenay, *Normannus*, who lost lands in Lincs. in the 1240s; and John, who may have committed suicide in England (*Cal. Inq. Misc.*, i, no. 186; cf. *Bk. Fees*, i, 164; ii, 1013, 1475; *HKF*, ii, 194).

[113] Power 1997, 382. [114] Above, pp. 255–6; App. I, no. 7.

into the ranks of the greater aristocracy through marriage into high noble lineages; that privilege was reserved for officials from the French court intruded into Normandy after 1204.[115] Generally their acquisitions were scattered, defying consolidation into autonomous, territorially compact lordships. When the heirs of Guérin de Glapion claimed his confiscated lands in 1247, they lay in seventeen different parishes, hardly any of them contiguous, and in four dioceses.[116] Nor were all of the 'new men' as obscure in origin as might at first appear. Few seemed to rise as far as Gilbert de Vascœuil, whom Richard I named as a surety for his treaty with King Tancred of Sicily in 1190 and charged with the defence of Gisors the following year; but in fact Gilbert's family can be traced to the mid-eleventh century and may have been related to the great baronial dynasties of Mortemer, Warenne and Saint-Saëns.[117]

Many were drawn more briefly into ducal service. For several generations the family of Bacquepuis had been associated with the counts of Evreux,[118] and Hugh de Bacquepuis continued this connection: he became Count Simon's seneschal,[119] and although he did not serve in this office under the next count, Amaury III, he witnessed nearly all his extant acts. Yet Hugh's commitments were not limited to the honour of Evreux. His earliest datable appearance was as a witness for the Empress Matilda's 'foundation' of the abbey of La Noë near Evreux (1166–7), with which Hugh's family would have longstanding interests.[120] Hugh's connection with the ducal dynasty extended further, acting as a local justice in the Norman Vexin with Gilbert de Vascœuil.[121] Hugh also had connections with two other great lineages of the Evrecin. He witnessed at least two acts of Count Robert of Meulan (1166–1204): one of these concerned the diocese of Evreux,[122] but the other endowed the Hospitallers at Pont-Audemer, where Hugh had no interests, and it is likely that he appeared in the act as a member of the count's entourage.[123] Hugh de Bacquepuis not only attested acts of Roger IV de Tosny concerning lands in the diocese of Evreux,[124] he also accompanied Roger to that baron's French castle, Nogent-le-Roi, in 1190, at a time when Count

[115] E.g. the marriages of the daughters of Bartholomew de Roye to the sons of the count of Alençon and William Crispin, and of Walter the Young's son to William de Tancarville's daughter: *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 888, 905 (cf. iii, no. 1348); iii, no. 1376; Baldwin 1986, 108, 110.

[116] *QN*, no. 530. [117] Keats-Rohan 1993a, 22–3.

[118] ADE, H 793, fol. 71r–v, no. 58: Ivo de Bacquepuis witnesses Count William of Evreux's act for St-Taurin.

[119] *Ch. Jumièges*, i, no. LXXI. [120] *RRAN*, iii, no. 607.

[121] Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 148 (1191–3?).

[122] ADE, H 793, fol. 62r–v, no. 32 (act for St-Taurin d'Evreux concerning Beaumont-le-Roger).

[123] *Ctl. Jérusalem*, i, no. 349 (undated).

[124] ADE, H-dépôt Evreux, G 7, p. 5, no. 11 (act for St-Nicolas d'Evreux); ADN, B 1593, fol. 69v, no. CLXXX (act for St-Mayeul de Conches).

Amaury of Evreux was either dead or absent on crusade.[125] In both acts Hugh's appearance is far more likely to have arisen from associations with the donors in the Evrecin rather than with the beneficiaries in the Chartrain or Pays d'Auge. Hugh last appeared in 1200, when he endowed the lazarhouse of Saint-Nicolas d'Evreux in the presence of the new Capetian castellan of the city, Hugh Branchard.[126] His son Roger, lord of Bacquepuis in 1202,[127] witnessed an Evrecin act for Count Robert of Meulan in the midst of the war of 1203,[128] but the disappearance of the counts of Evreux and Meulan and the lords of Tosny from the region had radically altered the situation and the Bacquepuis were henceforth just one of the dozen or so dominant knightly families under the Capetian régime.

ENTOURAGES AND AFFINITIES

Ties of affinity: money-fiefs and witness-lists

If assessing the status of *milites* has been a perennial challenge for medievalists, gauging their relationship with the magnates has also been a source of repeated historical debate.[129] To what extent could a baron expect to be supported by the knights who held fiefs from him? The successful lord had to be prepared to use his largesse in a dynamic fashion if he was to avoid seeing his own knights oppose him, as Hugh de Gournay experienced in 1193–6 and Count Robert of Alençon in 1203. How did he attract them – or others – into his service and retain their loyalty?

Grants of land were, of course, the most traditional and popular way of securing faithful service. When Robert II, earl of Leicester (1118–68), acquired the great lordship of Breteuil through marriage, he successfully won over the local knights with gifts from his English lands.[130] William de Mandeville, earl of Essex (1166–89), appears to have tried a similar tactic after he married Countess Hawise of Aumale in 1180, for he endowed one of the chief men of the county, Arnulf Biset, with lands in Kent;[131]

[125] BN, ms. lat. 17048, p. 432 (act for Coulombs). Count Amaury died between 1187 and 1193.
[126] ADE, H-dépôt Evreux, G 7, p. 22.
[127] BN, ms. lat. 5464, no. 40 (*Sceaux de la Noë*, no. 17): Roger confirms his father's gifts to La Noë (1202).
[128] ADE, H 793, fols. 62v–63r, no. 33.
[129] See Crouch 1995, for a convenient summary of the issues and historiography.
[130] Crouch 1986, 109–12.
[131] BN, ms. lat. 548, fol. 34r, an account sheet of the Mandeville lands (1180 × 89), now a flyleaf of a thirteenth-century collection of sermons (drawn to my attention by Nicholas Vincent): 'De terra de Delce que fuit Ern[ulf]i Biset reddit comes terram illam filie eiusdem Ern[ulfi] cum catallis que cum terra illa recepit et superplusagium et blada sua retinet ad testamentum faciendum.' For Arnulf (Arnold) Biset and his daughter Agnes, later wife of Geoffrey *de Bosco*, see App. 1,

he also appointed Robert Constable, one of her chief men on both sides of the Channel, as his steward.[132] The use of payments in cash or kind was already common by the mid-twelfth century, however.[133] Just as the Angevin dynasty sought to bribe princes and nobles from beyond its lands with cash pensions, twelfth-century magnates increasingly sought to win or reward friendly neighbours or loyal tenants with grants of *fiefs-rentes* (or 'money-fiefs') and pensions. Before 1199 one of the counts of Perche granted a pension of 100 *s.* at Mortagne to his less powerful neighbour, the lord of La Ferté-Arnaud, who in turn chose to confer it upon the Percheron knight Hugh de Vaunoise. The count of Perche could thereby extend his influence eastwards but at the same time the lord of La Ferté secured a potential ally in the heart of the count's territory.[134] Count Robert II of Meulan (1166–1204, d. *c.*1212) distributed both lands and pensions: while his neighbour and man Richard de Harcourt received the entire honour of Elbeuf-sur-Seine, the minor Roumois baron and royal knight John de Préaux received a pension from the same town.[135] Despite the brevity of his time as count, John II of Sées (d. 1191) granted pensions from the cash revenues of Bernay and Vignats to Pochard Cotinel, Guérin de Neuilly, Herbert de Bernières, Herbert de Saint-Pierre and Elinand de Congé; these gifts had almost certainly been made in his father's lifetime, an indication that he was working to construct his own affinity before he succeeded to the Talvas lands. Although the revenues came from his central Norman estates, the first three recipients, and possibly all five, were from the frontier regions.[136]

Money-fiefs were also used to purchase favour with royal officials. By 1225 Bartholomew Drocon, the *bailli* of Verneuil under Philip Augustus,

no. 8; he witnessed an act of Earl William concerning Aumale in favour of Sélincourt, an abbey which Arnulf had patronised (*Ctl. Sélincourt*, nos. LXIII, CIII). Delce is a suburb of Rochester: for Geoffrey *de Bosco*'s lands there, see *RN*, 140; *Rot. Ob. Fin.*, 335–6; *P.R. 8 John*, 53. Arnulf already held land in Kent by 1165, before the earl's marriage to Countess Hawise (*P.R. 11 Henry II*, 106), but Delce was held of the honour of Mandeville, not Aumale, for it later came to the earl's cousin William de Say (*Bk. Fees*, ii, 667, 675).

[132] English 1979, 66, 90; he was presumably the 'Robert, seneschal of William de Mandeville' who died at Acre during the Third Crusade (*Gesta Henrici*, ii, 149).

[133] For 'retaining' with pensions (usually regarded as characteristic of the late Middle Ages) in the Angevin period, see Crouch, Carpenter and Coss 1991; for the distinction between *fiefs-rentes* (money-fiefs) and pensions (where there is no reference to a fief), see Lyon 1957, 6–23 (but cf. Reynolds (1994, 63, 165, 283, 349), who argues that money-fiefs were much more venerable). The Mandeville accounts (see n. 131 above) conclude with a long list of payments, mostly assessed in sterling, but it is impossible to know if these were annual or single payments.

[134] *Ctl. Trappe*, 9–10; Thompson 2002, 122–3.

[135] ADE, H 363: John de Préaux grants 10 *li.* p.a. from the fair and *prévôté* of Elbeuf, given to him by Count Robert, to the abbey of Ile-Dieu (1212, copy). For John, see Powicke 1961, 350; Power 2002, 77–8. For Richard, see above, p. 209.

[136] *Ctl. Perseigne*, no. CCCLXIII (ADSA, H 928, no. 3).

held a pension of 10 *li. perticensis monete* from Count William of Perche.[137] The variety of connections which these processes could forge is revealed by the money-fiefs of the honour of Evreux. In 1198 fiefs ranging from 10 *li.* to nearly 25 *li. angevins* were being owed to the heir of Henry du Neubourg, Peter de Sablé, Thomas de Verdun, Robert de Lacy and Richard le Bigot.[138] These had almost certainly been granted for a number of different purposes by Count Simon (d. 1181) or Count Amaury III (d. 1187 × 93): Henry du Neubourg had been a powerful neighbour and Peter de Sablé was a close kinsman of the counts, but Thomas de Verdun was probably the son of Bertrand and nephew of Ralph de Verdun, constables of Ivry and Tillières respectively in the reign of Henry II. It is easy to believe that the counts of Evreux had felt obliged to extend their largesse to the local ducal officials, whose successor now reaped the reward of their exertions on the king's behalf.[139]

Records of money-fiefs and pensions are rare, however, and the chief source for the lesser aristocracy is charter witness-lists, especially those of the magnates of the region. Quite apart from the information which these provide about the witnesses, they also offer insights into the magnatial power, for they may reveal the composition of baronial retinues. Yet witness-lists pose problems of interpretation. In a magnate's act for a monastery, which witnesses formed part of the donor's retinue or household, who were merely drawn from his or her friends, cousins and neighbours, and who were there chiefly to protect the interests of the beneficiary?[140] Most of the acts of Count Robert of Sées and Alençon reveal a consistent group of his barons around him, predominantly from the marches of Normandy and Maine rather than from his central Norman lands: we may presume that these men comprised his entourage or chief knights. Yet an act of the count in favour of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux- Bellême concerning a dispute over a church in the Saosnois, taken in isolation, conveys a wholly misleading sense of his dependants, since the chief witnesses are from Perche, clearly representing the interests of

[137] *Ctl. Trappe*, 8–9; Thompson 2002, 161.

[138] *MRSN*, ii, 462: the heir of Henry de Neubourg (10 *li.*), Robert de Lacy (13 *li.*), Thomas de Verdun (20 *li.*), Peter de Sablé (10 *li.*), Richard le Bigot (3 measures of corn, commuted to 24 *li.* 16 *s.*).

[139] Above, p. 76. For Bertrand, Ralph and Thomas, see Hagger 2001, 34–59, 248, but at pp. 245–6, Hagger identifies other men called Thomas de Verdun. Bertrand's son Thomas betrothed his sister to Hugh de Lacy, possibly brother of the Robert de Lacy who had a money-fief at Evreux (Wightman 1966, 194). The Verduns, who took their name from a lost locality in the Avranchin (probably cant. Pontorson, cne. Vessey), also had connections with the earls of Chester, who were kinsmen of the counts of Evreux.

[140] For these interpretative difficulties, see especially Bates 1997. For the selection of witnesses, see Postles 1988; for the context of almsgiving ceremonies, see chapter 8.

the beneficiary rather than the benefactor.[141] Moreover, the purpose of witness-lists in northern France was undoubtedly altering in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, just when the number of extant deeds was increasing exponentially. Although they continued to be fundamental to acts produced in the Angevin chancery, in French royal acts the witnesses were reduced to a standardised list of royal officers during the reign of Louis VII. The end of the Angevin régime may have hastened the demise of the witness-list in Normandy,[142] but its decline had begun there before 1200, and was widespread elsewhere in France; conversely, only in the second or third decade of the thirteenth century was it generally abandoned in favour of other 'modes of assurance' such as warranty clauses.[143] Furthermore, these changes took place at different times according to the status of the issuer, reflecting variations in authority: charters of counts and the greater *domini* such as the lords of Mayenne or Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais, who generally presided over their own courts, increasingly dispensed with witness-lists before 1200, whereas they remained an integral part of acts issued for the lesser aristocracy and burgesses well into the thirteenth century. In acts performed at a village level they stayed popular past 1300.

Even allowing for changing diplomatic practices, some patterns of witnessing are striking. The household of William Marshal was almost devoid of 'Frenchmen' (in its broad sense) and of tenants of his chief honours, Striguil and Crendon, being dominated instead by men from the district on the borders of Wiltshire, Berkshire and Oxfordshire where he had grown up.[144] Evidently religious beneficiaries did not merely select the neighbours of their lands as witnesses, regardless of benefactor (which would render witness-lists almost worthless for identifying baronial households). Two generations earlier, Baldwin de Redvers, the first earl of Devon, surrounded himself with men who were closely connected to the hereditary Redvers lands in the Cotentin, even though they had passed to his younger brothers, William de Vernon and Robert de Sainte-Mère-Eglise. Baldwin's 'exile' in the Cotentin in the early part of King Stephen's reign no doubt helped to revive or reinforce these ancient ties,[145] for political crises could easily alter a baronial entourage or affinity.[146] The miserable attempts of Count Waleran II of Meulan to

[141] ADOR, H 2546 (ed. in *Ctl. Perche*, no. 292, from cartulary copy): Count Robert son of Count John announces the pact between Renaud de Villeray, prior of Bellême, and Walter de Louzes, over the patronage of Louzes (cant. La Fresnaye-sur-Chédouet); the witnesses include Aimery de Villeray, Gervase de Prûlay and Gervase *de Malcheinei*, all leading barons of Perche, but also the prior and *granetarius* of Mamers from the count's lands in Maine (1200).

[142] See Arnoux 1996, 338–9.

[143] For warranty, see Hyams 1987; Tabuteau 1988, 146–57; Hudson 1994, 51–8.

[144] Crouch 1990, 137–42, 195–204. [145] Bearman 1996, 25–38. [146] Green 1997, 204, 218.

rebuild his authority in Normandy after a series of political humiliations are vividly illustrated by comparisons between the witnesses to his acts in the last years of his life and acts issued in the heyday of his power.[147] So the witnesses to acts from the Norman frontier regions, if handled carefully and compared with other evidence such as accounts, can reveal much about the authority of the magnates and their relations with the lesser aristocracy around them. In particular, witness-lists can reveal the extent of connections across the frontier, or between the marches and heart of each province, as the following examples of Montfort, Tosny, Vernon and Talvas demonstrate.

Unity and division: Evreux and Montfort-l'Amaury

Amongst the best-documented lordships lying on both sides of the frontier were the Evreux-Montfort lands. In the acts of this great house witnesses still had an important function until the end of the twelfth century. However, since its lands were carved up into a Norman and a French estate after two generations, the witnesses of the Montfort acts can indicate the degree of integration between their French and Norman lands as well as the impact of the subsequent division.[148] In 1118 Count Amaury I (Amaury III de Montfort, d. *c.*1137) inherited the lands of his uncle Count William of Evreux, and although the hostility of Henry I of England meant that Amaury held on to this inheritance only with great difficulty, he endowed several of the leading Norman abbeys,[149] founded the lazarhouse of Saint-Nicolas at Evreux,[150] and granted an annuity from Varaville near Caen to his sister's 'French' foundation of Hautes-Bruyères.[151] Amaury's acts concerning Normandy were witnessed by both French and Normans, and at least one of his acts for a French house

[147] Crouch 1986, 36–7, 76–7.

[148] For the Evreux–Montfort *acta*, Dor (1992) augments and corrects Rhein (1910, 126–98, 299–321). See also ADE, H 711, fol. 130v, no. 407 (act in the court of Count Amaury I); H-dépôt Evreux, G 7, pp. 1–4, nos. 2–5, 8, 10; 30 J 54, fols. 5v–6r, 9v, nos. 8, 15; ADSM, 18 HP 3 (vidimus of act of Count Simon for Le Valasse); BN, ms. lat. 5464, no. 25 (vidimus of act of Count Amaury III for La Noë; ed. Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 157–8); below, p. 295, for the acts of Amaury IV. The great number of Evreux–Montfort witnesses has precluded their depiction in tabular form; of the 180 or more witnesses in Count Simon's extant acts, perhaps 140 appear only once, but some of these appearances were significant none the less.

[149] Troarn: ADC, H 7761 (2 acts). Bec: ADE, H 91, fol. 77. St-Evroul: Dor 1992, no. 9, following ADE, H 839 (Noyon-sur-Andelle). St-Sauveur: *GC*, xi, instr., col. 135. ADE, G 122, fol. 19r, no. 73 (Rhein 1910, 'Catalogue', no. 6), an incomplete act for Evreux Cathedral attributed to Count Amaury, is more likely to have been an act of Count Waleran II of Meulan, *pace* Le Prévost (1862–9, i, 154–5).

[150] ADE, H-dépôt Evreux, G 7, p. 4, no. 10: confirmation of gifts of Richard son of Fulk d'Evreux.

[151] See the following ducal confirmations: *Actes de Henri II*, i, nos. LXXVII*, CCX; AN, Q^1 194^1, cote 17*bis*, pièce 1 (Richard I).

had Norman witnesses.[152] Despite his political difficulties in Normandy, he is known to have held court at Gaillon,[153] while his gift of the church of Noyon-sur-Andelle to the abbey of Marmoutier in Touraine was performed first at Rouen and afterwards at Chartres.[154] Amaury had clearly gained a firm foothold in the Norman lands. Nevertheless, the venue, witnesses and beneficiaries of his acts all suggest that the weight of his interest still lay with his French inheritance.[155]

The only witnessed act of the next count of Evreux, Amaury II (d. 1140), concerned his mother's inheritance of Gournay-sur-Marne near Paris: Amaury was then still a minor and his mother's uncle Stephen de Garlande, the former chancellor and seneschal of Louis VI, issued the act on Amaury's behalf. Not surprisingly there were no Norman witnesses.[156] His younger brother and successor as count of Evreux, Simon (d. 1181), issued about twenty-five acts. They depict him gathering his men together in far-flung corners of his lands, at his family's mausoleum of Hautes-Bruyères (1153), his 'French' castles of Rambouillet, Houdan and Gambais (1179), and at Varaville near Caen (1158).[157] He also presided over a court at Conches, outside his own lands, probably during the minority of the lord of Conches Roger de Tosny (1162–*c.*1180).[158] Another of his acts was performed at the Capetian stronghold of Mantes (1152),[159] while on two occasions he came to the court of Louis VII, at Paris and Sens respectively, to answer for his actions or for those of his

[152] Dor 1992, no. 9 (edition of ADE, H 835, copy of act for the priory of Noyon-sur-Andelle): witnesses include Amaury de Maintenon. Norman witnesses in Amaury's French acts include his cousin William Crispin, Eustace de Breteuil, William and Richard Pointel, and Richard d'Evreux: see Dion 1888, 160, no. 2 (at St-Léger-en-Yvelines, 1123); Dor 1992, no. 4 (Rhein 1910, *Cat.*, no. 7, at Hautes-Bruyères, 1123). For William Pointel, constable of Evreux in 1119, see Orderic, vi, 188, 204, 230 (with Richard d'Evreux).

[153] ADE, H 711, fol. 130v, no. 407 (ed. Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 138–9).

[154] BN, ms. lat. 5441, I, pp. 211–12 (Dor 1992, no. 5): act of Geoffrey archbishop of Rouen. The ceremony at Rouen, dated '1123', must have immediately preceded Amaury's rebellion against Henry I; the second act, at Chartres on 12 March 'before the end of that same year', dates from 1124. Amaury was in open revolt by Oct. 1123 (Orderic, vi, 344).

[155] Count Amaury I is known to have issued six or seven acts for Norman houses, eleven for French houses. French venues included Montfort, Hautes-Bruyères, and the royal castle of St-Léger-en-Yvelines (Dor 1992, nos. 3, 4, 6). The only Norman venue stated was Rouen (see previous note).

[156] *Ch. St-Germain*, i, 137–40, no. LXXXIX (1138). For Stephen de Garlande's position in the 1130s, see Grant 1997, 128–9. *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 171, mentions another act of Amaury II, then in the custody of Amaury de Maintenon, but no witnesses are given.

[157] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, nos. 34, 45; Dor 1992, 544–7, App. II, no. 2 (an edition of ADY, 126 H 1, pp. 8–10); *Ctl. Vaux-de-Cernay*, i, no. LIV; BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1022, p. 189 (act for Savigny, 1158).

[158] ADE, H 262, fol. 78r. The count confirmed the gifts of his hunter, Gilbert, to the abbey of Conches; the presence of Hugh de Longchamps as (ducal) justice suggests that this was during Roger's minority (cf. *MRSN*, i, 74).

[159] *Ctl. Josaphat*, i, 243n. (Dor 1992, no. 17).

men.[160] The venue of three other acts can tell us much about his witnesses. In 1158, Simon's wife Countess Matilda lay ill at Hautes-Bruyères, the priory near Montfort where his father Count Amaury I lay buried. Count Simon made two grants for the sake of her health, one to the Norman priory of La Chaise-Dieu, the other to the lazarhouse of Grand-Beaulieu-lès-Chartres.[161] The act for La Chaise-Dieu concerned gifts from Quittebeuf near Evreux but the named witnesses, Robert d'Orphin, Aimery Morhier and Gosbert de Tremblay, were all connected with the count's French lands; all three also attested the act for Grand-Beaulieu together with others from the Montforts' French lands.[162] In other words, each act's witnesses did not primarily reflect the beneficiary's interests but were determined by the location of the two ceremonies at Hautes-Bruyères in *Francia*. In 1154, in contrast, when the count granted revenues from his Norman lands to Hautes-Bruyères, in a ceremony in his hall at Evreux, those present were mostly French, including his steward and 'counsellor' Robert de Poissy, William de Maintenon and Guérin de Grosrouvre, as well as the prior of Grand-Beaulieu.[163] In this instance, the Norman gifts and venue had no impact upon the composition of the witnesses, who reflected instead the French interests of the count and priory.

Count Simon's many acts with witnesses from both *Francia* and Normandy confirm that his men were not restricted to one or other half of the inheritance, but attended upon him in both. However, only a small number of individuals appear in matters concerning both parts of his inheritance: whereas those connected with the French lands were all barons of some importance, such as Gosbert de Tremblay, Aimery Morhier, Robert de Poissy, Aimery de la Boissière and Robert d'Orphin, those linked to the Norman lands were all household officials, the count's huntsman Gilbert and his chaplains Richard Crispin and Richard de Lillebonne.[164]

[160] *Ctl. Longpont*, no. CCLVI: Count Simon, summoned before Louis VII, makes amends for demanding service from the priory of Longpont (Paris, 1141 × 65). BN, ms. lat. 5441, I, p. 256 (ed. Le Brasseur 1722, *preuves*, p. 6): Count Simon confirms the alms of Simon de Neauphle for Marmoutier, granted in atonement for the murder of Simon de Maurepas (Sens, 1176). Cf. Luchaire 1885, no. 706.

[161] ADE, H 1437, p. 57; *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 45.

[162] Gosbert de Tremblay witnessed an act of Hugh de Châteauneuf for Coulombs (1143) concerning Charpont (cant. Dreux): BN, ms. lat. 17048, p. 445; ADEL, H 1261, p. 343; Merlet 1865, 12. For the Morhier family in the castelries of Nogent-le-Roi and Epernon, a Montfort castle, see *RHF*, xxiii, 718, 626, 628; Morice, *Preuves*, i, col. 1103. Other witnesses in the act for La Chaise-Dieu are not so easily associated with one or other honour; for one of them, Ralph Galopin, see below, n. 165.

[163] ADSM, 18 HP 3 (vidimus of 1252): Count Simon, 'in aula Ebroicarum', grants revenues in kind from Gravenchon (near Lillebonne) and Aubevoye near Gaillon. Two acts of Count Simon for the priory of Houdan describe Robert de Poissy as *consiliarius comitis* (Dor 1992, 549–50, an edition of ADY, 126 H 1, pp. 14–21).

[164] For their position as chaplains, see ADE, G 122, fol. 22r, no. 86; BMRO, Y 51, fol. 10v, no. 25.

A few others, including the count's other chaplains, cannot be linked easily to either part of the inheritance.[165] In addition, several families, all 'French', appear in acts performed in both Normandy and *Francia* although their individual members do not, namely Maintenon, Boissière and Sans-Nappe. In Count Simon's acts the proportion of lay witnesses was tilted in favour of his French interests; this is understandable in view of the difficulties which the Montforts had encountered in establishing their lordship in their Norman lands, in face of opposition first from Henry I of England and then from Count Waleran of Meulan. It is not surprising, then, that Count Simon enfeoffed one of his chief 'French' adherents, Robert de Poissy, with a sizeable property in his Norman lands.[166] Nevertheless, many of the count's acts show him surrounded by people from his various lands, whether in the Evrecin, the Forest of Yvelines, or the Pays de Caux, no matter which house was benefiting from the acts in question.

At Count Simon's death in 1181, however, his two sons divided the Norman and French lands between them,[167] and indeed this division had been anticipated for some years: Amaury, who took the Norman possessions, had already been called count of Evreux in his father's lifetime, while his younger brother Simon IV (d. 1183 × 87), who became lord of Montfort and of all the lands in *Francia*, had been acting as lord of Rochefort-en-Yvelines since about 1165.[168] Significantly, their father's followers also fell immediately into two distinct halves, Norman and French, around the two sons – although it was not immediately apparent to contemporaries, including the pope, that the division was definitive and permanent.[169] About seventy witnesses appear in the surviving acts of Count Amaury III of Evreux, and about eighty people witness for Simon IV de Montfort;[170] yet only the abbot of La Noë witnessed an act for each son, and significantly his appearance in an act of Simon occurred in Simon IV's sole extant act for a Norman establishment, when he made provision for his father's tomb in Evreux Cathedral.[171] Simon's other witnesses in this act were all from the Ile-de-France. In addition, different members of the Sablé family, kinsmen of the Montforts from southern Normandy,

[165] Gontier the cook, Robert and Fulk the chaplains; Ralph Galopin, and Geoffrey and Gerard de Montfort (see below, pp. 292–3).

[166] ADE, 30 J 54, fols. 5v–6r (half of the lordship of Noyon-sur-Andelle). [167] Torigni, ii, 103.

[168] *Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. DXXIX (Amaury); Dor 1992, 22–3 (Simon).

[169] *Ctl. N.-D. Chartres*, i, no. XCIX, a bull of Lucius III for Chartres cathedral (Nov. 1183), lists the counts of Evreux and Montfort amongst the *parrochiani* of the diocese of Chartres. For similar consequences of partitions in England, but between coheiresses, see Holt 1985, 17–19.

[170] It is occasionally unclear if charters of 'Simon de Montfort' were issued by Simon IV (d. 1183 × 87) or Simon V (d. 1218), respectively the son and grandson of Simon, count of Evreux (d. 1181).

[171] *Layettes*, v, no. 82; ADE, G 122, fol. 18v, no. 71.

witnessed for both sons, Robert de Sablé for Count Amaury, and Robert's nephew Guy for Simon IV de Montfort.[172] Apart from these few shared witnesses, about one hundred and eighty other witnesses were named in the acts of one son only. To some degree the division of witnesses may be more apparent than real, reflecting the fact that Amaury III's acts all had Norman beneficiaries, both ecclesiastical and secular, while all but one of Simon IV's acts favoured French religious houses; but this pattern of divided benefaction was a consequence of the separation of the Norman and French lands.

All Amaury III's acts had a core of witnesses from the Evrecin, many of whom had previously appeared in his father's acts. Of Count Amaury's witnesses, at least nine had attested Count Simon's charters: Hugh de Bacquepuis, Richard Crispin, George Neel, Geoffrey and Gerard de Montfort, Roger Mahiel, Simon de la Motte, Amaury de Lacy and Alexander d'Autheuil, nearly all leading figures in the county of Evreux itself in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[173] Count Amaury was also attended by members of several other families who had appeared in his father's acts, including Sablé, Landes and Longchamps; there was a striking continuity of lordship and administration from Count Simon to his elder son, centred very firmly upon the Evrecin. A similar pattern is visible in the Montforts' French lands: Hugh de Crèches, Robert and Nicholas d'Orphin,[174] Hermoin d'Allainville and Ralph Galopin all appeared in acts of Count Simon of Evreux and then of his son Simon IV de Montfort, as did members of the Chevreuse and Sans-Nappe families. The Montforts' followers had been divided into a Norman and a French branch as surely and cleanly as the lands themselves; each half represented the continuation of Count Simon's lordship, but contact between the two portions of the inheritance were minimal.

In 1181, despite sixty-three years of dynastic union, there were few links between the Evreux and Montfort inheritances. A handful of alms

[172] Robert: ADE, G 122, fol. 18r, no. 69 (act of Count Amaury III at his father's funeral, 1181). Guy: ADEL, H 2261 (act of Simon IV de Montfort, lord of Rochefort, dated 1169 × 81 by Dor (1992), 531). Another member of the family, Lisiard de Sablé, had witnessed for Count Simon (e.g. *Analectes historiques*, 19–20, no. VII), while Guy de Montfort witnessed an act of Amaury de Sablé, lord of Gacé (BN, ms. lat. 11055, fol. 66r, no. 115). For the Evreux-Sablé kinship, see App. I, no. 16.

[173] George Neel was lord of Prey (cant. St-André): ADE, H 793, fol. 110v, no. 153. *Olim*, i, 80, shows Simon de la Motte as the enfeoffed sergeant of the Forest of Evreux; cf. *Layettes*, v, no. 82. Amaury de Lacy held property at Claville near Evreux (ADE, G 122, fol. 24r, no. 99); see *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 754 (his son Gilbert) and *RRAN*, iii, no. 607 (Hugh de Lacy, perhaps Amaury's brother, but possibly the great Anglo-Norman lord); above, p. 286 (Robert de Lacy). Amaury's connection with the Herefordshire Lacys, if any, has not been established, but see Wightman 1966, 258–9, for an Amaury de Lacy in that English county.

[174] For Nicholas as a witness for Count Simon, see Rhein 1910, 'Pièces', no. X (1167). He betrayed Nonancourt to Richard I in 1196: *Philippidos*, 129 (V, lines 110–18).

had been granted by Normans to French religious houses, and the reverse was also true.[175] A few families were involved in the affairs of both honours until 1181. Fulk the chaplain had received a prebend at Evreux Cathedral from Count Simon, but he was chaplain to Simon IV de Montfort after 1181.[176] Robert de Poissy had been established at Noyon-sur-Andelle by Count Simon but his heirs continued to hold lands from the senior Poissy line at Villepreux near Montfort.[177] Geoffrey and Gerard de Montfort were firmly established honorial barons of Evreux by the 1180s,[178] and a William d'Evreux was *prévôt* of Houdan in *Francia* in 1198, perhaps a descendant of Richard d'Evreux, the faithful knight of Amaury I.[179] A branch of the family of Sans-Nappe from the French lands had established its fortunes in Evreux.[180] There were few other connections between the two lordships.

Why had the dynastic union between Evreux and Montfort had so little impact upon either inheritance? The political divide between Normandy and *Francia* may have been a factor but it was not an overriding one. There were comparably few connections between the county of Evreux and the count's other honours in Normandy such as Gravenchon in the Pays de Caux, Noyon-sur-Andelle in the Vexin, or Bavent near Caen, even though the men of Gravenchon were required to perform military service at Evreux.[181] Like these scattered Norman lands, Montfort-l'Amaury and Evreux lay too far apart to form a single local society. Before Amaury de Montfort inherited the county of Evreux in 1118, almost the only contact

[175] ADE, G 122, fol. 18v, no. 71 (revenues at Houdan granted to Evreux Cathedral); ADSM, 18 HP 1 (Robert Sans-Avoir grants vineyards at *Mannive* to Le Valasse). For the Sans-Avoir, renowned as crusaders, see Orderic, v, 28, 38; vi, 70; Riley-Smith 1997, 100, 224.

[176] ADE, G 122, fol. 19r–v, no. 75: the *redditus prebende* were at Claville and Quittebeuf, the chief manors of the honour of Evreux (*MRSN*, ii, 462–3). Another chaplain of Count Simon called Fulk or Fulcher was dead by 1158 (*Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 45).

[177] Above, pp. 209, 291; *Ch. Abbécourt*, no. 12. See App. I, no. 24.

[178] Le Prévost 1862–9, iii, 10; ADE, H 1437, p. 49 (act of Count Amaury III for La Chaise-Dieu). It is fair to suppose that these two men were from Montfort-l'Amaury, even though they were clearly associated with the count's Norman lands, although St-Evroul-de-Montfort (Orne, cant. Gacé) is also a possibility. For a John de Montfort of Evreux in 1212, see ADE, H 683. Geoffrey is not to be confused with the Breton lord Geoffrey de Montfort (d. 1181), who had lands in the Cotentin as well: *RB*, ii, 631 (*Registres*, 270); Torigni, ii, 97; BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, nos. 33, 36; AN, L 974, nos. 956, 958.

[179] Dor 1992, 552–3, App. II, no. 7 (an edition of ADY, 126 H 1, pp. 1–2). For Richard d'Evreux (fl. 1119–23), see above, n. 152; Orderic, vi, 230, calls him 'son of Fulk the *prévôt*'.

[180] ADE, G 122, fols. 29v–30r, no. 129 (*c.*1200): act of Hugh du Nuisement witnessed by G. *sine Nappa*, mayor of Evreux and his father, Walter Sans-Nappe; *Analectes historiques*, no. VII, an act of Count Simon, names Walter as *prévôt* of Evreux (*c.*1180). For the Sans-Nappe in *Francia*, see ADEL, H 2261 (acts of Count Simon and Simon IV de Montfort, concerning a dispute between Aimery Sans-Nappe and Marmoutier's priory at Bréthencourt); *Ctl. Vaux-de-Cernay*, i, 51, 64; *RHF*, xxiii, 689 (castelry of Montlhéry); Dor 1992, 315–21.

[181] *RHF*, xxiii, 705 (*Registres*, 281). Renaud and Simon de Gravenchon appear in acts concerning the Evrecin: ADE, H 1344 (1187 × 90?), H 672 (two acts, 1208).

between the two inheritances had been the warfare which the two lords waged against each other, even though Count William of Evreux's sister had married Simon I de Montfort. Moreover, by 1118 the Montforts would have had few options for strengthening the links between the two lordships: the chief families in both districts had probably already been enfeoffed and so it would not have been easy to endow one of the Norman families in the French lands. Examples of cross-fertilisation between the different Evreux-Montfort lands are dwarfed by evidence of cohesive, very local societies. Their strength was evident in the city of Evreux after Count Amaury IV had lost the city in 1199, for the baronial community of the Evrecin continued to meet to regulate the affairs of the county.[182] Yet even if the dynastic union had few material consequences, for most of the twelfth century the members of the household of the counts of Evreux were drawn from both the Evrecin and the lordships of Montfort and Rochefort. Many of the men who fought with Simon V de Montfort against the Normans in the 1190s must have consorted with the men of the Evrecin at Count Simon's court until 1181, and travelled between his different lands. The Evreux-Montfort connection had familiarised two otherwise detached local communities with each other, in spite of the notional political divide between them.

Having abandoned their lands in *Francia* to the junior Montfort line, the counts of Evreux concentrated instead upon their Norman and English lands. The marriage of Count Amaury III to the eldest daughter and coheiress of Earl William of Gloucester might have been expected to bring a number of men from the honour of Gloucester into the retinues of the counts of Evreux. In fact, their witness-lists reflected the fact that the counts signally failed to gain a foothold in the Gloucester inheritance before 1200: none of their acts before that date concerns the honour of Gloucester, and none of Amaury III's witnesses can be linked to his wife's inheritance. Although the Gloucester tenants may well have regarded his wife Mabel as their rightful lady,[183] they did not attach themselves to her husband's retinue as long as the honour of Gloucester remained in the hands of Henry II or his son Count John of Mortain. After the deaths of Amaury III (1187 × 93) and Countess Mabel (1198), John, now king, conceded the Gloucester lands to their son Amaury IV to compensate him

[182] E.g. ADE, H 793, fols. 73–6, 79, nos. 63–72, 82: acts for St-Taurin including George Neel, Simon de Prey, Gilbert d'Autheuil, William de Irreville, Stephen de Dardez and Ralph de Sassey; cf. fol. 75r–v, nos. 69–70, showing several of these knights in the retinue of Count Amaury III in the Holy Land (Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 133). For other examples, see ADE, G 122 and H-dépôt Evreux, G 7, *passim*; BN, ms. lat. 9213, no. 1; *Layettes*, i, no. 797 (cf. *Registres*, 59–61, 67–8, 95–6; *RHF*, xxiv.1, *preuves*, nos. 21, 22).

[183] For instance, the annals of Margam Abbey in Glamorgan recorded her death in 1198 (*Ann. Mon.*, i, 56).

for his renunciation of Evreux to Philip Augustus in 1200, although in reality the king was loath to release most of the honour until after 1204.[184] As Amaury IV secured portions of the Gloucester inheritance, men from the honour began to witness his charters.[185] Also prominent in his acts were witnesses associated with his wife, Melisende de Gournay: the count attempted to strengthen the ties between his lands and his wife's, making gifts from his Gloucester inheritance to Missenden Abbey, which had long enjoyed the patronage of the Gournay family,[186] and to a Richard Talbot, member of a family with blood ties and longstanding associations with the Gournays.[187] Amaury also left no mark upon the Gloucester lands in Normandy such as Sainte-Scolasse near Alençon or Evrecy and Thaon near Caen; apart from his quitclaim of Evreux to Philip Augustus, his extant Norman acts concern the honour of Gravenchon which he had inherited from the previous counts of Evreux, and the witnesses to these deeds had no connection with the Gloucester lands.[188] For all intents the Evreux and Gloucester inheritances remained separate until Amaury lost his remaining Norman lands in 1204–5.

Tosny, Vernon and Talvas

The patterns observed in the Evreux acts are replicated in other far-flung inheritances. The lords of Tosny and Conches in Normandy held lands in half a dozen English counties, including the baronies of Flamstead (Herts.) and Wrethamthorpe (Norfolk); they were also lords of Nogent-l'Erembert (now Nogent-le-Roi) near Chartres. This fortress had come to the Tosnys through the marriage of Ralph II de Tosny (d. 1102) to Isabella de Montfort, whose mother Isabella had inherited the castle from her father Hugh Bardolf. The lordship of Nogent embroiled the Tosnys

[184] *Complete Peerage*, v, 692–3.

[185] *Gloucester Charters*, nos. 53, 94, were witnessed by William of Linford and William de la Falaise, who had also witnessed for Countess Hawise (nos. 78, 160), widow of Earl William of Gloucester, and Count John of Mortain (nos. 10, 31, 161). His other acts involving Gloucester lands or witnesses include nos. 41, 176 and 215. William de la Falaise was custodian of the honour of Gloucester in King John's reign (*Rot. Claus.* i, 29, 78, 86).

[186] *Gloucester Charters*, nos. 153–4 (*Missenden Ctl.*, iii, nos. 705, 725): gifts from the Gloucester manor of Great Marlow (Bucks.). Witnesses included Melisende's father Hugh de Gournay, Odo de Brémontier and Richard Talbot.

[187] *Gloucester Charters*, no. 176. Hugh Talbot (fl. 1118), from whom Richard was probably descended, was the *nepos* of Hugh II de Gournay (Orderic, vi, 192).

[188] *Layettes*, i, nos. 588–9; ADSM, 1 ER 224, fols. 125v–126r (act for Henry de Cramesnil, 1201), and 18 HP 10, fols. 91r–v (two acts for Le Valasse). The last three acts were kindly drawn to my attention by Nicholas Vincent. Enguerrand Pointel, one of the witnesses to the act for Henry de Cramesnil, may have come from the Evrecin family of that name. Some of the acts ascribed to Amaury III which concern Evreux could also be of Amaury IV, but this is unlikely as he was still a minor at Michaelmas 1198 and lost Evreux in April 1199.

in conflicts in the Chartrain: in the 1130s Roger III de Tosny waged war against his neighbour Hugh de Châteauneuf, who led an assault upon Nogent.[189] It also furnished them with contacts across the western Ile-de-France and Chartrain and brought these regions into contact with the Tosny lands in Normandy. Isabella de Montfort ended her days as a nun of Hautes-Bruyères, the priory of Fontevraud founded by her half-sister Queen Bertrada of France, and her endowment for the priory comprised all the revenues of the Tosny castle of Acquigny in south-east Normandy during her life, and 100 *s*. a year there after her death.[190] Nogent was clearly important to the Tosnys, but the political difficulties of cross-border lordship were substantial: in 1160 Louis VII took possession of Nogent at the same time as he seized the French castles of the count of Evreux and Simon d'Anet.[191] Presumably it was restored to Roger III when peace was made later that year, but the castle fell into the hands of Philip Augustus in the early thirteenth century, and he appears to have conferred it upon the count of Blois: perhaps it was the bribe which won Count Louis back to the Capetian cause in September 1198.[192]

The Tosny charters appear to confirm these difficulties, for few 'French' names appear amongst their witnesses. Roger III de Tosny (d. 1157 × 62) addressed a charter for Bec, concerning the Norfolk manor of (East) Wretham, 'to all his men either French or Normans and English', as if the Anglo-Normans were distinct from the men of the Chartrain.[193] Too few acts concerning the French lands survive to confirm the extent of this division amongst his followers. In 1123 Ralph III went to Hautes-Bruyères to confirm the gifts of his mother, Isabella de Montfort, to the nuns of Fontevraud, in the presence of the bishop of Chartres and the abbess of Fontevraud: the witnesses included Ralph's *prévôt* from Nogent-le-Roi as well as several local barons from the Montfort lands who may well have also had connections with the nearby Tosny lordship.[194] Subsequently Ralph's son Roger III confirmed this grant in a ceremony at

[189] *GC*, viii, instr., col. 328.

[190] Orderic, iii, 128; BN, ms. lat. 5480, ii, 25–6; cf. *Actes de Henri II*, i, nos. lxxvii* (*RRAN*, iii, no. 380), ccx; AN, Q^{1} 194^{1}, cote 17*bis*, pièce 1 (confirmation of Richard I).

[191] See above, p. 93; below, pp. 346–7.

[192] Gillingham (1999, 313 and n.67) argues that Louis of Blois deserted only after 1 September 1198; but *Layettes*, i, no. 478, implies that Philip had won his nephew back to his cause by then, for Count Louis had been in contact with the Angevin court since 1195 (*MRSN*, i, 238).

[193] ADE, h 91, fol. 75r–v: 'Rogerus [de] Toeneio omnibus hominibus [sui]s tam Francis quam Norma[nis] et Anglis.' He confirms the manor of (East) Wretham to Bec, including the half which the abbey had received from Coulombs in exchange for tithes near Anet (cf. ADEL, h 1261, p. 76). Morgan (1946, 148) shows that Roger's grandfather Ralph II had granted the manor of Wretham to Bec in 1085–6; see *Bk. Fees*, i, 128.

[194] There are two different versions of this act, both witnessed by Amaury de la Boissière, Mainier son of Simon de Gazeran, and Hugh *de Gastimer* or *de Gastinis*: BN, ms. lat. 5480, ii, pp. 25–6, also names Eustace de Breteuil and Amaury de Maintenon amongst the witnesses; ADML, 101

Ivry, with witnesses drawn from the Montfort lands.[195] At this date it is hard to discern how far the witnesses of the Tosny acts were primarily associated with the beneficiaries. By the time of Roger IV (who came of age in about 1180, lost his French and Norman lands between 1199 and 1204, and died in 1208–9) the witnesses seem to be more closely determined by the donor than by the beneficiary, and the paucity of French witnesses is therefore more significant. An undated act of Roger IV for the lepers of Chartres included at least two local witnesses, Morhier and John le Drouais, but also the Norman Richard de Romilly.[196] On the eve of his departure on crusade in 1190, Roger IV issued an act at Nogent for the neighbouring abbey of Coulombs; all four witnesses, Hugh de Bacquepuis, William du Fresne, Richard de Fourneaux and Matthew d'Acquigny, were associated with his Norman lands rather than the French honour where the ceremony took place and the abbey beneficiary stood.[197] We are also fortunate to have a very detailed description of land tenure in the castelry of Nogent around 1220, as well as a list of the knights of Nogent who did homage to Philip Augustus when he annexed it to his domain in 1218.[198] The absence of the listed knights or their families from the Tosny charters suggests that the Tosnys had attracted few of the knights of Nogent into their service, although at least one, Peter du Donjon, acknowledged Roger IV de Tosny as his lord before 1204.[199]

In contrast, Roger IV's English and Norman acts suggest that a group of his men, including Matthew de Berville and members of the Portes and Acquigny families, accompanied him on both sides of the Channel.[200] Although they took their names from the Tosnys' Norman lands – Berville lay near the Tosny castle of Conches, for instance, and Portes and Acquigny were Tosny castles – they also witnessed Tosny acts in England. Around them, however, numerous witnesses appear on only one side of the sea, suggesting that by the time of Roger IV the English

H 225*bis*, p. 72, is witnessed by Eustace, *prévôt* of Nogent. Cf. *ibid*., p. 71, an act of Eustace de Breteuil issued at Hautes-Bruyères and witnessed by Amaury de Montfort and Fulk *de Gastimer* (s.d.). For Renaud and Amaury de la Boissière (cant. Rambouillet) in the castelry of Nogent (1218–19, *c.*1220), see *RHF*, xxiii, 718; 628bd.

[195] BN, ms. lat. 5480, II, pp. 25–6: Hugh Boutevillain, William d'Evreux, Hugh *Huboldus* and Geoffrey de Montfort. William may be connected to Richard d'Evreux, the knight of Count Amaury I of Evreux; Geoffrey could be the ancestor of Geoffrey and Gerard de Montfort who appear with later counts of Evreux.

[196] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 105.

[197] For three different versions, see BN, ms. lat. 17048, p. 431; ms. lat. 17031, p. 11; ms. fr., 24133, 103. For Hugh, see above, pp. 283–4, 292.

[198] *RHF*, xxiii, 626–8, 718.

[199] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, nos. 105, 172.

[200] For Matthew de Berville (-la-Campagne, cant. Beaumont-le-Roger), see ADN, B 1593, fol. 69v, no. CLXXX; BN, ms. lat. 12777, pp. 715–16; HRO, no. 17465 (Flamstead ctl.), fol. III *recto* (act given at Flamstead, 3 Apr. 1204).

witnesses were a group distinct from the Normans. In the Tosnys' barony of Flamstead the more frequent witnesses include William de Mohun and John and William Cheveron;[201] in Normandy William du Fresne and Richard de Fourneaux, both from the honour of Conches, stand out.[202] It is likely that these patterns matched landholding, so that witnesses in England tended to be landowners there. Adoption of English toponymic surnames may disguise people who appear under different names on both sides of the Channel – a junior English branch of the Tosnys themselves had adopted the surname of Stafford – but by 1200 toponymics were sufficiently well established to make such concealment unlikely.[203]

Another important frontier family, the Vernons, provide an equally curious pattern of witnessing. The two districts where the lands of the Norman line were concentrated, the northern Cotentin and the Seine valley around Vernon itself, lay more than one hundred miles apart, and the Vernons appear to have had distinct retinues for each district: men from the Cotentin witnessed few acts concerning Vernon, and none appears to have held fiefs in both the Cotentin and Vernon.[204] The establishment of a priory of the Cotentin abbey of Montebourg at the church of Saint-Michel de Vernon generated some contacts between the two honours, but when the mishap of war deprived Richard de Vernon of his border castelry in 1196, his tenants in the Cotentin cannot have had much interest in Vernon's fate, although twice they temporarily lost their lord when Richard de Vernon's lands in the Cotentin were confiscated in 1194–5 and again in 1203–4.[205] It seems that by the mid-twelfth century, if two established honours came to be held by a single family, it

[201] Roger IV's English acts include *ibid.*, fols. ii *recto*–iv *recto* (six acts), for which see Clutterbuck 1815–27, i, 354, and Appendix, 46–7; *Beauchamp Ctl.*, nos. 362–4, 366.

[202] Both men witness the following acts of Roger IV: ADE, H-dépôt Evreux, G 7, p. 5, no. 11; BN, ms. lat. 12777, pp. 715–16; ms. lat. 17048, p. 431. A Ralph du Fresne witnesses ADE, H 262, fols. 1r–2v.

[203] *Complete Peerage*, xii, i, 168, 757 (*c*). Elias *de Bosco*, who witnessed Roger IV's act for the abbey of Conches (BN, ms. lat. 12777, pp. 715–16), is probably the same man as Elias *de la Waude* who appears in an act for St Giles, Flamstead, but there is no way of knowing whether he was the Elias of Flamstead who witnessed another act for that priory (HRO, no. 17465, fols. iii *verso*–iv *recto*, fol. ii *verso*). An Elias *de Bosco* had witnessed Roger III's act for Lyre (ADE, III F 393, pp. 469–70).

[204] *Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. DLXX, 151–2; BN, ms. lat. 10087, pp. 79–82, nos. 184–96. The Crèvecœurs, seneschals of Vernon, appear in Cotentin acts (e.g. *ibid.*, p. 70, no. 149, concerning Orglandes in the Cotentin). Cf. *ibid.*, p. 79, no. 184, an act of William de Vernon for Montebourg, witnessed by Roger de Tosny, William de Pacy and Matilda de Gisors, all from eastern Normandy, but also with Cotentin witnesses (it also shows that William's cook had houses at both Vernon and Néhou). Matthew d'Orglandes and Geoffrey de Ste-Colombe from the Cotentin witnessed an act of Richard de Vernon concerning Vernon (*Ctl. Bonport*, no. XI). See Hockey 1970, 10–11, for Vernon fiefs in the Cotentin.

[205] See above, 227; below, pp. 419–21, 527.

had few opportunities to build contacts between them.[206] There were no possibilities of intermeshed honours being created in the way that England and Normandy had been bound after 1066, and local interests came repeatedly to the fore.

The political implications of this localism would be seen during the revolt of the count of Alençon in 1203. Count Robert's lands had originated as two distinct inheritances, the Montgomery lands in central Normandy and the Bellême lands extending from the Alençonnais to northern Maine; vestiges of the connection with Ponthieu also survived.[207] It is unlikely that the count's interests could have ever been in tune with those of all his knights; moreover, repeated ducal interference in the Norman parts of the inheritance must have weakened the bonds between the counts and their men. In 1136, William Talvas' invasion of Normandy on behalf of Geoffrey of Anjou had been opposed by two of his own knights, Robert de Médavy and Enguerrand de Courtomer. In 1166, Henry II justified his seizure of the Alençonnais on the grounds that the Talvas had been imposing *malas consuetudines*, which implies that the family was not popular with the local inhabitants. In 1174, Count John and his allies were defeated by the citizens of Sées, who had evidently not joined him in the Young King's revolt.[208] When Count Robert deserted King John in 1203, the loss of Alençon was a great blow to the defence of Normandy; but the count would have been a far greater threat if he had been supported by all of the 111 knights which his lands maintained.[209] In fact, they did not all rebel, for the truce of 1204 included Count Robert's men who had lost their lands during the war; since it was stipulated that they should henceforth fulfil their obligations to the count as their lands required, they must have fought for King John against the count. The truce also made provision for knights and burgesses from the north-eastern frontier who had lost their possessions for similar reasons.[210]

The stress of border warfare was proving to be too much for the unity of these honours. Some of the Talvas knights held fiefs from other Norman magnates who remained loyal to King John in 1203, such as William de Briouze.[211] Yet even some men who were tenants of Count Robert alone

[206] Nevertheless, the senior English (Redvers) branch maintained ties with the cadet Norman (Vernon) line in the 1140s (above, p. 287).

[207] *MRSN*, i, 214 (1195): lands in the *bailliage* of Argentan of the seneschal of Ponthieu, Enguerrand des Fontaines.

[208] Orderic, vi, 474; Thompson 1994, 176n.; Torigni, i, 360; Diceto, i, 379.

[209] *RB*, ii, 626; *Registres*, 268.

[210] *Layettes*, i, no. 716; Powicke 1961, 261–3. For the revolt, see Power 1999a, 128–32; Power 2001b.

[211] ADC, H 6512, no. 1: Count Robert confirms gifts of William de Craménil and his wife Joanna de Montgaroult; William warrants this gift with all his inheritance 'quam tenet de Willelmo de Braiose et de aliis dominis suis' (1191 × 99). For the Montgaroult inheritance, divided between

did not rebel with him. Robert de Ri appears to have held all his lands from the count and was his seneschal in central Normandy;[212] he and his brothers witnessed many Talvas acts for the abbey of Saint-André-en-Gouffern, and could be regarded as archetypal honorial barons. Nevertheless, Robert de Ri remained loyal to King John, attending the Norman Exchequer under William le Gras, the unpopular seneschal of Normandy, in 1204.[213] His behaviour in 1204 shows that Count Robert's lordship was insufficient to rouse all his tenants in central Normandy to revolt. It is not hard to see why. The witness-lists of the Talvas counts were dominated by men from the borders of Maine and Normandy, reflecting the Talvas' almost unbroken possession of the Saosnois, which was clearly their chief powerbase after their loss of Bellême in 1113. Several of the count's fellow rebels did lose fiefs in central Normandy, but they were all leading men in his administration or entourage, such as Robert du Mesnil and Guérin de Neuilly; unlike Robert de Ri, they also witnessed comital acts concerning the Alençonnais and Maine. Most Talvas tenants from the district of Falaise or Montgomery generally appear at the court of the counts of Sées only when central Normandy was concerned, and so Robert de Ri, although the count's seneschal, was not sufficiently devoted to his interests to join what he and his neighbours may have regarded as essentially a Manceau revolt.[214]

The conclusion that the lesser aristocracy had more localised interests than the great lineages of northern France is hardly a surprising one, but it is important nevertheless. Nobles could only act as powerful forces in regional politics if they had the loyalty of the knights who were to follow them to war or to garrison their castles. Yet where a magnate had inherited far-flung lands his interests were always likely to conflict with a sizeable portion of his knights, whose loyalty was rarely given automatically. Buffeted by the disparate concerns of their followers, it is no wonder that the frontier barons so often appear weak, vacillating or even treacherous. The most successful magnates would be those like the lords of Mayenne or Fougères, whose concentrated lands allowed them to exercise a local supremacy that only the Angevin kings could challenge.

Joanna and her three sisters in the reign of Richard I, see ADC, H 6510, *passim*; H 6511, nos. 3, 12*bis*; H 6635; H 6636; H 6551, nos 1, 2; AN, S 3221.

[212] ADC, H 6511, no. 8: Count John I confirms gifts of Robert de Ri at Ri and Pierrefitte (both cant. Putanges). H 6512, no. 7 (act of Count Robert, witnessed by Robert de Ri as his seneschal).

[213] ADC, H 6510, fol. 3v, no. 7; Power 1999a, 131.

[214] *RN*, 70–3, 75, 78. For Robert du Mesnil as Count Robert's seneschal, see *ibid.*, 70; BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1245, fol. 3r–v. Another was Herbert de Bernières (*RN*, 71).

Chapter 8

RELIGIOUS PATRONAGE AND BURIAL

PATRONAGE AND THE NORMAN MARCHES

Some of the best-documented testimonies to aristocratic outlook and behaviour in the regions along the Norman frontier are almsgiving ceremonies. The charters which record these endowments are the most comprehensive source for the landowning community in northern France in this period: they easily surpass the only comparable source in detail and scope, the Norman exchequer rolls, mentioning almost every member of the aristocracy known to history. Religious patronage, in its broad sense of all forms of endowment of religious houses, can cast much light upon aristocratic mentalities in these regions, and hence upon the significance of the frontier itself. However, benefactions for religious houses raise numerous problems of interpretation, as historians of France and England in the central Middle Ages have recognised.[1] Most monastic charters from the period employed venerable formulae which reveal little about the actual process of endowment. They invariably state that they were made for the wellbeing of the souls of the donors and their ancestors: long before the twelfth century the aristocracy had come to see their way to salvation as lying in the maintenance of monasteries, collegiate churches or cathedral prebends which could provide the necessary masses and prayers. No study of religious endowments can ignore the spiritual intentions expressed by the donors;[2] but since gifts of land and rents affected the chief resources of a landowning aristocracy, religious benefaction and secular power were closely connected. Alms formed one aspect of the complex and often fraught relations between

[1] Discussions of the difficulties of identifying the functions of charters of endowment include White 1988, esp. 10–11; Rosenwein 1989, 35–48; Barthélemy 1993, 19–116; Guyotjeannin 1997. For the broader significance of aristocratic patronage in early ducal Normandy, see Potts 1997, and for the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, see Chibnall 1984, esp. 45–57; for Burgundy, see Bouchard 1987 and 1991. The broader functions of aristocratic religious patronage in England are considered by, amongst others, Mason 1978, Harper-Bill 1980, Holdsworth 1990 and Cownie 1998, 151–71; for lay patrons, see especially S. M. Wood 1955.

[2] Cf. White 1988, 153–63; Rosenwein 1989, 35–43; Bull 1993, 155–66; Cownie 1998, 153–9.

monasteries and their lay patrons or neighbours: despite the humble and affectionate language of the donors, their gifts were frequently the consequence of chronic tension and conflict between religious houses and their benefactors.[3]

Even the monastic recipients recognised that their endowments had a secular dimension. Orderic Vitalis, for example, treated almsgiving as a matter of honour and pride for the aristocracy: describing the reign of William the Conqueror in Normandy, he wrote that, 'Each magnate (*Quisque potentum*) would have thought himself beneath contempt if he had not supported clerks and monks on his estates for the service of God (*ad militiam Dei*).' Although we may suspect that not all the aristocracy whom he described would have accepted his viewpoint, the very ubiquity of such gifts to religious houses suggests that they formed an integral part of aristocratic status.[4] With the decline of central authorities in France in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as aristocratic conflict moved from princely courts to the battlefield, monasteries often played a central part in the resolution of disputes through compromises.[5] Even in regions such as Normandy where princely power remained strong, alms served a wide variety of purposes that often transcended relations between benefactors and beneficiaries alone. In the mid-twelfth century William de Tancarville, who had caused the death of Walter de Saint-Martin, made peace with the dead man's brother and other *amici* by granting revenues in atonement to the abbeys of Le Tréport and Foucarmont, two of the chief houses of the county of Eu where the Saint-Martins were one of the principal baronial families.[6] In 1176, in another region close to the Norman frontier, Simon de Neauphle endowed the priory of Bazainville, in the French lands of Count Simon of Evreux, because he had slain Simon de Maurepas, an act of penitence brought about by the mediation of both the count of Evreux and Louis VII of France.[7] The gifts of William de Tancarville and Simon de Neauphle served four purposes: they ensured that prayers were said for the souls of the dead men; they strengthened the connection between the house and the injured family; they created new ties between the house and the offender together with his family which might act as a guarantee against future enmity and violence; and they were a symbol of the reconciliation between the two families. Not all 'gifts to saints' arose from such dramatic or bloody circumstances, but

[3] White 1988, e.g. 172–6. [4] Orderic, ii, 10. Cf. Chibnall 1984, 47.
[5] See White 1978 and 1986; Geary 1986; Rosenwein, Head and Farmer 1991, 764–9.
[6] BMRO, y 13, fol. 116r–v; *Ctl Tréport*, no. lxvii. Each abbey received 4 *li. angevins* from the revenues of Archelles (cne. Arques).
[7] BN, ms. lat. 5441, i, pp. 254–7; Brasseur 1722, *preuves*, 6; Luchaire 1885, no. 706.

they invariably formed part of the fabric of social order and cannot be divorced from broader questions of power and authority.

Indeed, ecclesiastical property and rights could have a more overtly political place in political events. In order to strike at his neighbour, a prince could confiscate property belonging to an abbey lying in his neighbour's lands. As early as *c.*1030, during a war between the French and the Normans, the count of Meulan had turned on the possessions of the Norman abbey of Jumièges near Meulan, in reprisal for a similar action against him by Duke Robert of Normandy.[8] Similar tactics were still being used more than 150 years later: in 1196, when his shortlived peace with Philip Augustus broke down, Richard the Lionheart seized the lands of the abbots of Cluny, Saint-Denis, La Charité-sur-Loire and Marmoutier who had stood surety on behalf of the king of France.[9] Conversely, a prince could patronise religious houses in order to curry favour beyond his borders. In the Anglo-Scottish marches, the patrimony of the church of Durham enjoyed a central role in relations between the kings of Scots and the northernmost counties of England which they claimed: the Scottish kings sometimes harmed the lands of Saint Cuthbert by their actions but they could never ignore the power of that community and often sought a warmer relationship with the bishop and monks of Durham.[10] In the Norman marches, the beneficence of the kings of France, notably Louis VII, to Norman houses in the Seine valley and French Vexin is well documented. Most of the time the initiative for these concessions must have come from the monastic communities who sought security for their lands and chattels; nevertheless, throughout his reign Louis VII appears to have been willing to endow or confirm property and privileges for the abbeys of Upper Normandy, particularly where their river trade was concerned.[11]

Yet at the same time, the concerns of religious houses were often at variance with contemporary structures of secular power. Since religious communities did not die and had notoriously long memories, they had often held particular properties for centuries, from times of completely different systems of lordship and landownership. The tenure of lands by the abbey of Saint-Denis in north-eastern Normandy, for instance, dated back to the Merovingian period, centuries before the very foundation of the duchy.[12] The possession of land was rarely undisrupted and wholesale confiscation of monastic estates was not unknown: the Parisian abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés had lost all its estates west of the Eure in the aftermath of the original Norman settlement, for instance.[13] Nevertheless, the

[8] *Ch. Jumièges*, no. xvi (1031 × 36, describing events from 1027 × 31).
[9] Howden, iv, 5. [10] Aird 1998, 227–67. [11] Holt 1975, 256–7; above, pp. 95–6.
[12] Grant 1998, 89–90. [13] Lemarignier 1945, 11 n.5, 18.

properties of ancient monasteries and cathedral churches represented one of the most enduring features of the tenurial landscape.

Religious patronage therefore touches upon a range of aspects of the social order of the Norman frontier regions. Historians have certainly acknowledged that benefactions in marcher regions, not least the borders of Normandy, could have wider significance,[14] and the comparatively limited nature of lay rights in Norman church property in the twelfth century also imbues the borders of Normandy with greater cultural importance.[15] Yet the motives of aristocratic benefactors in the Angevin and early Capetian periods have been given little general consideration; previous studies of patronage in Normandy and surrounding districts have concentrated either upon the period before 1150,[16] upon particular houses or orders such as Savigny or the Cistercians,[17] or upon individual magnates, notably Waleran of Meulan and his brother Robert of Leicester, William Talvas of Ponthieu, or his great-grandson Juhel II de Mayenne.[18] Although each aristocratic family's gifts to saints were shaped by its individual history and the location of its property as much as by its other political concerns, certain patterns emerge when examining the patronage of the frontier baronage as a whole. Gifts to monasteries can therefore reveal the links between the Norman baronage and their neighbours, and the extent to which the Normans were inhibited by a mental 'frontier' from making gifts to houses outside the duchy.

TWO SORTS OF ENDOWMENT: EXEMPTIONS AND FOUNDATIONS

Exemptions

Gifts for religious houses fall into several categories, including exemption from tolls; gifts of land and rents or of churches and tithes; and the outright foundation of religious houses. The different types of grant do not all have the same significance for a study of how the frontier affected the behaviour of the border lords. For instance, exemption from tolls, by which a lord freed the goods of a religious house from tolls or customs – often indiscriminately throughout his lands – was one of the commonest

[14] Chibnall 1958, 103–8 (southern Norman frontier), 110–18 (Shropshire); Green 1984, 55, 57–60 (Norman Vexin); Lohrmann 1973 (St-Germer-de-Fly, dioc. Beauvais); for benefactions in the Anglo-Scottish border regions, see Aird 1998.

[15] Yver 1963–4, 255–70.

[16] See n. 1 above. For a study of the relations of one particular French abbey, La Trinité de Vendôme, with its environment between the early eleventh and late twelfth centuries, see Johnson 1981.

[17] Poulle 1994; Grant 1988, 113–14, 124–7, 141–2.

[18] Crouch 1986, 196–207; Thompson 1994, 177–8; Day 1980.

forms of baronial concession to monasteries; but invariably the initiative for these grants must have come from the beneficiary, not the baronial donor. The Cistercian abbey of Bonport, founded by Richard I in 1190 on the River Seine near Pont-de-l'Arche, rapidly acquired charters of exemption from the many barons of the French Vexin who levied customs from the traffic on the Seine; but it is difficult to believe that each of these lords decided to exempt the boats of this new abbey of his own accord.[19]

These gifts were perhaps the commonest sort to ignore political boundaries, just as the trade to which they referred paid least heed to these obstacles. Hence they rarely reveal political divisions; nor did donors who were frontier barons distinguish between their Norman and non-Norman lands. Typical of this sort of general concession was the exemption from tolls which Richard, viscount of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe in northern Maine, granted to the monks of Saint-Etienne de Caen. Since the viscount's lands were concentrated in Maine, his act indicates that the abbey's goods travelled far and wide beyond the frontiers of Normandy; but for the purposes of the abbey's privilege all his lands in Maine and England were treated as a single unit.[20] Such concessions tell us very little about baronial concerns, including their concepts of a frontier between Normandy and its neighbours. The tolls themselves did not reinforce the frontier as a barrier. Tolls were certainly charged at places around the limits of Norman ducal power, such as the *péages* levied by William Louvel at Nantilly near Ivry, or by Simon d'Anet at Saint-Illiers near Bréval.[21] Nevertheless, exactions of this type could be levied wherever a lord held bannal rights and was powerful enough to demand a fee, in cash or kind, for each cart or barge which came to his castle, bridge or causeway.

Foundations

In contrast to exemption from tolls, the establishment of a religious house must surely be the most significant type of benefaction for the study of baronial concerns for it required not only the participation but also the initiative inspiration of the lay benefactor. Despite the abundant deeds which survive for the abbeys founded in the region in the Angevin period,

[19] *Ctl. Bonport*, nos. I (l'Isle-Adam), V (Poissy), VI (Montmorency), VII (Beaumont-sur-Oise), VIII–IX (Mauvoisin), XIII (Meulan), XIV (Conflans), mostly dated 1190–1; XIX, XXXI (count of Beaumont (1199) and Simon de Montfort (1202), both concerning Conflans). Richard de Vernon granted a similar concession along the Norman part of the Seine at about the same time (no. XI).

[20] ADC, H 1883 (*c.*1175): grant of freedom from customs 'tam terra quam aqua per totam dominationem meam'. For his family's English lands, see *Bk. Fees*, i, 98.

[21] Nantilly, across the Eure from Ivry: *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 605. St-Illiers: ADE, G 122, fol. 39r, no. 186; H 793, fol. 76v, no. 73; cf. H 431, for the *péage* of Simon's sister Albereda (1209).

their history has been very neglected. Yet these foundations can reveal much about the frontier society and the outlook of its members.

In the twelfth century the frontiers of the duchy witnessed the establishment of new religious houses from Savigny in the south-west to Lieu-Dieu in the far north-east. The material benefits for the founders are sometimes very apparent. One example, analysed by David Crouch, is the priory of Notre-Dame-du-Désert near Breteuil, in the southern part of the diocese of Evreux, founded by Earl Robert II of Leicester in 1125. The foundation charter reveals that a hermit, Hugh du Désert, had already attracted followers to the forest of Breteuil when the young earl provided him with the resources to construct a more permanent house and church. The earl's motives, however, must have been influenced by his recent acquisition of Breteuil by marriage, and the seriously disputed title of his wife, Amice de Gael, to this honour: Le Désert, Crouch argues, was at once an insurance policy for salvation and a means of establishing his presence in Breteuil, by demonstration of his largesse and the endowment of the priory as a tenant more sympathetic to him than were the recalcitrant honorial barons whom he sought to rule.[22] Hence the bulk of the twelfth-century gifts mentioned in the priory's fifteenth-century cartulary came from the earl's own men, and they serve as a useful indication of his developing relations with the barons of Breteuil.

Given the priory's proximity to the frontier, however, the acts in favour of Le Désert also shed light upon the relationship between Normandy and its neighbours. Although gifts came from other parts of Normandy, as far as the diocese of Sées,[23] there were no concessions of property or revenues in *Francia*. The sole act of recognition south of the River Avre came from the chief 'French' lord of that district, Hugh II de Châteauneuf, who was Earl Robert's brother-in-law: but he merely exempted Hugh du Désert and his followers from *péage* in his lands.[24] The failure of any French barons to endow the nearby foundation of Le Désert would suggest that they were uninterested, at the very least, in the Norman houses close to the edge of the duchy. This conclusion is reinforced by the experience of the nearby Fontevraudian priory of La Chaise-Dieu, which Richer II de l'Aigle established in the early 1130s in the Forest of l'Aigle for the

[22] Crouch 1986, 108–9, 112, 198; for the foundation charter, see ADE, G 165 (cartulary), fols. 1r–2v, no. 1. The site of the priory is now Le Leme, dept. Eure, ar. Evreux, cant. Breteuil, cne. Bémécourt, close to a Roman road through the forest of Breteuil (IGN 1:50000, sheet 19/14; cf. Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 250–2).

[23] *Ctl. Fontevraud*, no. 306: various gifts from the district of Planches, cant. Le Merlerault (1128). ADE, G 165, fol. 7v, no. 9: gifts of two men, Roger and Lambert, at Courtomer (ar. Alençon, ch.-l. du cant.). Fols. 8v–9r, no. 12: gift of Henry de Tilly at Occagnes (cant. Argentan), held from Earl Robert III of Leicester (1168–90) as part of the honour of Grandmesnil (cf. *RHF*, xxiii, 705–6, 714, 715; *Registres*, 281, 278).

[24] ADE, G 165, fol. 8v, no. 11.

benefit of the same hermit Hugh du Désert.[25] La Chaise-Dieu also received endowments from a wide area of southern Normandy and even England, but nothing from French lands.[26]

However, other foundations influenced the districts on both sides of the Norman frontier and acted in different ways to erode any political barrier there. The abbey of La Trappe was founded by Rotrou II of Perche in or before 1140; later tradition held that Rotrou built it in memory of his first wife, lost with the *White Ship* in 1120, but in fact he appears to have responded to the arrival of Savignac monks on the northern borders of his lands at the very end of Henry I's reign.[27] The forest around La Trappe must then have formed the border between Perche and Normandy, for La Trappe lay close to the ducal castles of Moulins and Bonsmoulins; the foundation of an abbey at this very point of the frontier takes on a more sinister aspect when it is remembered that Count Rotrou coveted these two ducal castles. In 1137 Rotrou required King Stephen to cede them to him and his nephew Richer de l'Aigle as the price of their support against Geoffrey of Anjou, and the foundation of La Trappe could be regarded as an attempt by the count to buttress his power on the fringes of his domain.[28]

Many of the twelfth-century gifts to the abbey served to strengthen links between Perche and Normandy. The honour of Moulins extended northwards into the heart of Normandy, and, perhaps prompted by the counts of Perche when they held Moulins from 1137 to 1158 and again from *c.* 1197 to 1217, many of the local landowners around Moulins made gifts to La Trappe, strengthening the counts' grip upon Moulins by binding the honour more tightly to the counts' abbey and to Perche.[29] A

[25] ADE, H 1437, pp. 1–3; Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 481–2; Thompson 1996a, 189. Bienvenu (1985, 10–12) treats La Chaise-Dieu and Le Désert as one, and asserts that the priory of La Chaise-Dieu was at La Vieille Chaise-Dieu (Orne, cant. l'Aigle, cne. St-Martin-de-l'Ecublei) until Richer III (1176–*c.*1183) moved it to the place now called Chaise-Dieu-du-Theil (Eure, cant. Rugles). H 1437, pp. 5–7 (Gilbert de l'Aigle, 1219), mentions 'herberguagium de noua Casadei et veteri'.

[26] E.g. ADE, H 1437, pp. 49, 57 (Quittebeuf and Evreux); p. 11 (Landes and St-Vandrille, ar. Argentan, cant. Le Merlerault, cne. Planches); pp. 41–3, and *Pouillés de Rouen*, 224 (Ferrières-la-Verrerie, cant. Moulins). For the gifts of the countess of Leicester in Warwickshire, later exchanged for land in the honour of Breteuil, see Chibnall 1986, 43; Crouch 1986, 203–4.

[27] *Ctl. Trappe*, 578–9; Orderic, vi, 304. According to *GC*, xi, col. 747, the foundation act was dated 1140, but the community had first dwelt at Conturbis (Orne, ar. Mortagne, cant. Tourouvre, cne. Randonnai), by the Avre on the fringes of Perche and the lordship of l'Aigle. In 1136 Richer de l'Aigle confirmed a gift by the Avre to the Savignac abbey of Aunay, from where the original monks of La Trappe came: ADOR, H 725 (*Ctl. Trappe*, 112–13). For Rotrou's actions, see Thompson 2002, 80–1. Thompson (1996a, 198) argues that he captured the initiative there from Richer de l'Aigle.

[28] Orderic, vi, 484.

[29] For the extent of the *terra de Moulins*, see *RHF*, xxiii, 617–18. The early gifts from this honour are undated, but some appear in the bull of Alexander III in 1173 (*Ctl. Trappe*, 584). For a later

striking feature of these gifts is that the donors in the castelry of Moulins mostly held land in Perche as well, an indication of the family ties which spanned the border.[30] In so far as it acted as a point of contact between Normandy and the county of Perche, the abbey of La Trappe must have helped the count of Perche to consolidate his influence along the frontier and to extend it into adjacent districts of Normandy: for instance, in 1191 it was to Countess Matilda of Perche, not the ducal constable of Moulins, that Gerard des Aspres turned when seeking confirmation for his gifts on the fringes of Normandy, during the absence of her husband on crusade.[31] However, not all gifts to La Trappe served the interests of the counts of Perche. After he restored the honour of Moulins to the ducal domain in 1158, Henry II gave his *métairie* of Mahéru near Moulins; and the abbey came to acquire property in the very heart of the duchy.[32]

In addition to founding La Trappe, the counts of Perche also showed a particular interest in the religious establishments of Normandy at times when they were seeking to increase their power along the Norman frontier. Their aim to hold the ducal castles of Moulins and Bonsmoulins was reflected in their gifts to Norman houses. William, lord of Moulins, had granted the churches of Moulins to the abbey of Saint-Evroul, a gift subsequently confirmed by Henry I after he expelled the seigneurial lineage of Moulins;[33] when the counts of Perche held Moulins they confirmed and augmented these endowments,[34] and also entered profitable exchanges of property with the abbey in order to acquire its strategically placed estate of Marchainville.[35] It seems no coincidence that one

gift by Count Thomas (*c.*1215) from the forest of Nuisement near Moulins, see ADEL, H 375, a dispute between St-Père and La Trappe (cf. *Ctl. Trappe*, 235).

[30] *Ctl. Trappe*, 223–6 (families of Aspres, Ferrière, Blavou, Tremblay), 231–2 (Manou), 114–15, 248–9 (Montcolin). See above, pp. 274–5.

[31] ADOR, H 1846: four acts (*c.*1191), two of which also appear in the cartulary (*Ctl. Trappe*, 457–8); cf. Thompson 1996a, 198.

[32] *Ctl. Trappe*, 376 (*Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CCCLXXXVII, and intro. vol., 303–6), 154–63 (near Caen, Pont-l'Evêque and Argentan), 178–82, 189–201 (mostly in the honour of Breteuil), 445–6 (Pont-Audemer); cf. *MRSN*, i, 105, 245 (alms to Trappe paid from the *métairie* of Mahéru).

[33] Henry I (spurious in this form): BN, ms. lat. 11055, fols. 19v–20r (*CDF*, no. 629; *RRAN*, ii, no. 1594).

[34] ADOR, H 721: Froger, bishop of Sées, confirms Rotrou III's grant of the presentation of St-Nicolas de Moulins to St-Evroul (1159 × 84, copy of vidimus of Bishop Silvester, 1203 × 20); acts of Count Geoffrey III (1191–1202) and Bishop Lisiard (1188–1201), granting the church of Moulins and freedom from exactions in the *bailliage* of Moulins. H 722: Count Thomas confirms Geoffrey's gifts (1216). Geoffrey's death was noted at the abbey and his anniversary celebrated there (*RHF*, xxiii, 486 (necrology of St-Evroul, *c.*1240); 'Annales de St-Evroul', 164). In general, see Thompson 2002, 80, 120, 130–1, 144, 152.

[35] Romanet 1890–1902, ii, 205–7, no. 143; ADOR, H 702 (vidimus of Count Thomas, 1216); Thompson 2002, 121–2. Geoffrey also acquired Bresolettes near La Trappe with part of the Forest of Trappe from the abbey of Saint-Lomer de Blois: *Ctl. Trappe*, 450–2. St-Evroul already had

of the two confirmations of the counts of Perche for the chapter of Sées Cathedral dates from 1194, when Count Geoffrey was in alliance with Philip Augustus and his men were challenging the cathedral chapter for its Percheron possessions in his court.[36] The counts' interest in Norman houses is dwarfed by the attention which they paid to their own foundations in Perche, to older priories in the county of Perche such as Vieux-Bellême and Sainte-Gauburge, and to the religious houses of the Chartrain and Maine; but it is nevertheless significant that they founded La Trappe, endowed Saint-Evroul, and possibly pacified the cathedral chapter of Sées, at times when they wished to bolster their position in the Norman frontier regions, where they had long cast covetous eyes.

Two other foundations in the Norman marches seem to have served a rather different function in providing contact between Normandy and its neighbours. Few deeds survive for the Savignac abbey of Breuil-Benoît, founded in about 1137 on the 'Norman' side of the Eure between Ivry and Dreux; but we do know that its founder, Fulk de Marcilly, held lands on both sides of the boundary river, that its first monks came from the abbey of Vaux-de-Cernay in the Forest of Yvelines, and that benefactors included Count Robert I of Dreux, who built the castle of La Robertière opposite the abbey,[37] Waleran d'Ivry,[38] and the count of Blois.[39] The chief endowments, however, came from the Marcilly family itself.[40]

We are much better informed about the nearby abbey of Notre-Dame de l'Estrée, established in 1144 at the point where the Roman road from Evreux to Dreux crossed the River Avre.[41] Lying between Nonancourt and Dreux, it faced *Francia* to both the south and east. Although it lay

property at Marchainville by *c.*1075 (Orderic, iii, 152–4); Stephen de Sancerre, lord of Marchainville, stated in 1237 that the counts of Perche had held it from St-Evroul (ADOR, H 708).

[36] BES, *Livre Rouge du chapitre de Sées*, fol. 75r: confirmation of William de Montgoubert's quitclaim of tithes at St-Julien-sur-Sarthe (ar. Mortagne, cant. Pervenchères), which he had claimed in the count's presence. Count Geoffrey's other act (fol. 75v), concerning William Quarrel's gifts at Barville near St-Julien, is undated.

[37] *GC*, xi, col. 663; *Neustria Pia*, 787 (two acts, 1158 and undated). For La Robertière, traditionally founded in 1162, see Châtelain 1983, 281–5.

[38] AN, Q[1] 194[1], cote 17*bis*, pièce 4, fol. 2r: grant in the Forest of Ivry (*c.*1162 × 77), confirmed by his son Robert, lord of Ivry (1200 × *c.*1234). By 1190, the abbey held land at Grossœuvre, a fief of the St-André family, a cadet branch of the lords of Ivry (ADE, H 793, fol. 80r, no. 85).

[39] Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 384: acts dated 1201, when Breuil-Benoît was under French rule.

[40] For Marcilly acts for Breuil-Benoît, see *GC*, xi, col. 663, and instr., cols. 142–3, 148; Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 384–5; AN, Q[1] 194[1], cote 17*bis*, pièce 4, fol. 1r–v. For the Marcillys, see *RHF*, xxiii, 625; Morice, *Preuves*, i, col. 1103 (fief in the Montfort lordship of Epernon; they were also benefactors of Estrée (ADE, H 321), Coulombs (*Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 337; ADEL, H 1261, p. 273), St-Père de Chartres (*Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 580–1), and the lepers of Evreux (ADE, H-dépôt Evreux, G 7, p. 11, no. 23).

[41] L'Estrée, cant. Nonancourt, cne. Muzy. IGN 1:25000, sheet 20/15–est (Dreux), shows the Chemin des Romains dividing the communes of Muzy and Mesnil-sur-l'Estrée; cf. Chédeville 1973, 440.

in the diocese of Evreux, Estrée attracted much interest and concern from the bishops of Chartres from the outset. Furthermore, its founders were drawn from both dioceses, as the foundation acts make clear: the foremost, the knight Amaury, his lord Rahier du Donjon, and Ralph d'Ilou all held lands on both sides of the river. The only magnate involved was Hugh II de Châteauneuf, but although he was the most powerful man on the south side of Avre, he merely granted *usage* in his Forest of Croth (Dreux).[42] The ceremony of foundation was recorded by an act of Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres, whose authority in the diocese of Evreux came from his legatine status, but who probably attended because Rahier du Donjon was his brother-in-law and Rahier's son, the bishop's nephew Goslin, was provost of Chartres Cathedral; Bishop Rotrou of Evreux was represented by a rural dean (*archipresbyter*).[43] The attending clergy also included the abbot of Breuil-Benoît, a few miles downstream, two French prelates – the abbot of Pontigny, whose Cistercian abbey supplied the monks for the new house, and his diocesan superior the bishop of Auxerre – and several named higher clergy from the diocese of Chartres. The terms of the foundation show an aristocratic group from the lower Avre uniting, irrespective of any political frontier, for a common venture, an act which brought together, in the words of Bishop Geoffrey, 'many monks, priests and clerks from both our own diocese and the diocese of Evreux', as well as 'many knights, and a great multitude, both from Dreux and neighbouring places'.[44]

Early gifts, coming both from the aristocracy of the neighbouring districts and from further afield, show that the abbey was not favoured predominantly either by 'Normans' or 'French', but that gifts came from both north and south of the boundary River Avre. Benefactors with lands in both France and Normandy included the counts of Meulan, who conferred numerous gifts at Meulan and Pont-Audemer as well as freedom from exactions in their lands,[45] and Ralph IV de Tosny, who granted the pannage of all his forests for the abbey's pigs in an act addressed to all his men, 'both in "France" and Normandy'.[46] More distant gifts on

[42] For Amaury (du Donjon) and Rahier du Donjon (de Muzy), and for Ralph d'Ilou see above, pp. 268–72. Ralph d'Ilou gave land at Fayel (cne. Muzy) and Merville (cne. Nonancourt), along with Nivard de Nonancourt.

[43] ADE, H 1742 (fragment of original), and H 319 (cartulary), fols. 4r–5v, no. 3 (act of Geoffrey bishop of Chartres); fols 5v–6v, no. 4 (confirmation of bishop of Evreux). Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 429–31) gives incomplete versions of both acts. For Geoffrey de Lèves, bishop of Chartres (1115–49), see above, p. 270.

[44] ADE, H 319, fol. 5v, no. 3: 'Preterea multi monachi, presbiteri, et clerici, tam de nostro quam de Ebroicensi episcopatu affuerunt, et multi milites, [et] tam de Drocis quam de vicinis locis plurima populi multitudo.' For the bishop of Evreux's version, see Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 430.

[45] ADE, H 319, fols. 12v, nos. 19–20; 58r–59r, nos. 130–2; 61r–62r, 137 (Meulan).

[46] ADE, H 319, fol. 11r, no. 14.

the French side of the frontier included land at Challet, granted before 1147 by Hervey, lord of Gallardon near Chartres.[47] Promises of protection came both from Henry II, in about 1160,[48] and from Louis VII's brother, the count of Dreux, who could hardly ignore a Cistercian abbey founded one league from the town which he acquired in 1152.[49] He and his successor, Robert II, also endowed the abbey with annuities at Dreux.[50] However, despite the wide geographical range of the patronage which Estrée enjoyed, the vast majority of gifts were made by local knights, and the papal confirmations for Estrée mostly concern lands within a few miles of the abbey, acquired indiscriminately in both dioceses and in both Normandy and *Francia*.[51] These confirmations paint a picture of a very local society, acting together across nominal boundaries to endow this major foundation, without being hindered by political frontiers. Benefactions for Estrée also reveal that the communities on either side of the Avre were also unified by rural commerce. At Illiers-l'Evêque or Muzy annual payments of grain to the abbey were calculated according to the measures of those castles, but across a much wider area dues were assessed according to the measures of Dreux, Brezolles or Chartres, even for dues from Normandy: the frontier districts were economically oriented towards the Chartrain and its great cathedral city.[52] At Simon d'Anet's Norman castle of Illiers-l'Evêque, the measure of Chartres was used alongside that of Illiers to survey land in carucates.[53]

What can be learned about the Norman frontier barons from the foundation of these frontier abbeys? The political divide itself did not seriously hinder them from making gifts from the Chartrain to Estrée, from Dreux to Breuil-Benoît, or from Normandy to La Trappe. The interests of the abbeys and their benefactors transcended the frontier: La Trappe, because it assisted Count Rotrou in constructing his power and contacts into Normandy, and binding his tenuously held acquisitions there to his abbey; Estrée and Breuil-Benoît, because they brought together the clergy and laity of a Norman diocese and a French diocese in a district prone to the disruption of war. These Savignac and Cistercian houses received most of their property from the inhabitants of the immediate frontier, within

[47] Challet, cant. Chartres-nord. However, this was commuted to an annual payment of wheat by his son Hugh (ADEL, G 1174; ADE, H 319, fols. 18v–19v, nos. 33–4).

[48] *Actes de Henri II*, i, nos. CIV, CLXI. He also exempted the abbey from customs (no. CLXXXII). All three acts are to be dated 1156 × 61.

[49] A. W. Lewis 1985, no. XIV.

[50] ADE, H 319, fols. 62v–63v, nos. 140–2; A. W. Lewis 1985, no. XIII. In addition, nos. IX–X confirm gifts of Peter du Donjon; cf. Power 1995, 198–9.

[51] ADE, H 319, fols. 1r–4r, nos. 1–2; for the bull of Alexander III (1164), see *GC*, xi, instr., col. 136.

[52] ADE, H 319, fols. 9r–v (Muzy), 10r–v (Illiers), 16r (Chartres, Brezolles), 19r, 20r (Brezolles), 8v–9r, 57r–v (Dreux). For the economic power of Chartres, see Chédeville 1973, esp. 431–80.

[53] ADE, H 319, fols. 14v–15r, no. 25 (act of Bishop Rotrou of Evreux).

and outside Normandy; the predominant characteristic of most gifts was their local nature. Their localism seems more significant than any disdain or hostility between Normans and French which might inhibit gifts to a frontier abbey.

NORMAN PATRONAGE OF CHARTRAIN HOUSES

For the barons of twelfth-century France there were other ways of seeking salvation apart from founding an abbey or priory, notably the endowment of existing houses, especially their ancestors' foundations. The striking feature of these gifts, whether lands, annuities, churches or tithes, is their local nature: by the late twelfth century, there were sufficient religious houses for a baron not to need to look beyond his own locality to make a gift and to find prayers for the souls of his kin. Gifts beyond their immediate neighbourhood are therefore significant, and gifts which passed to a church outside the duchy suggest that the frontier was less important than the prestige of the beneficiary and its importance for Norman society.

A notable aspect of Norman patronage in this period was the number of gifts to religious houses in the diocese of Chartres, although this region lay virtually entirely outside Normandy,[54] and its secular rulers included frequent enemies of the dukes of Normandy such as the counts of Dreux and the lords of Châteauneuf. Of course, most gifts from Norman families were directed at Norman houses, but Norman gifts for religious institutions in the diocese of Chartres were by no means negligible. In 1370 the presentation of sixteen out of seventy churches in the deanery of Verneuil – a far from insignificant proportion – belonged to Chartrain houses, namely the chapter of Chartres Cathedral, the Benedictine abbeys of Saint-Père de Chartres, Saint-Lomer de Blois and Coulombs, and the reformed houses of Saint-Vincent-aux-Bois and Tiron. Most of them had been conferred during the ducal period.[55] The influence of Chartrain religious institutions upon south-eastern Normandy was far greater than it was within the north-eastern part of the diocese of Chartres itself, where in the thirteenth century they held far fewer churches than Norman and Parisian houses.[56] Yet why should any gifts have been made from Normandy to the Chartrain houses at all? After all, gifts flowed

[54] For parishes in the diocese of Chartres consistently under Norman rule, see above, pp. 117–18.

[55] *Pouillés de Rouen*, 188–90. Two others belonged to the Benedictine abbey of Bourgueil in Touraine, having been granted by Emma, countess of Poitou and half-sister of Richard the Fearless of Normandy, in the tenth century; see *RADN*, nos. 14–14*bis*; Musset 1957–8, 15–18, 23–5, 48–9; cf. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1359 (Coudres).

[56] Chédeville 1973, 37: out of 171 parishes in the Pinserais, the abbeys of Chartres presented to fifteen, the cathedral chapter of Chartres to none, Parisian institutions to twenty-six and Norman abbeys to nineteen.

mainly in one direction: amongst Norman houses, only the abbey of Bec made any appreciable gains on the plain of Chartres (as opposed to the northernmost parts of the diocese abutting the Seine valley), and it is striking that the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Taurin d'Evreux acquired nothing south of the Avre, whereas its equivalent at Chartres, the abbey of Saint-Père, became richly endowed in Normandy.[57]

Many of the grants made across the frontier came from families who held lands both in Normandy and in *Francia*. The Franco-Norman lords of Muzy, Ivry and Saint-André all endowed the abbey of Coulombs near Nogent-le-Roi.[58] Simon IV de Montfort's gifts from the revenues of Houdan in his French lands to Evreux Cathedral was the final act of direct contact between Evreux and Montfort when the French and Norman lands were divided between Simon and his elder brother Amaury in 1181.[59] In the district of Nonancourt local landowners made numerous gifts from the early eleventh century onwards to Saint-Père de Chartres, which established a priory at Saint-Georges at the junction of the rivers Eure and Avre by 1150.[60] In the course of the twelfth century the Tillières family endowed the lazarhouse of Grand-Beaulieu de Chartres and confirmed alms which their tenants had granted to the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres;[61] their interest in the diocese of Chartres can be explained in part by their fiefs in the lordship of Brezolles, which brought them into contact with the 'French' barons to the south of Normandy.[62] Ties of kinship may explain how the Talvas' Benedictine foundation of Saint-Martin de Sées had been granted lands near Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais before 1120,[63] and why the Augustinian priory of Corneville

[57] For the properties of Bec and St-Taurin, see Lemarignier, Lamon and Gazeau 1982. Other Norman houses endowed on the Chartrain plain included Jumièges at Vieux-Verneuil, and St-Martin de Sées at Digny (below, n. 63).

[58] ADEL, H 1261, pp. 7, 284–6, 291–2 (cf. *Ctl. Pontoise*, 343–5). Conversely the abbey of Ivry, which was nominally subject to Coulombs by 1087 (see H 1261, p. 355, notice of lost act of William the Conqueror), received property in *Francia* from the family of Richebourg (ADE, H 407, H 415, H 432).

[59] ADE, G 122, fol. 18v, no. 71.

[60] For gifts to St-Père near Nonancourt from both sides of the Eure and Avre, including to the priory of St-Georges, see *Ctl. St-Père*, i, 92–3 (*RADN*, nos. 29, 50); ii, 569–82; for gifts at Ezy near Ivry to St-Père and the chapel of Anet, see *ibid*., ii, 569 (exchange), 605–6; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 654.

[61] *Ctl. Grand.-Beaulieu*, nos. 54, 111, 131 (by this last act, Gilbert de Tillières granted 10 *s. angevins* per annum from his pannage of Tillières to the lazarhouse, 1188); *Ctl. St.-Père*, ii, 518–19, 538, 559–60.

[62] Above, pp. 246–8.

[63] BN, ms. fr. 18953, pp. 219–20 (act of the bishop of Chartres concerning Digny and Profondéval, 1120); *Pouillés de Sens*, 220. The acquisition was probably a consequence of the marriage of Roger II de Montgomery's daughter to Hugh I de Châteauneuf (Orderic, ii, 358). BES, *Livre Blanc de St-Martin de Sées*, fol. 136v, records a challenge to the abbey's property in this district in 1208.

near Pont-Audemer was placed under the patronage of Saint-Vincent-aux-Bois near Châteauneuf in 1143, soon after its foundation.[64]

However, even Norman barons who had no lands in the Chartrain sometimes endowed the great religious houses there. Since the early eleventh century, the ducal dynasty itself had endowed the cathedral and the abbey of Saint-Père with property in Normandy,[65] and all the rulers of the Normans from Richard the Good to Richard the Lionheart were commemorated in the necrologies of one or both communities.[66] This was partly due to the prestige of the Chartrain houses, especially the cathedral of Chartres itself, renowned throughout western Christendom as a centre of pilgrimage because it possessed the Virgin's veil. After the destruction of the Romanesque cathedral in 1194, its successor sprang up within thirty years with the aid of donations from all over western Europe.[67] Many endowments, however, had their origins in alms granted long before the twelfth century. In the early ducal period, when there were comparatively few sizeable religious houses in northern France, the cathedral chapter and the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Père at Chartres had both benefited from their prestige to acquire lands in central and southern Normandy; and it was largely as a consequence of these ancient grants that Norman barons continued to confirm and extend these gifts in the Angevin period, despite the great political and social changes which had taken place in the interim. The church of Illiers (later Illiers-l'Evêque) was allegedly first granted to the bishop and chapter of Chartres in the late tenth century by Leutgarde, widow of William Longsword of Normandy and countess of Blois and Chartres;[68] the abbey of Saint-Père also held a church at Illiers by 1127,[69] and the two churches of Illiers and their tithes were partitioned between the cathedral chapter and the abbey of Saint-Père in 1157.[70] From the tenth century the monks of Saint-Père also

[64] *GC*, viii, col. 1320; xi, cols. 298–9, and instr., cols. 22–3; Gazeau 2000, 191–7. Hugh II de Châteauneuf, patron of St-Vincent, was brother-in-law to Waleran of Meulan, lord of Pont-Audemer.

[65] Douglas 1944, 62–8; *RADN*, nos. 15, 29, 32, 146 (cf. nos. 50, 117, 147, 225, for confirmations of gifts by Norman landowners); *RRAN*, ii, nos. 1229, 1931–2; *RRAN*, iii, no. 167; *Actes de Henri II*, i, nos. CXXIII, CCCXXVII; ii, no. DLXIII. See BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 2231, nos. 1–3, and *Obituaires de Sens*, ii, 58, for these lands in the late twelfth century.

[66] *Ibid.*, ii, 8, 19, 25, 46, 122, 147, 156 (Chartres Cathedral); 188, 182, 186, 193–4, 198 (St-Père). In addition, the abbey of Josaphat outside Chartres commemorated Queen Berengaria (*ibid.*, 257).

[67] Merlet 1860, 9; Chédeville 1973, 509–10, 513–15. For the enormous religious prestige of Chartres, see *ibid.*, 505–25. Arnoux (2000, 52–3) notes the strong influence of the reformers of Chartres upon Normandy, notably the bishopric of Sées.

[68] *Ctl. N.-D. Chartres*, i, no. XI; Musset 1957–8, 29 and n. 70. The name 'Illiers-l'Evêque' dates from after the castle's sale by William de Courtenay to the bishop of Evreux in 1273 (ADE, G 6, pp. 187–8, nos. 250–1).

[69] *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 262.

[70] *Ctl. N.-D. Chartres*, i, no. LXV; cf. ii, nos. CLII, CCL, for later agreements; also iii, 180.

had land at Planches near Moulins-la-Marche, and the lord of Moulins had founded a priory there by 1067.[71] Another venerable Benedictine community, Saint-Lomer de Blois, had been situated at Corbion in Perche before its removal to Blois in 924, and so it retained property which extended across the region of Perche in an arc from north-eastern Maine to the northern Chartrain and south-eastern Normandy.[72] Henry I of England had to compensate the monks of Saint-Lomer when he gave the churches of Verneuil to the bishop and chapter of Evreux in 1131, and the abbey still held the patronage of five churches in the deanery of Verneuil in the late fourteenth century.[73] By then it also had a richly endowed priory at Saint-Sulpice-sur-Risle in the lordship of l'Aigle, as the great confirmation of Richer II de l'Aigle in 1155 testifies.[74]

Not only the ancient houses of the Chartrain benefited from Norman patronage. The abbey of Tiron, founded with the sponsorship of the count of Perche,[75] received gifts from Anglo-Norman barons such as the earls of Leicester and William Martel of Bacqueville-en-Caux,[76] and the interest which this new order attracted in the Anglo-Norman realm soon won for it the favour of David I of Scotland – the earliest patronage of any reformed order in the British Isles.[77] The lazarhouse of Grand-Beaulieu-lès-Chartres, founded before 1110 and following an adapted version of the Augustinian rule, was favoured by a number of Norman benefactors, including Henry I of England, continuing throughout the years of Angevin rule in Normandy.[78] Although the lepers benefited in particular from the generosity of Waleran, count of Meulan, who also founded a lazarhouse at Pont-Audemer explicitly on the model of Grand-Beaulieu around 1135,[79] the influence of this great Franco-Norman magnate does not account for most of the Norman gifts to the lazarhouse: they formed part of a much bigger connection between the Chartrain

[71] *Ctl. St-Père*, i, 44, 145–8; Tabuteau 1992, 36–8; cf. *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CCCCXXVII (p. 557).

[72] *GC*, viii, cols. 1350–4; Thompson 2002, 21–2 (cf. 93, 121). In Perche St-Lomer had property at Frétay and Bresolettes (*Ctl. Trappe*, 450–3), Maison-Maugis (ADOR, H 702) and Villeray, where in 1247 the castle was said to be held from the monks (*QN*, no. 116). For St-Lomer's priory at Mamers in Maine, see below, pp. 333, 352; for its property near Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais, see ADEL, H 3914 (no. 2), H 3936 (Blévy), H 3930, no. 1 (St-Ange).

[73] *RRAN*, ii, no. 1700 (ed. p. 373, no. CCLII); *Pouillés de Rouen*, 189–91.

[74] ADLC, 11 H 27.

[75] Beck 1998, esp. 262–9; Thompson 2002, 56–60.

[76] *Ctl. Tiron*, i, nos. CXXXVII, CXC; ii, no. CCCXXXII.

[77] *Ctl. Tiron*, i, no. LX; Barrow 1973, 174–7, 199–210; Beck 1998, 269–70, 288–90.

[78] *RRAN*, ii, no. 1917 (*Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 1): gift of 10 *li. roumois* (1135, renewal of act of 1121 × 31). It was successively confirmed by Stephen, Matilda and Duke Henry: *RRAN*, iii, nos. 69–72; *Actes de Henri II*, i, nos. XI*, XXXV*, XLV* (*Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, nos. 11, 28). For the date of the foundation of Grand-Beaulieu, see Mesmin 1982, 9 n.32.

[79] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, nos. 14, 29; Mesmin 1982, 3–11; Crouch 1986, 199; Gazeau 2000, 205–6. For the date of the foundation at Pont-Audemer, see Mesmin 1982, 5–7; for the initial strength and subsequent waning of comital influence over this lazarhouse, see Mesmin 1987, 235–40.

religious houses and the Norman aristocracy. The gifts which Normans with no lands in the diocese of Chartres made to the houses there during the twelfth century are a reminder that Normandy formed part of a wider French context, even for those lords with no lands outside Normandy and England. As long as the chapter of Chartres Cathedral and abbeys such as Saint-Père and Saint-Lomer continued to hold lands and rents in the dioceses of Rouen, Evreux, Lisieux, Sées or Coutances, the lords of these regions were aware of a wider northern French context than the baronial community of the Norman duchy, just as they jousted with the lords of northern France and fought side by side in Palestine.[80]

Most significant of the Norman gatherings in Chartres was a ceremony in 1193, at the lazarhouse of Grand-Beaulieu. War raged for nearly the whole year between the French king and the duke of Normandy, and Count Louis of Blois and Chartres was involved in the French assault against the lands of Richard I, who was then languishing in captivity in Germany. Yet during 1193 a group of prominent Norman barons gathered in Chartres to endow Grand-Beaulieu: they included Guérin de Glapion, Robert de Courcy, and Walkelin and Henry de Ferrières.[81] At the time Guérin de Glapion was constable of Moulins and Bonsmoulins, which he defended against the attack by the count of Perche that year, yet this ducal official, though concerned with the defence of Normandy, found time and opportunity to go to Chartres for the sake of its lepers.[82] The lords of Ferrières and Courcy represent a different level of society, for although by no means the greatest men in the duchy they were significant barons there, with the service of $42\frac{3}{4}$ and 50 knights respectively, and also held lands in England; they were also of ancient and respected lineage. Walkelin had participated in the Third Crusade, and his presence in Chartres could have been during his return journey from the Holy Land; the following year he was charged with carrying treasure to Richard I at Speyer on the eve of the king's release from his German captivity. Robert de Courcy was head of the 'Norman' branch of his family.[83] Neither baron is known

[80] Cf. *HGM*, lines 1207–12, narrating how Normans, English and French joined forces against Angevins, Bretons and Poitevins, in a tournament near Le Mans (*c.*1167); for the Third Crusade, see below, pp. 404–6.

[81] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, nos. 109 ('Geoffrey' (*sic*), Henry and Hugh de Ferrières, from the *prévôté* of Chambrais), 156 (Guérin de Glapion, from land at Bonsmoulins), 157 (Robert de Courcy, from the *prévôté* of Courcy). The Ferrières act is undated, but concurs in many details with the other two (dated) acts, which Walkelin and Henry witnessed. Another Norman grant (no. 108), by John Faguet from his mill of Courson, south of Lisieux, was also witnessed by Walkelin de Ferrières and his sons, probably on the same occasion, for John Faguet's brother, Philip, witnessed all four acts.

[82] See pp. 78, 362.

[83] Powicke 1961, 337, 338; Landon 1935, 81–2; for the antiquity of their lineages, cf. *GND*, ii, 92–4; Orderic, ii, 82; iii, 88. For the two branches of the Courcys, see Power 2002, 75–6: both

to have joined the Norman rebellion in 1193, nor did either of them hold lands in *Francia*, whether the Chartrain or elsewhere, yet both apparently went to Chartres to endow its lazarhouse during a time of war between Normandy and France.

So it is clear that the Chartrain was not regarded as 'enemy territory', and the gifts to Grand-Beaulieu are an indication of the familiarity of Chartres to members of the Norman baronage, who, even in the late twelfth century, were making new gifts to the houses there as well as reconfirming ancient alms. The duke's attitude, however, was very different. Richard I confiscated the Norman lands of Chartres Cathedral during that same war, and King John followed suit in 1202.[84]

PATRONAGE ALONG THE FRONTIERS OF NORMANDY AND MAINE

Further west, where the duchy bordered the county of Maine, aristocratic patronage was also very localised; endowments which transcended political divisions can be largely attributed to the family and tenurial links between Normandy, Maine and Perche. The cathedrals and abbeys of the dioceses of Sées and Le Mans did not share such visible ancient bonds as existed between Normandy and Chartres; but, unlike on the borders of Normandy and the Chartrain, political uncertainty meant that the Norman frontier with Maine remained extremely unstable until the Angevin conquest of Normandy (1135–44). The debated political control of this region had allowed such families as Montgomery-Bellême, Mortagne, Mayenne and Giroie to build up lordships straddling the borders of Maine, Normandy and Perche; and the consequent tenurial links fostered patronage across the borders of Normandy. In addition, the political frontier and ecclesiastical boundaries did not match one another in the twelfth century. The successes of William the Conqueror had left one part of the diocese of Le Mans, the Passais, permanently under ducal control, but the dukes also had never incorporated the whole of the diocese of Sées in their dominions; and nearly a quarter of the diocese of Sées lay in Perche, including Mortagne and Bellême, with far-reaching implications for patronal rights of churches.[85]

had possessions in Normandy, but Robert's English lands were much less significant than those of his 'English' cousins, whereas he held the ancestral home of Courcy itself.

[84] *MRSN*, i, 238; *RN*, 54 (Roncheville and Englesqueville in the Pays d'Auge). The canons of Chartres administered their property in Normandy as a single *precaria* (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 463; cf. *Obituaires de Sens*, ii, 38, 58, 125, 122, 153).

[85] See chapter 3.

As with the diocese of Chartres, the prestige of the houses of Maine and the Loire valley accounts for many of the alms which they received in Normandy and neighbouring regions. The expansion of the power of the Norman ruling house into the districts of Mortain and Avranches had been matched by the grant of the churches of Saint-Hilaire-du-Harcouët and Saint-James de Beuvron to the great house of Fleury (Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire), which retained priories at these sites throughout the ducal period and beyond.[86] Along with a number of lords in southern Normandy, the counts of Perche and Percheron knights endowed the cathedral of Le Mans and the abbeys of Saint-Vincent du Mans, La Couture and Perseigne, despite marginal landed interests in this diocese.[87] Further west, the family of Briouze long patronised the abbey of Saint-Florent-lès-Saumur, which in the eleventh century established priories at Briouze as well as at Céaux in the Avranchin and in the neighbouring parts of Brittany at Dol and Dinan, also acquiring land and churches in the Cotentin.[88] The extent of the houses, property and influence of the abbey of Marmoutier across northern France is particularly striking. By the late twelfth century this Tourangeau abbey had priories in Normandy at Sacey in the Avranchin, Mortain, Héauville and Bohon in the Cotentin, Perrières near Courcy, Gisors and Vesly in the Norman Vexin and Croth near Ivry. In neighbouring regions it boasted houses at, amongst other places, Combour, Fougères, Léhon and Bécherel in north-east Brittany; Mayenne, Fontaine-Géhard and Vivoin in northern Maine; Vieux-Bellême in the Bellêmois and Chuisnes near Courville in the northern Chartrain; Mantes in the Méresais; and Epernon, Bréthencourt, Bazainville and Villepreux in the land of the lords of Montfort-l'Amaury.[89] Consequently, although the wealth and influence of Marmoutier in Normandy was probably insignificant compared to its immense sway in the Loire lands, the abbey nevertheless lay at the heart of a significant network of monasteries in Normandy and adjacent lands. In contrast, only a few of the greater Norman houses had acquired properties in Maine and further south. The abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel had built up a sizeable estate in north-western Maine before 1100 from its priory at Abbayette near Landivy, the origins of which lay in grants made to the Mont (then barely 'Norman'

[86] *Regesta*, ed. Bates, nos. 251–2 (*Ch. St-Benoît*, i, nos. LXXVIII and XCII; also nos. CLXXV, CCL); *Vie de Gauzlin*, 48; *Pouillés de Rouen*, 162; Potts 1992, 29–31.

[87] Perche: e.g. *Ctl. du Mans*, nos. XXV, XXVIII; *LCSV*, 48–50 and no. 301; *Ctl. Couture*, nos. CLXXIX–CLXXXI; *Ctl. Perseigne*, no. CCCLXV; *Ctl. St-Vincent*, no. 196; Thompson 2002, 69–70, 136. Southern Normandy: e.g. *LCSV*, nos. 35, 87, 250; ADOR, H 509, H 544; *Ctl. Perseigne*, no. LVIII.

[88] 'Ch. St-Florent', 663–99; ADML, H 3332 (St-Florent de Dol), H 3357, H 3358 (Pont-de-Dinan).

[89] Gantier 1963–5, liii, 100–5, 161–3; lv, 72–8.

at all) at the end of the tenth century.[90] The monks had also worked to acquire other properties in and around Le Mans, including the priory of Saint-Victeur in 1040.[91] In the following century the abbey of Savigny, at the interstices of Maine, Brittany and Normandy, enjoyed the patronage of the aristocracy from a broad swathe of eastern Brittany and western Maine.

However, while the prestige of the Loire houses in Normandy was clearly important, much of the patronage between Normandy on the one hand and Maine and Anjou on the other can be attributed to the many links of kinship and tenure between these provinces. The abbey of Fontevraud had enjoyed the patronage of the families of Tosny, Evreux-Montfort and Breteuil before 1144 but the arrival of the Angevin dynasty in Normandy served to increase the abbey's endowments in the province, especially from ducal *curiales*.[92] The most significant bond between Normandy and Maine was the lordship of the Talvas counts, embracing the Alençonnais, the Saosnois, and lands near Falaise, Argentan, Lisieux and Caen. The patronage of this family reflects how their lordship served as a point of contact between Normandy and Maine. Before the mid-twelfth century the Talvas had granted property in Maine, including the church of Neufchâtel-en-Saosnois near Perseigne, to their most venerable house in southern Normandy, the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Martin de Sées;[93] and the Cistercian abbey of Perseigne, founded in about 1145 by William Talvas, count of Ponthieu, in turn received lands in Normandy from its patrons and their barons.[94] The Talvas endowments therefore served to forge connections across the frontier, although a number of disputes arose between the older Benedictine abbey and the newer Cistercian house over property in the Saosnois and Alençonnais: the 'authors of peace' in the first dispute were Count William himself and Bishop William of Le Mans.[95] Other gifts of land in Maine to houses in central Normandy

[90] *Ctl. Abbayette*, nos. 1–3; Louise 1992, i, 233–5; Keats-Rohan 1994, 3–25; Potts 1997, xv–xvi, 92–3. L'Abbayette is now La Bayette, cant. Landivy, cne. La Dorée.

[91] Potts 1997, xv–xvi, 91–5.

[92] Bienvenu 1985, 12–14: gifts at Cany in Caux (Manasser Biset and Alice de Cany) and Dieppe (Renaud de St-Valéry); also Fumechon near Radepont (Baldwin de Canteloup), for which see Power 1997, 376. In addition Hugh II de Gournay, whose connections with the court were more slender, founded the priory of Clair-Ruissel next to his fortress of Gaillefontaine.

[93] *Actes de Ponthieu*, no. XLV (confirmation of William Talvas, count of Ponthieu, apparently 1149), summarises these gifts. His grandson Count Robert III renounced claims to the church of Neufchâtel-en-Saosnois (BN, ms. lat. 13818, fol. 204v).

[94] *Ctl. Perseigne*, e.g. nos. I, VII, VIII, CXLIV, include alms in the Alençonnais; nos. XXVII, CCCLXI, *Actes de Ponthieu*, nos. LXXIX, LXXXI, and ADOR, H 509, all relate to gifts of the Cohorde family at Alençon (*c.*1160–*c.*1215).

[95] *Ctl. Perseigne*, no. LXVI: *pax* between the two abbeys over the priory of La Roche-Mabile (dioc. Le Mans), 1151, describing the count and bishop as 'authoribus et donatoribus pacis'. For disputes

may be attributed to Talvas ties of blood or tenure. The kinship of the Talvas with the lords of Mayenne most probably explains why Isabella de Meulan, lady of Mayenne, granted annuities from her *bourg* of Belgeard near Mayenne to the convent of Sainte-Marguérite-de-Gouffern at Vignats in central Normandy, in the heart of the Talvas fiefs near Falaise.[96] Another Talvas foundation in the same district, the Savignac abbey of Saint-André-en-Gouffern near Vignats, benefited from the patronage of the viscount of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe and his men, whose interest in the abbey may well have been due to the proximity of Talvas lordships in northern Maine to Beaumont.[97]

The patronage of William Talvas, his son and grandsons, and their *homines* was directed in particular to William's two abbatial foundations, the Savignac house of Saint-André-en-Gouffern in the honour of Vignats near Falaise, and Perseigne, but they continued to patronise the more venerable Montgomery-Talvas abbeys of Troarn, Almenêches and Saint-Martin de Sées, as well as the priory of La Saute-Cochère which developed from William's gifts to the canons of Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge; nor did William and his descendants confine their generosity to their dynasty's own foundations.[98] Yet the dynasty's patronage was not as random as a

over Clairefontaine (cant. Mamers, cne. Contilly), see BES, *Livre Blanc de St-Martin de Sées*, fol. 122v (1154); *Ctl. Perseigne*, no. CCCVI (1158). *Ibid.*, no. CCVIII (1188 × 91), refers to an arrangement over Contilly (1147 × 88, perhaps the pact of 1154 in the *Livre Blanc*).

96 ADC, H non classée, carton 153 (1): grant from her revenues at Bourg Nouvel de Belgeard (cant. Mayenne), *c.*1200 (cf. Day 1980, 122; Pichot 1995, 85, 246n.). Isabella's first husband, Geoffrey II de Mayenne, had been the son of William Talvas' daughter Clemence.

97 ADC, H 6609: acts of Richard, viscount of Beaumont (*c.*1175) and the family of La Porte (*c.*1175 × *c.*1205).

98 Thompson 1994, 173–4, 177–8, records acts of William Talvas II for Cerisy, Lessay, Savigny, Ste-Barbe-en-Auge, Montebourg, St-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, St-Evroul, Tiron, St-Vincent du Mans, La Chaise-Dieu-du-Theil, and the Templars and Hospitallers, to which can be added his grant of La Saute-Cochère to the canons of Ste-Barbe (ADC, 2 D 54, s.d., vidimus of *c.*1255).

For the gifts of Count John I (d. 1190–1), see *Ctl. Perseigne*, nos. III, VI; *Ctl St-Vincent*, no. 633; *LCSV*, no. 98; *Ctl. Couture*, no. CI; *Ctl. Trappe*, 348–9; ADC, H 7759, H 7834 (Troarn), H 4040 (St-Jean de Falaise), H 6511 (St-André-en-Gouffern); ADOR, H 1103, and BN, ms. lat. 11059, fol. 30r (Silly); ms. lat. 17137, fol. 121v (St-Sauveur-le-Vicomte); ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1801, fol. 3v (Beaubec); ADE, H 1437, pp. 45–6 (La Chaise-Dieu-du-Theil); ADSA, H 298 (Mamers); and the Templars (AN, S 5047^{A}, liasse 14).

John II (d. 1191) made grants to St-André-en-Gouffern and Troarn (ADC, H 6511*bis*, H 7759, H 7834). His brother and successor Robert founded the Hôtel-Dieu d'Alençon (BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1245, fol. 3r), and endowed St-André (ADC, H 6512; AN, S 3221, no. 9), Perseigne (ADOR, H 544; ADSA, H 928, H 930; *Ctl. Perseigne*, nos. VII–XI, CCCLXIII, CCCLXVII), La Saute-Cochère (BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 2380, no. 11), Almenêches (ADOR, H 3630, H 3720), Silly (ADOR, H 1103; BN, ms. lat. 11059, fol. 30r–v), St-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême (ADOR, H 2546; *Ctl. Perche*, no. 292), La Couture (*Ctl. Couture*, nos. CLXI, CLXII), St-Vincent du Mans (*LCSV*, no. 113), St-Evroul (ADOR, H 570; BN, ms. lat. 11055, fols. 29v–30r, nos. 29–30), Savigny (AN, L 967, no. 138) and La Trappe (*Ctl. Trappe*, 461), and resolved disputes with St-Martin de Sées (BES, *Livre Blanc de St-Martin de Sées*, fols. 122v–123r; BN, ms. lat. 13818, fols. 199r, 200v, 201r). The acts above include confirmations and quitclaims as well as genuine gifts.

mere list of endowments at first suggests. The special favour that the Talvas counts showed to Perseigne from the mid-twelfth century was matched by a reduction of their interests in central Normandy. After a long-running dispute with the abbey of Troarn over the nearby manor of Robehomme, Count John I kept a hold on the manor but chose to surrender his rights as patron of Troarn to Henry II in 1171. He later reduced his interests further by selling Robehomme to Troarn for 1200 *livres angevins* on the eve of his departure on the Third Crusade.[99] Between Count William's death in 1171 and the extinction of the male line in about 1219, the dynasty's only new foundation was the hospital which Count Robert established at Alençon.[100]

The most significant omission was the absence of any recorded gifts by the Talvas counts to the cathedral chapter of Sées. Neither the chapter's fifteenth-century *Livre Rouge* nor its seventeenth-century *chartrier* records any Talvas gifts after William I de Bellême (d. *c.*1028).[101] In the tenth and eleventh centuries the Talvas lords of Bellême had often controlled the see of Sées;[102] rivalry between the bishops and the lords of Bellême persisted in the time of Roger II de Montgomery,[103] while in the early 1100s his son Robert de Bellême briefly reasserted the Talvas lordship over the bishopric and expelled Bishop Serlo, who had excommunicated him some years earlier.[104] Perhaps some hostility remained, for although the bishops of Sées confirmed the donations which the counts' men made to monasteries in the diocese, the one instance we have of dealings between William Talvas and the cathedral shows him as defender of the abbey of Saint-Martin de Sées against the bishop, in a dispute resolved before Henry I.[105] In 1136 Bishop John excommunicated William Talvas, probably because the count had devastated parts of the diocese while fighting for Geoffrey of Anjou.[106] Most of the bishop's lands lay away from the city of Seés, but the cathedral chapter's holdings represented

[99] For Robehomme, see below, p. 352. Despite this change of patron, in the fourteenth century the monks inserted the Talvas genealogy into one of their cartularies (BN, ms. lat. 10086, fol. 29r).

[100] BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1245, fol. 3r (1204); *Notes sur l'Hôtel-Dieu d'Alençon*, 82–3.

[101] BES, *Livre Rouge du Chapitre de Sées*, fol. 55r (*RADN*, no. 33); BMAL, ms. 177 (the *chartrier*).

[102] Thompson 1985, 216–17; Louise 1992, i, 317–20, 345–7; Neveux 1995a, 151–5, and 1995b, 210; Ducaëns 1995.

[103] *Ctl. Perche*, nos. 3–4: notices of a dispute between Earl Roger and Bishop Robert over the oblations of St-Léonard de Bellême (1070 × 79). See Tabuteau 1988, 215–17, 386 n. 40.

[104] Orderic, iv, 296–8; vi, 46. Robert de Bellême also drove out Abbot Ralph of St-Martin de Sées.

[105] BES, *Livre Rouge du Chapitre de Sées*, fol. 62r–v: defective copy of bull of Innocent II, 1137 (*Papsturkunden, Normandie*, no. 12). The dispute concerned a *stagnum*, perhaps on the River Orne at Sées itself. The monks also ceded the church of Laleu (cant. Le Mêle-sur-Sarthe) to the bishop; Henry I had previously granted the fief of Laleu to the bishop and chapter (Haskins 1918, 299–300; *RRAN*, ii, no. 1688).

[106] Orderic, vi, 478–80.

the only possible rival to the count in his broad swathe of territory apart from ducal domains (including at Sées itself),[107] and the chapter's wealth may have perpetuated tension between the counts and the church of Sées. The rivalry left its mark upon the geography of Sées, where one *bourg* developed around the cathedral on the hill which forms the town's northern half and two others around the abbey of Saint-Martin and the comital motte, respectively in the south-eastern and south-western quarters of the town.[108] The absence of Talvas gifts for the cathedral is a reminder that factors apart from patronal rights, kinship or the prestige of particular houses could determine the gifts which the baronage made for the sake of their souls.

The close ties between the different Talvas honours in Maine and southern Normandy may be contrasted with William Talvas' possession of Ponthieu and the Bellême-Montgomery lands, an ephemeral union which ended at his death in 1171,[109] and which had no discernible influence upon the patronage of the count's men in Normandy, Maine and Ponthieu. The distinction that Count William made in his religious patronage between his mother's inheritance of Ponthieu and his father's lands of Montgomery, Alençon and the Saosnois reflects his general policy. Count William began detaching Ponthieu from the Norman-Manceau lands as portions for his eldest and second sons by the 1130s, when his sons were still under age: the bond between the two inheritances was evidently to be personal to William Talvas himself, whether by his choice or because of political pressures from the kings of France and England.[110] When Count William and his younger son John fell out with the monks of Troarn in 1147–8, the archbishop of Rouen sought to have the count's lands anathematised by the bishops of 'Normandy and Maine', but we hear nothing of the bishop of Amiens.[111] Nor did William endow Ponthevin houses from his Norman and Manceau lands, or the reverse. The integration of the Norman and Manceau lands contrasts with the isolation of Ponthieu and indicates the limitations for a magnate of the standing of William Talvas: while his lordships merged into one in the frontier districts of the two contiguous provinces, linked by the main routes of southern Normandy and northern Maine, they remained distinct from the distant county of Ponthieu.

[107] *Registres*, 283 (*RHF*, xxiii, 706); Bidou 1987, 24–6.

[108] Louise 1992, ii, 71–3, 288; Neveux 1995a, 151–9. Henry I confirmed half the (episcopal) *bourg* to the bishop: Haskins 1918, 300–2; *RRAN*, ii, no. 1698. For the abbey's *bourg*, see *Actes de Ponthieu*, no. XLV, at p. 69.

[109] Torigni, ii, 28.

[110] See below, p. 350.

[111] BN, ms. lat. 10086, fol. 113r; for the dispute (1147–9), see *Ctl. du Temple*, nos. CCCCLXXVII, CCCCLXXVIII, DL–DLII, and 'Bullaire', nos. XV–XVII, XX; Sauvage 1911, 27–8 and no. XI.

THE EFFECT OF WAR ON ENDOWMENTS

Religious endowments reveal cohesive local societies dwelling along the Norman frontier; but these same communities could also be divided by war. In 1080 the Council of Lillebonne had accepted that 'churchyards in the marches' were particularly prone to be used as wartime refuges,[112] and the terms of endowments for religious houses close to the political frontier often attest to the threat that war posed to border society. As early as the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries a benefactor of Mont-Saint-Michel from north-eastern Brittany abandoned property which he had mortgaged to the monks, in return for the promise of refuge in the island abbey in wartime.[113] Provisos of this sort were common throughout France, where aristocratic society was organised for a life of warfare: typical are the customs granted by Louis VI and Amaury de Montfort to the burgesses of Montchauvet, which assumed that war might break out between these two powers in the heart of *Francia*.[114] But although in the eleventh century such terms had been found in charters of endowment in central Normandy, for example in an act for Saint-Martin de Sées concerning Trun in the Hiémois,[115] in the twelfth century they disappeared there more or less altogether, whereas they became quite common along the duchy's frontiers.

In the second half of the twelfth century special provisions for alms in wartime were particularly common in the borderlands around the Eure and Avre, where the Angevin and Capetian monarchs also frequently issued protections for the houses of south-eastern Normandy and adjacent parts of *Francia*. In 1153–4, Louis VII compensated the priory of Saint-Gilles at Mantes because the frequent passage of his army to attack Normandy during the previous few years had caused great harm to their property, and promised a royal safeconduct for merchants coming to the priory's fair.[116] In about 1182, Pope Lucius III allowed the church of Vieux-Verneuil to be moved to a safer place because it had repeatedly been assaulted in wartime.[117] In 1196, after the next devastating war, the

[112] Orderic, iii, 28; *Layettes*, i, no. 22 (Henry II's confirmation), c. XII ('in cimiteriis vero que in marchis sunt si guerra fuerit'). For the council, see Haskins 1918, 30–7; for Henry II's reissue, see Chaplais 1973, 627–9.

[113] Potts 1997, 90: act of Grallon (*Gradelocus*) concerning Poilley (ar. Fougères, cant. Louvigné-du-Désert). Cf. Tabuteau 1988, 51. For a Breton donation on similar terms in the mid-eleventh century, see Potts 1997, 103.

[114] *Actes de Louis VI*, ii, no. 257 (Rhein 1910, 301–2, 'Pièces', no. V) (1118 × 27).

[115] Tabuteau 1988, 74–5.

[116] Luchaire 1885, no. 301 (p. 393): 'Quoniam nostri exercitus per Meduntam frequens transitus in Normanniam dampnosus multum fuerat monachis Sancti Egidii.'

[117] *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, no. CXXX: 'Ex parte siquidem vestra nostris auribus est suggestum quod ecclesiam vestram de Veteri Vernolio, propter importunitatem ejusdem loci qui, supervenientibus guerris, sepius infestatur, in tutiorem vultis locum transferre.'

monks of Coulombs permitted Rahier de Muzy to use the stones of their priory at Muzy to rebuild his ruined castle,[118] and the wars of the 1190s also disrupted the wine revenues of Jumièges near Vernon (which was under Capetian rule from 1193).[119] Consequently, a number of landowners with lands spanning the border rivers had to ensure the protection of alms and revenues. In about 1170, Gilbert de Tillières confirmed a grant of land at Le Vaudry on the 'French' side of the Avre to the lepers of Chartres, and tried to ensure that the priory's overseer there would be trustworthy and that the site would remain relatively unfortified.[120] It is significant that Hugh de Châteauneuf, in his confirmation of the same donor's gifts at Le Vaudry, laid down no such provisions; any fortifying there would no doubt have been to his advantage.[121] Yet the lands of the lords of Châteauneuf and Brezolles were not immune against damage. In 1189 Hugh's son Gervase II made arrangements to compensate the priory of Brezolles for lost revenues 'if the kings' war or communal tumult happen to devastate the land', so commonplace had these threats become.[122] It was not only the powerful lords who had to make these guarantees. In the mid-twelfth century a knight with lands on both sides of the Avre stipulated that the lepers of Grand-Beaulieu-lès-Chartres were to bring his share of their *champart* at Bréharville to Dreux, 'If there is a good peace in which they can travel safely.'[123] Another knight made contingencies to protect Estrée's produce in the event of war, fearing that conflict would sever links between the local economic centres of Nonancourt, on the Norman side of Avre, and Brezolles, on the French bank.[124]

[118] ADEL, H 1261, pp. 284–5: 'Charte de Rahaire de Muzi qui de consentement de l'abbe de Coulombs transporte les bastiments du Prieuré de Musi pour auoir plus de commodité et reedifier son chasteau ruiné par les guerres' (1196). Cf. Merlet 1864, 37; Chédeville 1973, 110n.

[119] *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, no. CCXXIX: act of Peter de la Ronce concerning Longueville (Jumièges, 1201).

[120] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 54, concerning alms at *Valderi*: 'si hostium infestatio, que vulgari nomine *gurra* (*sic*) nuncupatur, supervenerit, si frater ille qui in predicta terra domum et res infirmorum custodiet michi fuerit suspectus, prior illum excludet et alium fratrem substituet . . . Concessum est etiam et confirmatum quod infirmi in predicta terra nullam firmitudinem constituent nisi qualem exigit religiosa domus. Si tamen eis placuerit, licebit facere fossas unius solius jactus.' *Valderi* appears to be Le Vaudry, cant. Brezolles, cne. St-Rémy and St-Lubin-des-Joncherets. See Chédeville 1973, 143, 166, 278.

[121] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 55.

[122] ADEL, H 404, confirming a quitclaim by two burgesses of Brezolles to the priory (Chartres, 1 May 1189): 'Si regum guerra uel communi tempestate terram vastari contigerit, secundum estimationem dampni ex aliis annis qui superuenerint, burgensibus adicietur, donec dampnum quod accidit uirorum fidelium testimonio restauretur.' Probably Crucey-Villages, cant. Brezolles.

[123] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 59 (Ralph d'Ilou): 'si bona pax fuerit, et in qua secure possint ire.'

[124] ADE, H 319, fol. 16r, no. 28, act of Robert, bishop of Chartres (1156–64), concerning gifts of Richard de Courteilles at Champillon (cant. Brezolles, cne. Escorpain): 'Predictas autem modiationes ducent utrique monachi ad Brueroles vel Nonancourt, prout Ricardo placuerit. Si autem guerra fuerit, conductum habebunt a Ricardo vel expectabunt donec secure ducere possint.' Cf. Chédeville 1973, 143n.

If such clauses are particularly notable around the south-east corners of Normandy, they were by no means restricted to those districts. In the north-east, Count John of Eu granted the right of refuge in his forest of Eu to the monks of Lannoy for their beasts in time of war,[125] while the *vidames* of Gerberoy, Helias and Peter, promised to give the monks of Foucarmont *securum conductum* for everything which the abbey's servants could swear was theirs, 'siue guerre tempore siue pacis'.[126] In the same district, Count Ralph of Clermont offered refuge to the monks of Lannoy and Beaubec and for their animals in the district known as La Montagne, between Aumale and Formerie, in 1174, 'if the inconvenience of war forces them'.[127] In the eastern Norman Vexin the canons of Sainte-Geneviève near Gisors, a priory of the abbey of Marchéroux near Beauvais, lived with a permanent threat of war hanging over them. In the aftermath of a series of Franco-Norman clashes in the Norman Vexin between 1149 and 1161, Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen released the canons from any obligation to cultivate the land that had been given to them in alms at Bouchevilliers, on the 'French' side of the Epte opposite Sainte-Geneviève, if royal coercion or the threat of war prevented them from doing so.[128] At about the same date similar terms were made concerning property at Amécourt on the 'Norman' bank.[129] It is no wonder that during the next series of conflicts in the Vexin, Richard I of England took the priory of Sainte-Geneviève under his protection.[130] He also promised protection to the nearby abbey of Saint-Germer-de-Fly, 'whether in war or peace', an undertaking that King John renewed

[125] ADOI, H 4914 ('Ctl. Lannoy', no. LXXXVIII, 1140 × 64): 'et herbagium ad refugium animalium suorum in foresta mea si forte pro metu alicuius guerrę a regionę (*sic*) illa in istam ea transire necesse fuerit.'

[126] BMRO, Y 13, fol. 104v (*c.*1150).

[127] 'Ctl. Lannoy', no. LVIII ('si guerre importunitas . . . eos forte coegerit'); BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1801, fol. 3v–4r. Notes in this manuscript identify this as concerning Colagnie-le-Bas (cant. Formerie, cne. Mureaumont), but the count's act was confirmed by the bishops of Beauvais (1174) and Amiens (1175), an indication of the extent of the district of *Montana*.

[128] AN, LL 1158, p. 604 (letter to Abbot Guerri of Marchéroux, 1165–1172 × 73): 'Si uero aliqua occasione contigerit terram illam a uobis coli non posse, coactione regis uel alicuius principis uel guerra imminente, predictum redditum soluere non tenemini.' Other acts in this cartulary identify this place as Bouchevilliers (Eure, cant. Gisors) rather than Bouconvilliers (Oise, cant. Chaumont). *Ibid.*, pp. 607–8, 612–13, implies that Ste-Geneviève lay across the River Levrière from the village of Hébécourt (cant. Gisors), possibly the Chapelle-Ste-Geneviève in the adjacent commune of Mainneville. For Marchéroux, see *Abbayes de Prémontré*, 365–70; it sold the priory to the abbey of St-Denis in 1249.

[129] AN, LL 1158, p. 610: Silvester, abbot of La Croix-St-Leufroy, confirms to Marchéroux a tithe at *Longapirum*, in the territory of Amécourt (cant. Gisors), 'licet eadem terra culta maneat uel inculta excepto si guerra inde expulsi fuerint quod ipsam terram uel suas que circumiacent excolere non possint' (1162 × 72–3).

[130] AN, LL 1158, pp. 609–610.

in 1203.[131] The canons of Deux-Amants and Saulseuse assumed that 'common war or some lord's violence' might leave land in the western Norman Vexin uncultivated.[132] On the duchy's southern borders, in the eleventh century war had affected the terms of endowments in the district of Sées in much the same way as it would on the banks of the River Avre in the twelfth.[133] In 1205 Ralph, viscount of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe, stated that a concord between his father and the canons of Le Mans in the reign of Richard I, concerning Bourg-le-Roi in northern Maine, had not been executed because of the wars which had disrupted this region in the intervening years (that is, in 1199 and 1202–3).[134]

It was a testimony to the spread of warfare into Normandy during the reigns of Richard I and John that phrases of this type began to be inserted into charters of endowment deeper into the duchy once more. In 1209, the heads of two houses at Rouen, the abbess of Saint-Amand and the prior of Notre-Dame-du-Pré, inserted clauses into a chirograph which allowed for the fall of revenues because of 'common pestilence or the destruction of common war'. It concerned the manor of Bures, on the main road from Drincourt to Arques and Dieppe, a route that must have seen the repeated passage of French armies between 1193 and 1195 and again between 1202 and 1204.[135] At the other end of the duchy, an act of Bishop William of Coutances (1184–1200 × 01) for Savigny also assumed that revenues might be diminished by 'common war' at Montmartin in the Cotentin, far from the Norman border and the chief war zones.[136] Perhaps the seizure of the lands of Count John of Mortain in 1194 had caused damage at Montmartin, part of the honour of Mortain; or maybe the wars against Arthur of Brittany in 1196 and 1199 had reduced the revenues of Montmartin's famous fair.[137] The ripples of war spread still

[131] Lohrmann 1973, 229–30, following the words of a similar grant by Henry I; *Rot. Pat.*, 25 (1203).

[132] ADE, H 846 (confirmation of Walter archbishop of Rouen, 1207, of various twelfth-century gifts): 'Si uero propter guerram communem, uel propter uiolentiam alicuius domini cui resistere non possitis, terra illa extiterit inculta: eo anno predictum bladum non reddetis.' The canons' *compositio* concerned Marcouville (cant. Fleury, cne. Bacqueville), between Radepont and Les Andelys.

[133] Tabuteau 1988, 297 n. 45 (notice of an agreement between St-Martin de Sées and Robert *Moirol*, 1097): 'ut si quando tanta guerra seu famis pestilentia unde hec patria vastaretur, his partibus ingrueret . . .'.

[134] *Ctl. du Mans*, no. XVI; Lemesle 1999, 224.

[135] ADSM, 55 HP 4: 'Si uero communis pestilentia uel commune excidium guerre – quod auertat Deus – euenerit, arbitrio et consideratione legitimorum uirorum predictus redditus moderabitur.'

[136] AN, L 973, no. 789: 'Sciendum preterea quod si per communem guerram, aut per delictum nostrum, predictam decimam uastari contigerit seu minorari, per sapientes uiros discernetur quid de firma debeat condonari.' This was the tithe of Geoffrey *de Landa*'s domain in the parish of Montmartin (presumably La Lande, cne. Montmartin). For the (disputed) dates of William's episcopacy, see Torigni, ii, 125; *GC*, xi, cols. 876–7; Billy 1874, 255–6, 286.

[137] Cf. Power 1999a, 122 (count of Mortain); Powicke 1961, 179 (fair of Montmartin).

further afield: on 20 July 1202, in a move of instructive prescience, the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen leased all its English possessions to the bishop of London, William de Sainte-Mère-Eglise, for nine years. Over the previous few weeks the armies of the kings of France and England had each marched along the Andelle valley in eastern Normandy, where the abbey had considerable property, including its priory of Sigy; perhaps chastened by this experience, the abbey and bishop inserted clauses into their chirograph in case the abbey's English lands fell into royal hands or were damaged by war.[138] In 1205, when the fall of Normandy had radically altered the situation, the bishop of London renegotiated the terms of his lease but the war clause was left unaltered.[139]

As these examples show, almsgiving acts did not immediately cease to include clauses for war damage after 1204. In 1218 when Bishop Hugh of Coutances confirmed the tithes of Savigny at Montmartin,[140] he used the same terms regarding 'common war' as his predecessor had, and in the mid-1220s charters for the canons of Saint-Vincent-aux-Bois near Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais were still including clauses allowing for damage to property in the event of 'just' or 'common' wars.[141] By then, however, two decades of peace along the former Norman frontier had rendered such phrases obsolescent.

It was an ill wind that blew nobody any good. Richard I, for example, was no doubt seeking to curry favour with the canons of Rouen when he made amends for war damage which Philip Augustus had inflicted upon them.[142] Religious houses, too, could make some small gains from these turbulent conditions. In 1196, the count and countess of Dreux confirmed the immunity of the canons of Dreux and monks of Coulombs from any services to them in return for 40 *li. angevins*, because they had been impoverished by the wars;[143] but there were no benefits on the

[138] ADSM, 14 H 910 (*CDF*, no. 104): 'Si uero occasione domus sue predicta terra in manum Domini Regis fuerit deuoluta uel per gwerram aliqua dampna incurrerit, ipsi [o]mnia dampna que nos per testimonium xij. legalium hominum de eodem feodo pertulisse constiterit, nobis secundum perdita sufficienter restaurare tenentur.' For these places, West Mersea, Fingringhoe, Peet (in Peldon) and East Donyland (Essex), see *Essex Place-Names*, 315, 320, 322, 387; Matthew 1962, 143–9. For William de Ste-Mère-Eglise, a Norman in origin, see R. V. Turner 1988, 20–34.

[139] ADSM, 14 H 910, which also includes King John's confirmation of 30 May 1205 (cf. *Rot. Chart.*, 151).

[140] AN, L 973, no. 799.

[141] Chédeville 1973, 143 n.202: 'molendinum occasione justae guerrae vastum' (1225); 'terra . . . pro communi guerra vasta' (1226).

[142] ADSM, G 3713 (BMRO, Y 44, fols. 74v–75r; *CDF*, no. 67; Landon 1935, no. 457).

[143] BN, ms. lat. 10106, fol. 11r: 'Sciatis quod abbas et monachi Columbensis ecclesie et canonici Beati Stephani Drocensis nostram egestatem et rei familiaris insufficienciam ingruente guerrarum importunitate compatienti ac benignissimo animo intuentes xl. libras Andeg.' nobis contulerunt, licet ipsorum in possessionibus siue in terra aut hominibus ipsorum nichil consuetudinarie exactionis siue nichil iuris haberemus.' Cf. Chédeville 1973, p. 110n.

Franco-Norman frontier comparable to the endowments which some Anglo-Norman lords made of tithes of plunder taken during raids in Wales and Ireland.[144] The comparison with Ireland is apt, since provision for war damage on the fringes of the Pale was institutionalised in late medieval land values.[145] For the most part, charters depict the inhabitants of the Franco-Norman frontier regions as victims of dynastic political rivalry that disrupted the functioning of a single regional society. Other evidence apart from endowments, such as the municipal customs of Vernon, reinforces the view that, as in other frontier regions, such provisions for war were an integral part of frontier life.[146]

BURIAL

The final form of patronage practised by the aristocracy was burial in the churches and abbeys of their choice. This privilege was contrary to the rules of most religious orders and could create difficulties for the recipients; but by the late twelfth century, an increasing number of landowners, both magnates and petty knights, stated where they wished to be buried, and religious houses were prepared to fight for the right to have the tombs of their patrons.[147] In 1183, at a time when the royal houses of France and England were paying greater attention to their burials, Henry the Young King's untimely demise provoked an unseemly rivalry between the cathedrals of Le Mans and Rouen for his body.[148] The corpses of magnates were equally coveted by the houses of which they were patrons. The *Book of the Foundation of Walden Monastery* gloatingly described how Walden Priory acquired the body of its patron Geoffrey III

[144] 'Brecon Cartulary', xiv, 146–7 (Earl Roger of Hereford for Brecon Priory, 1143 × 55): 'decimam predarum quas super inimicos meos accipere potero' ('Hereford Charters', no. 48); cf. R. R. Davies 1979, 46 n.22. MacNiocaill 1969–70, 420, no. 4 (John de Courcy, *c.*1183): 'dedi . . . decimam vaccam et quodlibet decimum animale de omnibus predis meis' (cf. Bartlett 1993, 33). In the latter case *predis* ('booty') may be a mistake for *prediis* ('estates'), but Earl Roger's charter refers unequivocally to plunder.

[145] Duffy 1982–3, 23–4.

[146] Lebeurier 1855, 527 (customs of Vernon, c. VIII): 'Et dient que tant come guerre durra entre roys sanz treves, nulz hons ne plaidera d'eritage, maiz qui tient si tiengne jusques à tant que paiz ou treves soient.'

[147] Holdsworth 1990, 19–21. For aristocratic burial in monasteries, see also Rosenwein 1989, 41–3; Mason 1978, 72–3; Cownie 1998, 163–4, 179–80.

[148] For different accounts of this event, see Torigni, ii, 120–2; *Gesta Henrici*, i, 303–4; Howden, ii, 280; Thomas Agnellus, 'Sermo de morte et sepultura Henrici regis junioris', *Coggeshall*, 263–73; Newburgh, i, 234; cf. *CDF*, nos. 35–8, which suggest that the monks of Grandmont in the Limousin were also interested in acquiring his body. For the growing concern of the Angevin dynasty for its funerals and mausolea, see Hallam 1982, 359–72; for Capetian burial at this time, see E. A. R. Brown 1985, 241–6.

de Mandeville, earl of Essex, but the author also claimed that the earl's knights provided an armed escort for the corpse from Chester to Walden in order to prevent the dead earl's mother having it seized and buried at her foundation of Chicksands.[149] Juhel II de Mayenne agreed to be buried at Savigny along with many of his closest relatives and friends in Maine, Anjou and Brittany, and when this great magnate later founded the Cistercian abbey of Fontaine-Daniel, the monks of Savigny vainly tried to insist that his earlier promise should be respected.[150] Perhaps to avoid similar squabbles between the houses of which he was patron, Count Robert of Alençon stated his desire to be buried at Perseigne no matter where he died, unless he happened to be in the Holy Land.[151] Noble burials also attracted one another: Isabella de Craon, lady of Fougères, elected to be buried at Savigny 'amongst my ancestors and the nobles of my kin'.[152]

Insights into the preferences of these great barons can give us a good idea of what was important to them when they made their gifts, and it is unfortunate that we know of so few burials amongst the Norman frontier baronage; virtually no tombs have survived the depredations of time and revolution. Recorded traditions often cannot be confirmed, such as the story that the lords of Tosny were buried at Coulombs.[153] The resting-place of barons with divided political loyalties such as Simon d'Anet or William Louvel of Ivry, if known, would be a useful insight into their sense of identity. We can learn much from the choice of one of the greatest 'Franco-Norman' magnates, Waleran of Meulan: despite his political failure in England during Stephen's reign and later in Normandy because of his loyalty to the king of France, the count chose to become

[149] *Book of Walden*, 38–42; cf. 18, for tensions over the body of Geoffrey II de Mandeville (d. 1144), even though he had died an excommunicate.

[150] AN, L 969, no. 425 (1205, n.s.) (Poulle 1989, no. 6, p. 166): 'Quoniam dominus Jvhellus de Meduana et Isabel mater ejus et Mauricius de Creono, Petrus et Amaurricus, fratres ejus, et Haoisa de Laualle et Constantia sorores eorum, et Guillelmus de Guirchia, antequam abbatia de Fonte Daniel' fundaretur, se dederant monasterio Savigniensi et ibi sibi elegerant sepulturam, eos monachi de Fonte Daniel' recipere non ualebunt.' Juhel II was eventually buried at Fontaine-Daniel (Day 1980, 118–20). Juhel I (d. 1161) had been buried at the abbey of Evron, south-east of Mayenne (*Ctl. Manceau*, i, 37n.); the burial place of Geoffrey II (d. *c.*1170) is not known.

[151] *Ctl. Perseigne*, nos. IX, XI (spurious in this form). Robert's father had died at the siege of Acre.

[152] BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 64 (Savigny, 1253): 'inter antecessores meos quorum corpora in eodem loco requiescunt . . . meam eligo sepulturam. Volo igitur . . . quod vbicumque contigerit me viam vniuerse carnis ingredi, amici mei faciant corpus meum Sauigneium efferri, et inter nobiles de cognatione mea sepeliri'.

[153] Merlet (1864, 38) states that 'Roger III' (i.e. Roger IV, d. 1209) was buried in the abbey church of Coulombs, where a tomb was discovered under the choir in the mid-nineteenth century. Since Roger IV had lost all his Norman lands and died in England, this seems unlikely. Ralph III (d. *c.*1129) was buried at Conches (*Complete Peerage*, XII.i, 762), but the burial places of Roger III (d. 1157 × 62), Ralph IV (d. 1162) and Roger IV are not recorded.

a monk of the Beaumont house of Saint-Pierre des Préaux, in central Normandy, where he soon died and was buried with his ancestors in the male line. Despite his French title it was his paternal lineage that appears to have been most important to him.[154] Some years before her death Eleanor de Vitré (d.1233), successively the widow of William Paynel (d. 1178), Gilbert de Tillières (d. 1190–1), Earl William of Salisbury (d. 1196) and Gilbert Malesmains (d. after 1207), decided that she wished to be buried at the Premonstratensian abbey of Mondaye in the Bessin: although the daughter of a great Breton noble and despite continuing to use her English title, the countess of Salisbury wished to be interred close to her Norman dowry lands.[155] Eleanor's eldest daughter by her second husband, Juliana, lady of Tillières, had endowed both the Cistercian abbey of Estrée and the Fontevraudian priory of La Chaise-Dieu near the honour of Tillières, but like her mother she chose to be buried at Mondaye, predeceasing Eleanor by six years.[156] The marriage of Eleanor to Gilbert de Tillières had probably arisen from their neighbouring interests in the Bessin,[157] and so it is not surprising that Eleanor and her daughter by Gilbert elected to be buried in the new abbey close to her dowry lands there.

Some choices are surprising and significant. Richard I de Vernon had the precedent before him of his *antecessor*, William de Vernon, buried in the collegiate church of Vernon in about 1086, while his own grandfather Richard II de Reviers and father William I de Vernon had been buried at Montebourg in the Cotentin, near their castle of Néhou;[158] Richard's mother Lucy de Tancarville had preferred her own family's abbey of Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville over the churches of which the Vernons were patrons.[159] Montebourg recorded the obits of all the Vernon-Reviers

[154] Crouch 1986, 78–9.

[155] ADC, H 6389, fols. 3v–5r, nos. VII–XIII (5 acts, 1217–29); for Eleanor's dowry at Ryes, Trungy and Ducy, see fol. 7r–v, no. XVII, and for her marriages and offspring, see Powicke 1961, 353–5. The earl of Salisbury had been buried at Bradenstoke Priory (Wilts.) (*Complete Peerage*, xi, 378).

[156] ADC, H 6389, fol. 5v, no. XV (grant by Juliana from the *prévôté* of l'Aigle, s.d.), confirmed by Gilbert de l'Aigle (1230) and Juliana's nephew Nicholas Malesmains (1232) (fols. 7r, 7v–8r, nos. XXI, XXI); cf. fol. 11v, no. XXVIII (grant of Juliana's first husband, the Norman knight Baldwin Rastel, 1221). For the date of Juliana's death (1227), see the acts of her mother Eleanor (1227) and daughter Hilary, lady of Tillières (1228) (fols. 5r, 6v, nos. XIII, XV*bis*). For Juliana's gifts to La Chaise-Dieu (1224) and Estrée (with her second husband, Guy Mauvoisin, 1227), see ADE, H 1438, p. 9, H 319, fols. 44v–45r, no. 100, and H 321, cote 29.

[157] For the Tillières lands in the Bessin, see *RHF*, xxiii, 612.

[158] ADE, G 288 (copy): 'ego Richardus de Vernone . . . confirmo donationem quam primus Guillelmus de Vernone antecessor meus, cuius corpus in ecclesia de Vernone iacet, donauit ecclesiæ Vernonensi' (1186). For the Reviers' kinship to the earlier lords of Vernon, see above, pp. 206–7. Richard II's eldest son, Baldwin de Redvers, earl of Devon, was buried in his foundation of Quarr Abbey (Isle of Wight) and his successors were buried there or at Christchurch (Dorset): *Complete Peerage*, iv, 311–16; Hockey 1970, 2–6, 61.

[159] BMRO, Y 52, fol. 83v.

family, in Normandy and England.[160] Yet Richard is said to have opted for burial in the French abbey of Vaux-de-Cernay, in the Forest of Yvelines, although the only previous signs of his intention were his gifts from Vernon to the abbey.[161] However, the abbey held property in Vernon by 1162,[162] and one of the chief families of the honour of Vernon, the family of Blaru, with lands straddling the frontier, had also made gifts to Vaux-de-Cernay.[163] These earlier gifts are themselves not easily explained, but they may account for Richard's interest in the abbey; perhaps he was also encouraged by his neighbour Earl Robert III of Leicester, whose daughter married into the Montforts, the chief benefactors of Vaux-de-Cernay, and who granted the abbey free grinding in his mills at Pacy.[164] In 1196, moreover, Richard accepted fiefs in the Ile-de-France from the French king in return for abandoning all claims to his ancestral honour of Vernon.[165] Even if this cession made it unlikely that Richard would be buried at Vernon, it does not explain why he forewent burial at Montebourg, for he retained his lands in the Cotentin. Richard de Vernon's alleged choice of burial place cannot be ascribed either to family or to tenurial considerations; it must have been due to less visible ties between south-east Normandy and the Ile-de-France. His grandson John de Vernon, castellan of Montmélian near Senlis *vita patris*, confirmed the family's preference for French abbeys by choosing to be buried at the Parisian house of Saint-Martin-des-Champs.[166]

Two great funeral gatherings in the late twelfth century illustrate family policies and political pressures in the regions of the Norman frontier, for each concerns a great family which was constrained to divide its 'French' lands from its Norman honours. These are the interments of Simon de Montfort, count of Evreux, probably in 1181, and of Count John II of Sées in 1191. Simon's father, Count Amaury, had been buried at Hautes-Bruyères near Montfort-l'Amaury, which his sister Queen Bertrada had established and where he was later regarded as the founder,[167] but Count Simon's preference for Evreux Cathedral shows that the priorities of the lords of Montfort had altered between 1137 and 1181. The centre of

[160] *RHF*, xxiii, 553–6 (compiled *c.*1448). The Reviers genealogy recorded at Montebourg (554n.) inverted the true order of the wives of Richard I and Richard II de Vernon, an error copied in *Complete Peerage*, iv, 771.

[161] Le Prévost 1862–9, iii, 352 (citing no source); *Ctl. Vaux-de-Cernay*, i, nos. LXXV, LXXVI.

[162] *Ibid.*, no. XXIV, p. 35: house given by Alice, wife of Hugh Louvel of Vernon. Another house at Vernon was leased in 1190 × 91 (no. LXXXVIII).

[163] *Ibid.*, i, nos. VI (1143 × 57), XXIV (p. 32).

[164] *Ibid.*, i, no. LXXXII (1168–90).

[165] *Layettes*, i, no. 441.

[166] *Ch. St-Martin-des-Champs*, iv, no. 896.

[167] *Obituaires de Sens*, ii, 224: 'Premierement du conte Amaury, qui gist en chapitre, qui premier fonda l'eglise, que nous appellons *protector*'. For the Montforts and Hautes-Bruyères, see Bienvenu 1985, 5–7; for the burial practices of the Montforts in general, see A. W. Lewis 1992, 153 n.36.

gravity of their domains had shifted from the ancestral possessions of Montfort l'Amaury to the county of Evreux, barely held by Amaury I because of the hostility of Henry I but now the prized possession of his son Simon; the latter chose to be buried in the Norman cathedral city, just as he had married his sons and daughter to prominent members of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, while Montfort was relegated to being the portion of his younger son.[168] After his death Count Simon's elder son Amaury, the new count, endowed the count's tomb, together with Simon's sister Countess Agnes of Meulan, and two of her sons, Count Robert of Meulan and Roger (de Meulan), viscount of Evreux.[169] Those present for these gifts, which were presumably made at the funeral itself, included Bishop John of Evreux and the leading Franco-Norman border lords Simon d'Anet and Roger de Tosny, as well as Saher de Quency, probably the ducal *bailli* of Nonancourt of that name, and several of the chief tenants of the county of Evreux and honour of Montfort.[170] It is not clear whether the count's younger son, Simon IV de Montfort, was present, but he certainly endowed his father's tomb from his lands at Houdan, near Montfort-l'Amaury: his gesture shows that, even if political considerations had provoked the separation of Evreux and Montfort, the connection was perpetuated by other ties.[171] After the partition, the lords of Montfort reverted to being buried at Hautes-Bruyères, but that priory continued to remember Count Simon 'the Bald' buried at Evreux along with the 'hoirs de Montfort' whose bodies rested at Hautes-Bruyères.[172]

The second funeral was that of Count John II of Sées at Perseigne on 7 May 1191, within months of his father's demise on the Third Crusade. Count Robert and his men from both sides of the Normandy–Maine border made bequests to the abbeys of Saint-Vincent du Mans and

[168] Torigni, ii, 103.

[169] ADE, G 122, fols. 17v–18v, nos. 65–70 (no. 70 is *CDF*, no. 311): acts furnishing lamps for Simon's tomb before the high altar. Another kinsman present was Robert de Sablé (see App. I, no. 16). Although it is not explicitly stated that the gifts were made at the funeral or indeed at a single ceremony, the concurrence of witness-lists and their common objective makes it very likely, and Agnes died very soon after her brother (*Complete Peerage*, vii, 715n.). For the significance of kin attending funerals, see White 1988, 164–6.

[170] Evreux: George Neel, Amaury de Lacy, Hugh de Bacquepuis, Gerard de Montfort. Luke, abbot of La Noë, witnessed the acts of Simon de Montfort. Montfort: Ralph Galopin, Walter Sans-Nappe; also Fulk the chaplain, who was in the household of the younger Simon de Montfort from 1181 (see above, pp. 292–3).

[171] ADE, G 122, fol. 18v, no. 71. The younger Simon did not witness the other acts, and his act has different witnesses apart from Ralph Galopin.

[172] *Obituaires de Sens*, ii, 224–5: 'Cis sunt li non des hoirs de Montfort qui gisent a Hautebruiere . . . et de ceux qui gisent en autres eglises' (fourteenth century). Simon IV (d. *c.*1187) and his wife Amice of Leicester were buried in the chapter, their son Simon V (the crusader) and his wife Alice de Montmorency in the church by the altar. The *obituaire* wrongly made Simon V the son of Count Simon of Evreux, not his grandson; it also included prayers for Simon VI, the famous earl of Leicester (cf. Maddicott 1994, 371).

Perseigne, which had become the mausoleum for the Talvas family.[173] The mourners recorded at this ceremony came from both Maine and Normandy, reflecting the geographical extent of the Talvas estates: amongst them were Lisiard, bishop of Sées, the abbots of Saint-Vincent, Perseigne and Tironelle in Maine, and Saint-Martin de Sées in Normandy, and the viscount of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe. Although some of the Talvas knights must have been absent on crusade, a number were present, including the count's kinsman Robert de Garennes, his seneschal Robert Quarrel, Odo de Clinchamp, and Odo Cotinel, whose chief possessions lay in the Saosnois; Robert de Garennes and Robert Quarrel also held Norman lands, while the families of Clinchamp and Quarrel also held lands in Perche. There was no representative from Ponthieu, twenty years after the final division of that county from the Norman and Manceau lands: the connection between the two branches of the dynasty had all but died with William Talvas in 1171, although the blood-tie was not forgotten altogether.[174]

Since the Alençonnais was then in ducal hands, it is not surprising that Count Robert made gifts for his brother's soul from his lands and customs in Maine: he renounced all the sheep-tax (*motunagium*) owed to him by the abbey of Saint-Vincent's men in the Saosnois; to Perseigne, more controversially, he granted the revenues from the mills of Mamers which his father had previously disputed with the abbey of Saint-Lomer de Blois (the mother-house of the priory of Mamers) before agreeing to hold the mills in common with the monks of Mamers. Count Robert thereby divested himself of the troublesome but no doubt valuable mills in return for spiritual benefits.[175] However, most of the alms bestowed upon Perseigne consisted of annuities, all assessed in *sous mançais*, which the chief members of the late count's retinue in the Talvas lordships conferred at Vignats and Bernay in central Normandy. It was the bishop of Sées who confirmed the gifts, both those in his own diocese and

[173] *LCSV*, no. 113; ADSA, H 928, nos. 2–4 (no. 3 is *Ctl. Perseigne*, no. CCCLXIII; cf. *ibid.*, c–civ, for the eighteenth-century description of the Talvas tombs, with drawings by Gaignières). There is doubt as to whether the so-called 'founder's tomb' contained William Talvas or his son, Count John I: one tradition recorded that William was buried at St-André-en-Gouffern (p. ci), but John I's death at Acre (*Gesta Henrici*, ii, 148) could also account for the absence of a comital tomb at Perseigne. Count Robert, his wife Joanna and brother William all requested burial in the abbey (*Ctl. Perseigne*, nos. IX, XI, CXLV, CCCLXVII). A son of William Talvas, Philip, was buried at St-Martin de Sées, apparently before 1150 (*Actes de Ponthieu*, no. XIV).

[174] See above, pp. 226–7.

[175] See the acts cited in n. 173. Perseigne's share of the mills was confirmed in the abbey's spurious or interpolated charter of confirmation from Arthur of Brittany (*Ctl. Perseigne*, no. XVII; *Charters of Duchess Constance*, 125–7, no. A14). For the Mamers dispute, see ADSA, H 298, probably 1171 × 80 (*Actes des Evêques du Mans*, no. 124).

those in the dioceses of Le Mans and Lisieux.[176] All in all, the acts of endowment made on this occasion demonstrate the strength of the links between the Talvas lands in central Normandy, southern Normandy and northern Maine, ties which would soon be placed under severe strain by the Angevin succession crisis of 1199 and Count Robert's revolt in 1203.[177]

The burial of Count John of Sées reinforces the impression that pervasive localism and family ties to particular abbeys were stronger than the broader concerns of high politics. Similar patterns emerge for other abbeys situated close to the Norman frontier, notably Savigny, Mont-Saint-Michel, Lannoy, Le Tréport and Auchy-lès-Aumale. Despite the overwhelmingly localised nature of twelfth-century endowments, ancient links between Normandy and neighbouring regions persisted through the twelfth century and were still being created at the fall of Normandy in 1204, even in times of war. Sometimes the prestige of great religious establishments outside the duchy attracted Norman gifts, sometimes they were the consequence of ancient endowments, but most often they arose from the tenurial links that crisscrossed the frontier. Endemic localism and enduring associations with particular abbeys were stronger than the broader concerns of high politics. In the context of almsgiving, the political border did not have great significance.

[176] Gifts by Odo Cotinel from the count's castle of Blèves in the Saosnois, and by Guérin de Neuilly, Herbert de St-Pierre, Herbert de Bernières, Elinand de Congé and Pochard Cotinel (brother of Odo) from *fiefs-rentes* which Count John II had conferred upon them at Bernay and Vignats. For John II's gift of a *fief-rente* to Herbert de Bernières at Vignats, see ADC, H 6511*bis*, no. 1. Pochard Cotinel was one of the Manceaux endowed by the counts of Sées in central Normandy, and Herbert de Bernières was probably one as well: see above, p. 285. Guérin de Neuilly, apparently descended from a bastard son of William Talvas, probably took his name from a village near Alençon.

[177] Power 1999a, 128–32; above, pp. 299–300; below, pp. 438–40.

Part III

THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORMAN FRONTIER

Chapter 9

THE STRUCTURE OF POLITICS ON THE NORMAN FRONTIER

THE CHARACTER OF MARCHER POLITICS

In the twelfth century the Norman frontier was of far more than local political importance: more often than not two of the greatest dynasties in Europe played out their rivalries there. Between 1106 and 1128, for instance, the challenge which William Clito posed to Henry I frequently ignited the borders of Normandy from Alençon to Aumale, and in the frontier regions the kings of England and France both suffered humiliating defeats, Henry I outside Alençon in 1118 and Louis VI at Brémule in the Norman Vexin the following year. In the early 1150s some of the first clashes between the Angevin dukes of Normandy and the Capetian kings took place in the Saosnois and along the Avre, Eure and Epte valleys. The great revolt against Henry II in 1173–4 inflamed the frontiers of Normandy for their entire length from Dol to Eu. In the 1190s, the crisis which the captivity of Richard I inflicted upon the Angevin lands left a permanent mark upon Angevin rule in south-eastern Normandy owing to the encroachments of the king of France and his supporters. Finally, the collapse of Angevin rule under King John found its most famous expressions in the dramatic siege of the Norman frontier castle of Château-Gaillard in 1203–4 and in the surrender of Alençon and Vaudreuil which did so much to undermine confidence in the Angevin régime. Most of these conflicts were simultaneously being fought elsewhere – the rivalry of Henry I with William Clito in Flanders, the Young King's revolt throughout the Angevin lands, the disputes with the Capetians in Aquitaine and Touraine – but no other region west of the Rhine had as strong a claim to be the cockpit of western European politics as the Norman marches.[1]

[1] Haskins' detailed survey of Norman politics in this period (1918) has yet to be superseded. For Henry I, see Green 1986b and Hollister 2001. For Stephen and Geoffrey of Anjou, see Chibnall 1991; 1994; Chartrou 1928, 5–18, 36–76; Crouch 2000, 59–71, 147–53, 190–9, 247–53, 280–5. Boussard 1956, although far from satisfactory on account of errors concerning the Norman aristocracy, provides the basis for the account of Henry II in France of Warren 1973. The chief

The political development of the Norman frontier

Not surprisingly, the chroniclers of the day tended to see events along the Norman frontier simply as rivalries between the rulers of Normandy and their royal or princely neighbours. Yet the structure of political relations along the Norman borders did not consist merely of bipolar confrontations between great princes; the aristocracy of the frontier regions had its own part to play in these affairs. The magnates in particular wielded immense inherited power. Even if they often failed to rouse the knights from their fiefs to fight for them, when the dukes were at loggerheads with their neighbours, the frontier barons, normally so invisible, came to the fore, and princes on both sides had to treat them warily. The ties of the frontier lords with their neighbours meant that the ruler who rode roughshod over their interests took great risks. It is also clear, however, that the frontier magnates frequently failed to act cohesively. Far from acting as a class of disaffected marchers, the barons in the frontier regions of Normandy followed the individual interests of their families, which frequently coincided with those of their neighbours, but were based primarily upon immediate family concerns. Inherited aristocratic claims and aspirations, rather than purely strategic considerations, shaped much of the frontier warfare between Plantagenet and Capetian. Consequently, although events in the Norman marches alone do not explain developments such as the Capetian annexation of Normandy in 1204, the frontier barons played a prominent role in the history of the duchy and neighbouring regions, from the day that Henry I captured Bellême from William Talvas to the day that William's grandson Count Robert of Sées opened the gates of Alençon to Philip Augustus.[2]

The structure of marcher politics in 1100

When King Henry I of England took over Normandy in 1106, he inherited a set of conditions along the Norman frontier that had formed over the previous century. The eastern and south-eastern borders of the province were prone to conflict with the 'French' beyond the frontier: the rivalry between Normans and French in the districts of the Epte, Eure and Avre had flared up occasionally ever since the tenth-century Norman settlement, and in the eleventh century it became endemic. As early as

work for Normandy under Richard and John is still Powicke 1961, while the most detailed account of Philip Augustus's reign remains Cartellieri 1899–1922. The most comprehensive survey of Norman castles is Yver 1955–6; no such study considers all the regions discussed here, but see Yver 1967–89 and Châtelain 1983, *passim*, for the Franco-Norman borders, Dion 1867 for the Epte valley, Bonnard 1907 for the Eure and Avre valleys, Louise 1992, ii, 187–291, for the borders of Normandy, Maine and Perche, and Coulson 1984 for castle customs.

[2] Cf. Bates (1994, 23), for whom the Talvas revolts formed part of a 'continuum of instability' on the southern Norman frontier from the tenth to the thirteenth century.

1013, the war between Duke Richard II and Odo II of Blois for control of Dreux had led to the construction of the castle of Tillières. In the 1030s, the count of Meulan used a war between the Normans and 'French' to justify his seizure of the property of the Norman abbey of Jumièges in his lands.[3] The narrative sources show that raids across the Franco-Norman borders became more frequent in the mid-eleventh century. In the foundation stories of the priories of Saint-Evroul at Neufmarché and Parnes, petty raiding across the River Epte is a recurring theme.[4] In the 1050s the two founding families of Saint-Evroul were both heavily caught up in border raiding. Hugh de Grandmesnil used Neufmarché as a base from which he drove off attacks against the Normans by the men of the Beauvaisis. Meanwhile, his cousin Arnold d'Echauffour used Courville near Chartres, a castle belonging to one of his French kinsmen, as a base for raids with the men of Perche and the Dreugesin against Normandy after he had been exiled by Duke William.[5] Later tradition also maintained that Count Walter of the Vexin laid claim to the area afterwards known as the Norman Vexin, which he proceeded to raid.[6] The disappearance of Walter's dynasty in 1077 served to increase, not defuse tensions, for it brought the power of the king of France and the duke of Normandy into direct contact; in fact, the attack on Mantes which led to the Conqueror's death in 1087 was a response to raiding by French lords across the River Epte.[7] Nor were these attacks confined to the valleys of the Epte and Eure: quite apart from major invasions from Ponthieu in 1053 and 1054,[8] the north-east also witnessed raids from that direction by Robert Curthose and a body of discontented Norman *juvenes*.[9]

A second aspect of the frontier that Henry I inherited was the fluctuation of ducal power across a broad region to the south, particularly in opposition to the counts of Anjou. In the reigns of William the Conqueror (1035–87) and his sons Robert (1087–96) and William Rufus (1096–1100) Norman–Angevin rivalry had embraced the whole intermediate province of Maine and the Talvas lordships which extended from

[3] *Ch. Jumièges*, i, no. xvi. [4] Orderic, ii, 130–2, 154. [5] Orderic, ii, 124, 130.

[6] 'Miraculum quo B. Maria subvenit Guillelmo Crispino Seniori', *PL*, cl, col. 737: 'Ea tempestate Franci, auctore Walterio Vetulo comite de Ponte-Ysare, qui totam terram intra Ittam et Andelam, atque Sequanam suam debere esse dicebat, crebras irruptiones ultra fluvium Ittam faciebant, et prædas de Vilcasino agebant.' The text records that Duke William II fortified Neaufles 'contra Francorum incursus' and committed it to William Crispin with the hereditary *vicomté* of the Vexin.

[7] Orderic, iv, 74; *ibid.*, xxx–xxxiv, provides an excellent summary of the history of the Vexin frontier in the eleventh century.

[8] Douglas 1964, 66–9; Bates 1982, 75–7.

[9] *GND*, ii, 202: 'cum sui similibus iuuenibus, filiis scilicet satraparum Normannie', Robert raided Normandy, 'maxime in margine' from his base at 'Abbeville in Ponthieu'. Orderic, v, 282, reports that Curthose took as his mistress a priest's concubine whom he met 'in confinio Franciæ' during these raids.

Bellême to Alençon and Domfront; it had also troubled north-eastern Brittany from time to time. The rivalry of Normandy and Anjou would continue for much of the reign of Henry I, and by the time Geoffrey of Anjou's subjugation of Normandy outwardly resolved it in 1144, it had left a deep and enduring imprint upon the duke's relations with his frontier lords, which would bubble to the surface repeatedly until 1204.

Thirdly, the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 had drastically altered the relations of the dukes of Normandy with their neighbours, since a number of Breton, Manceau and French families acquired lands in the British Isles. Thereafter, even in periods when England and Normandy were under different rulers (1087–96, 1100–6, 1144–54), possessions in England formed an important part of the concerns of frontier dynasties. Henry I had demonstrated their potential even before 1106, endowing the count of Perche and Eustace de Breteuil with English dowries together with his daughters.[10] The use of English manors and revenues to neutralise potential opposition on the Norman frontier would form an important aspect of ducal policy throughout the twelfth century.

Over the course of the next century, these three factors would all remain very significant to the structure of dynastic politics along the borders of Normandy. However, a study of twelfth-century politics in the Norman marches must also consider other factors. The rulers of Normandy became increasingly familiar with the districts at the borders of their duchy. As they experienced ever fiercer rivalry along their borders, the dukes of Normandy and kings of France also oversaw the emergence of the concept of 'royal' or 'public' warfare. The theory and practice of rebellion and treachery in this context also deserve consideration. Together these factors illustrate changing royal attitudes to the conflicts in the marches of Normandy.

Ducal and royal itineraries

In many ways the character of the Norman frontier, as a fortified march prone to repeated raiding where many aristocratic families had interests spanning the border, was similar to that of other militarised borderlands. However, the marches of Normandy differed from many other border regions in an important aspect. Whereas the Welsh Marches or Anglo-Scottish borders, for instance, saw the king of England extremely rarely and even prospered without his surveillance, the Norman marches knew

[10] Orderic, vi, 40, 44. For the English dowries, see Thompson 1996b (Perche: lands in Berks. and Wilts.); ADML, 101 H 225*bis*, p. 71, and *Bk. Fees*, i, 65 (Eustace de Breteuil: lands in Surrey).

the duke of Normandy well.[11] The ducal domain included several residences close to the borders of Normandy, and the dukes were not averse to appropriating other properties if it suited their purposes. In 1169, for instance, Henry II founded a *bourg* at Beauvoir-sur-Moire (Bourg-le-Roi), above the road from Alençon to Le Mans, on land acquired from the bishop of Le Mans.[12] It was in a great council at Nonancourt in March 1190 that Richard I laid down measures for the government of Normandy during his crusade; and he spent most of the last three years of his life in the Seine valley, often at Les Andelys, which he had extorted from the archbishop of Rouen.[13] King John also spent much of his short reign in Normandy in this district, notably at the abbey of Bonport which his brother had founded outside Pont-de-l'Arche, and he passed through the Alençonnais six times between July 1202 and January 1203 during his frantic defence of Anjou and Maine.[14] The frontier lords might resist the dukes but they could not ignore them. Perhaps only the far north-east, around Eu and Aumale, was rarely visited by the dukes, who had few domains there.

For their part, both the dukes of Normandy and the kings of France gained a grim familiarity with the Franco-Norman marches through their wars, as well as through their customary parleys 'in the march' at places such as Gisors, Ivry or the Gué-Saint-Rémy near Nonancourt.[15] Yet there was an important contrast between the activities of the rulers of Normandy and their Capetian overlords. The Plantagenets knew adjacent parts of *Francia* through peacetime relations with their neighbours: Henry II visited Paris in 1158 and 1169, claiming on the latter occasion to be seneschal of France; Henry the Young King bore the crown at the coronation of Philip Augustus at Reims, and he and his brothers roamed northern France in search of tournaments, which often took place in the

[11] See the following itineraries:
Henry I: Farrer 1919.
Stephen: Helmerichs 1993, modifying *RRAN*, iii, xxxix–xliv (especially xl).
Matilda, Geoffrey of Anjou, Henry duke of Normandy: *RRAN*, iii, xliv–xlviii. Before his accession Stephen had been not only count of Mortain but also briefly lord of Alençon (1118–19): Orderic, vi, 196, 204–8; King 2000, 275–7.
Henry of Anjou as king: Eyton 1878; a substantially different itinerary will be published by Judith Everard in the *Acta of Henry II* (forthcoming, Oxford).
Richard I: Landon 1935, 1–145. Richard had spent much of his life before 1189 in Aquitaine.
John: *Rot. Pat.*, unnumbered pages following p. xlviii. As count of Mortain he had already spent much time in Normandy and *Francia*.
Louis VI: *Actes de Louis VI*, iii, 199–218.
Louis VII: Luchaire 1885, 62–8.
Philip Augustus: *Catalogue*, ciij–cx, modified by *Actes de Philippe Auguste*.

[12] Torigni, ii, 14; *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. cccxci (cf. no. ccclii); cf. *Dict. topog. Sarthe*, 130–1.

[13] Holt 1990, 23; Landon 1935, 26–7, 111–42.

[14] *RN*, 58–61, 63–5, 68–72.

[15] Lot 1904, 228 n.4; Lemarignier 1945, 85–113.

Franco-Norman borderlands themselves.[16] Just as frequently the sons of Henry II journeyed across the marches to plot with Louis VII and Philip Augustus.[17] In contrast, until the annexations of Philip Augustus the Capetian kings rarely resided in the frontier districts except in the Vexin and at Dreux (until 1152) and Mantes, and they hardly knew the Norman marches west of Verneuil at all. Louis VII had attacked Sées in 1152, and Philip Augustus was at Bonsmoulins in 1188, marched across Maine in 1189, and besieged Ballon in 1199; yet when the French were admitted to Alençon in 1203, the king of France was still a stranger to that region who had come there primarily at the invitation of local magnates and in arms. Perhaps the only peaceful Capetian visit west of the customary zone of conflict was Louis VII's pilgrimage to Mont-Saint-Michel in 1158.[18] Even after 1204 the Capetian kings remained very aloof towards Normandy, although their *baillis* maintained a tight grip upon the duchy.

The 'war of the kings'

Another important aspect of the Norman frontier in the twelfth century was the increasing number of references to 'royal', 'public' or 'common' war. 'Public war' was a very ancient and widespread concept, found as far apart in time and space as the Anglo-Saxon *Penitential of Archbishop Theodore* in the late seventh or early eighth century, in tenth-century Germany, and in the *Leges Henrici Primi*.[19] The civil wars between the heirs of Anjou in the 1060s and the sons of the Conqueror in the 1100s both earned this epithet.[20] In Maine in 1071, the lord of Château-du-Loir had remitted all military service from the lands of the abbey of Saint-Vincent du Mans except during *bellum publicum*.[21] Although *guerra* is often translated as 'private war', twelfth-century French sources rarely distinguished between royal wars and petty aristocratic conflicts; both were described as *guerra*. Warfare was classified not by combatants –

[16] Torigni, i, 312; ii, 10–11 ('ut senescallus Francie'); *Gesta Henrici*, i, 242–3; *HGM*, iii, 37–69, including between Anet and Sorel (39, 46), Nogent-le-Roi and Maintenon (45), and at Epernon (49–50, 64). The tournaments held at 'Gournay' (36, 68, 73) were at Gournay-sur-Aronde near Compiègne, not Gournay-en-Bray, *pace* Powicke 1961, 109. For the Angevin claims to the seneschalcy of France, see also *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 239–46; Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, viii, 176; Powicke 1961, 13–14; Bournazel 1975, 122–5; Everard 2000, 140–1.

[17] E.g. Howden, ii, 46–7; iii, 203–4; *Layettes*, i, no. 412.

[18] Torigni, i, 313–14. Eyton (1878, 280) placed a meeting of Philip Augustus and Henry II at Alençon in August 1187, although his probable source, Gervase of Canterbury (i, 380), is ambiguous (I am grateful to Judith Everard for discussing this point with me).

[19] Abels 1988, 18; Leyser 1982, 43; *Leges Henrici Primi*, 218 (c. 68, 12). For the use of *publica* in the context of royal authority, see Niermeyer, 869–70.

[20] *Ctl. St-Laud d'Angers*, no. 16; Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii, 706 (Green 2000, 98).

[21] Barton 1995, 54–5.

kings or nobles – but by methods of making war: namely, between the pitched battle (*prelium*, *bellum*), tantamount to a judicial duel writ large and extremely rare; and the skirmishing, raiding *guerra* of *chevauchées* and sieges that was a way of life for many French nobles.[22] In acts concerning the east of his kingdom, Philip Augustus claimed the right to demand extra services *in nomine belli*, over and above the customary *exercitus*, in exceptional crises, such as imperial invasion or conflicts with the exceptionally powerful counts of Flanders.[23] The tenants of the bishop of Bayeux might receive a 'summons for the army in the name of battle' (*submonitio exercitus nomine prælii*), apparently the general summons also known as the *retrobannum* (*arrière-ban*).[24] The distinctions between different types of conflict were very durable: in 1296 the Parlement de Paris ordained that all local wars had to cease during the *guerra regis*.[25]

Yet references to royal or 'public' *guerra* most abound on the Capetians' western frontiers, where the kings of France faced their greatest challenge in the Angevin dynasty, especially from 1188 onwards during what the biographer of William the Marshal called the 'great war':[26] the extent to which that series of conflicts absorbed the total energies of both kings gave it a 'public' or 'royal' character that no other conflict in France could claim. So significant was the *guerra regum* for frontier life that the terms of religious endowments often contained clauses for loss of revenues during royal war.[27] When Robert earl of Leicester ceded Pacy-sur-Eure to the king of France in 1196, both the earl and his sureties promised that the earl would not attempt to recover the castle 'except during a public war between the kings of France and England'.[28] The distinction between royal and other wars was reinforced by the treaties of Louviers and Le Goulet, which included a number of terms by which both kings promised not to interfere in the affairs of each other's lands, nor to support each other's liege men in rebellion. There was, of course, a contradiction in this development, for Philip Augustus preferred to regard his incessant conflicts with the Angevins as actions against a rebellious subject.[29] The ambiguous situation explains how the earl of Leicester could

[22] Duby 1973, 103–4, 190–2. [23] Baldwin 1986, 284–5.

[24] Navel 1934, 14–15, 19, 54–6. For the *arrière-ban*, see also Guilhiermoz 1902, 289–97.

[25] *Ordonnances*, i, 328–9; *Olim*, ii, 405. A charter of 1219–20 implies that the Magna Carta civil war in England was also regarded as a 'common war' (*CRR*, ix, 294–5).

[26] Gillingham 1988, 1–13, at 3, quoting *HGM*, i, line 7365. In *c.*1208 King Philip referred to his war against Richard I as 'major guerra' (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1021).

[27] See above, pp. 323–8.

[28] *Layettes*, i, no. 433: 'nisi in guerra publica inter [regem Francie] et regem Anglie'. The acts of the sureties read 'nisi forte inter dominum regem Francie et regem Anglie guerra publice esset': AN, J 394, nos. 1 (ed. *Layettes*, i, no. 438), 2, 2*bis* (calendared in *ibid.*, nos. 439–40). For the context, see above, pp. 111, 259–61, and Power 2001a.

[29] Above, pp. 109–12.

simultaneously make an implicitly 'private' agreement with the king of France over his castle and acknowledge the more 'public' dimension of the conflict in which he had been taken prisoner.

Protest, rebellion and treachery

In the frontier regions, much of the conflict – in the widest sense of the term – was not between the two royal dynasties, nor even between the duke and his less powerful neighbours, but between the duke and the members of the local aristocracy. To many contemporary chroniclers and modern historians alike, extolling the virtues of central power, the baronage, and frontier barons in particular appear as unruly and troublesome.[30] In the reign of Henry II, when the poet Wace adapted the tale of Count William of the Hiémois in the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, he added the small but telling detail that the count had revolted against Duke Richard II by allying himself with the inhabitants of the marches.[31] The longevity of the rivalries between the dukes and their subjects over certain frontier lordships is undeniable.[32] Yet it is also clear that holding lands on the frontier did not automatically lead to rebelliousness; twelfth-century frontier politics was not merely a story of struggles between reactionary marcher lords and far-sighted, modernising rulers. Unquestionably many nobles were greedy, rapacious, deceitful, and wedded to claims buried deep in the past, but so were their Norman, Angevin or Capetian overlords. Far from being crude and opportunistic, baronial concerns from the reign of Henry I of England to the wars of Philip Augustus show considerable continuity both in their nature and in their limits. Nor can the activities of frontier lords always be attributed automatically to their lands beyond the limits of ducal control; some border lords frequently opposed the duke of Normandy but others tended to support him at times of crisis, and their reactions varied with time and context. The proportion of their lands in politically sensitive areas did not automatically dictate their behaviour, either: the small lordship of Pacy-sur-Eure was an abiding concern of the earls of Leicester, for instance, even though they had far more to occupy them in central Normandy and England,[33] and the counts of Aumale and earls of Chester showed a similar concern for their Norman lands, even though their English lands were far more extensive. Conversely, the lords of Fougères and Gournay and the counts of Perche placed a surprisingly large weight upon

[30] See, for instance, Warren 1973, 122–3, 235–6.

[31] *Roman de Rou*, i, 197–8 (III, lines 963–87, especially line 973); cf. *GND*, ii, 8–10.

[32] Bates 1994, 23–4, 28, 33–5, and Crouch 1994a, 59–61, are two forceful restatements of this continuity. See below, pp. 349–65.

[33] Power 2001a, esp. 125–6, 135–6.

their English possessions, even though they were scattered, remote and, at least in the first two cases, quite modest in extent.[34] All these qualifications imply that a more sophisticated explanation is necessary than the 'rebellious marcher'.

It would be rash to assume that the pressures of the frontier always worked against the duke of Normandy and in favour of his neighbours. The dukes were not the only rulers to come to blows with their own subjects along the Norman frontier. The counts of Anjou often found it difficult to retain the loyalty of the turbulent county of Maine, even after Henry I of England had had to accept in 1120 that it had slipped from his grasp. In 1135, as he was plotting to succeed Henry I in Normandy, Geoffrey of Anjou fell out with Henry's son-in-law, the viscount of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe, and destroyed the town of Beaumont, which controlled the main route from Le Mans to Normandy.[35] Some time that same year, King Henry's daughter Constance, the viscountess of Beaumont, set off to find her father in Normandy, and on the way at Sées she met another lord from the borders of Maine and Normandy, Robert Giroie of Saint-Cénery; also present was Renaud, son of the earl Warenne.[36] It is likely that the sack of Beaumont and the activities of its Anglo-Norman viscountess were connected; taken together, they suggest that Henry I's marriage policies had secured some of the influence in Maine that he coveted but could not enforce directly.

The king of France also clashed with his own *fideles* in the frontier districts from time to time. Even before the Capetian annexation of the French Vexin, Henry I of France (1031–60) had felt obliged to enter the region to besiege the castellan of Gomerfontaine, between Chaumont and Trie.[37] In or about 1109 Louis VI captured La Roche-Guyon after the murder of its lord by a Norman relative, fearing intervention from the duke of Normandy, and shortly afterwards crushed his own brother's insubordination by besieging Mantes.[38] In 1118, the same king was diverted from an attack upon Normandy by the revolt of Dreux de Mouchy, a Beauvaisis lord, even though – or because – Dreux's stepson Hugh de Gournay was then in revolt against the king of England; and

[34] Vincent 1997; Thompson 2002, esp. 164–89; below, pp. 355–9 (Gournay).

[35] Orderic, vi, 444.

[36] BES, *Livre Blanc de St-Martin de Sées*, fols. 114r–115r: 'Notandum autem quia domina Constantina filia Regis Hainrici uxor uero Roscelini uicecomitis que ad patrem suum ibat tantum rogauit predictum Robertum filii (*sic*) Roberti filii Geroii quod ipse sponte sua uenit et ipsa cum eo in capitulum et (?) concessit hoc quod supra exposuimus.' The chapter in question is St-Martin de Sées. With Renaud de Warenne (*Rainaldus filius Comitis Garennensis*) were his wife Amelina and sons Hamelin and William. *EYC*, viii, 6, 26–8, shows that Renaud, son of William I de Warenne, died before 1119, while Renaud, son of William II, was not born until after 1120; the Renaud of 1135 must have been another son of Earl William I, probably illegitimate.

[37] Orderic, ii, 164–6. [38] Suger, 112–24; *Annales de Louis VI*, nos. 75–6.

at the time of the death of his eldest son Philip was planning an expedition against some contumacious lords in the Vexin.[39] In the following generation, the Capetians acquired new difficulties on their borders after Louis VII had forced the Angevins to cede the Norman Vexin to him. Louis drove into exile one of the lords with divided obligations, Theobald de Gisors,[40] while his ire was further aroused in 1153 by another of them, Richard de Vernon. This young man held Vernon on behalf of his father from Duke Henry but his lands in the southern Norman Vexin lay under Capetian rule: Richard's depredations against merchants provoked the king of France into burning the *bourg* of Vernon and later unsuccessfully besieging the castle. To save face, Louis arranged that Goel de Baudemont, whose feudal obligations bound him to both parties, should take over the castle, an interesting example of a symbolic three-way compromise in this district. The fourth party affected, Duke Henry of Normandy, redeemed Vernon and Neufmarché, which King Louis had also taken, for 2000 marks the following year.[41]

The most serious clash between Louis VII and Franco-Norman frontier lords came a few years later in 1159 when, under pressure from Henry II, Count Simon of Evreux and Simon d'Anet opened the gates of their French castles to his Norman troops and badly disrupted communications for the French king in *Francia*.[42] Count Simon simultaneously renounced his homage to Louis VII, for the subsequent treaty made provision for his return to the French king's homage, and the renunciation of oaths which he and his men had made to Henry II; it also removed the count's fiefs in the Norman Vexin from the French king's direct overlordship, along with those of the earl of Leicester and the archbishop of Rouen. By the same treaty Joscelin Crispin and Goel de Baudemont also returned to the homage of Louis VII, and clauses had to be inserted into the treaty to ensure that Louis did not punish these barons from the Norman Vexin for their disloyalty.[43] The events of 1159 show that Count Simon was prepared to cooperate with the duke against his royal lord even

[39] *Hyde Chronicle*, 313–15; *Chr. Morigny*, 56; Orderic, vi, 190–2. Suger, 16, records an earlier conflict between Louis the Fat and Dreux de Mouchy. Either Dreux or his son acquired lands in Sussex under Henry I (*P.R. 31 Henry I*, 70).

[40] *Ctl. Pontoise*, no. CXVI: 'Contigit aliquam oriri discordiam inter Ludovicum regem Francorum et Theobaldum de Gisortio, propter quam etiam terræ suæ mansionem interdixit ei rex.' Theobald and his family took refuge at the abbey of St-Martin de Pontoise.

[41] Torigni, i, 272, 277 ('qui utrique, regi scilicet et Ricardo, beneficio casamenti obnoxius erat'), 285; cf. 'Historia Ludovici', 162; *Chr. Touraine*, 136; Green 1984, 57–8. For the Vernon lands in the southern Norman Vexin, see *Registres*, 296, 303 (*RHF*, xxiii, 711, 713).

[42] Torigni, i, 326; ii, 178–9 (*Continuatio Beccensis*). The report of Simon d'Anet's actions may have reached Bec from its priory at Le Hamel-lès-Bréval.

[43] *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CXLI, 251–2. The count of Evreux's lands in the Vexin lay at Noyon-sur-Andelle.

before marriages and division brought the counts of Evreux wholly into the Anglo-Norman orbit; indeed, his father Amaury, although no friend of Henry I of England, had disrupted the Ile-de-France on his behalf in a remarkably similar fashion in about 1109 and again in 1127–8.[44] If frontier barons were often rebellious, this was not always against the ruler of Normandy.

In England, rebels generally ran the risk of being treated as traitors, and execution was not unknown.[45] Such treatment was also often meted out to Norman rebels before the Angevin period, most recently after the revolt of Count Waleran of Meulan in 1123–4. On that occasion Henry I mutilated several of the count's leading adherents in Normandy and imprisoned the count and his brothers-in-law for years; only the pity of one of the king's own knights had saved the count of Evreux from a similar fate.[46] In the Angevin period, however, Norman rebels were normally treated far more leniently. The Norman lords who joined the great revolt of 1173 incurred the destruction of their castles and often also the confiscation of their English estates and custodies, but all were spared death or long imprisonment.[47] The lords of Mayenne, Laval and Fougères were castigated by chroniclers for abandoning Henry II in his last days; but their only 'punishment' was Richard I's alleged refusal to reward their disloyalty, and in fact Ralph de Fougères did benefit from Richard's accession. Richard's rebuff to these rebels did not stop him rewarding his brother John, who had also deserted King Henry but whose nearness to the throne could not be ignored.[48] Perhaps only the fall of Evreux in 1194 to the forces of Count John of Mortain was marked by murderous behaviour on the part of the victors, and the victims were not rebels but the knights of the French garrison. In contrast, violence was routinely inflicted on property, although 'rebellion' might involve no actual damage, as the revolt of the count of Boulogne at Mortain in 1211 shows.[49]

Roger of Howden repeatedly denounced the 'raging madness of the traitors' that 'burst into flame' in 1173–4, dexterously availing himself of a phrase that he had found in a description of King Stephen's reign, and proceeded to name the magnates and knights whom he numbered amongst

[44] Suger, 124–6; Henry of Huntingdon, 478; *Annales de Louis VI*, nos. 87, 399, 414.

[45] Strickland 1994; Strickland 1996, 230–57. See also Aurell 2002, 27–8.

[46] Orderic, vi, 350–4.

[47] Warren 1973, 140–1 (after *HGM*, lines 2202–22).

[48] Diceto, ii, 63–4; *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 72; for Ralph's gains in 1189, see Vincent 1997, 84–6.

[49] Coulson 1989, 75–7. For the massacre at Evreux (1194), see Strickland 1996, 53, 189–90, 223. The breadth of meaning attached to the language of revolt may be seen in a letter of Count John of Eu (1165 × 70), denouncing his men who were 'rebelling against him' (*mei insurgentes aduersum me*) by laying claim, probably in court (*contra Augensem ecclesiam locuti sunt*), to his ancestors' gifts at Flocques (cant. Eu) to the canons of Eu (BN, ms. lat. 13904, fol. 45r–v). The will of his granddaughter Countess Alice made provisions lest her son 'rebelled' against her bequests (ADSM, 8 H 9, 'si eis in aliquo rebellus esset').

these *proditores*.[50] Yet individual magnates were rarely dubbed 'traitor' in contemporary sources. Even the count of Sées was not denounced as a traitor outside John's own circle. The *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, a comparatively late source for the events of 1203–4, contains a memorable but highly coloured description of the count's treachery to John, immediately after entertaining him at Alençon; the poet's sentiment loses little credibility through its erroneous claim that John stopped in Alençon only long enough to dine. The poet's vitriol continued by describing the Marshal's remonstration with Philip Augustus for his reliance upon traitors.[51] King John's own bitterness is attested by two charters quite unrelated to the count or the Alençonnais, which were nevertheless dated 'in our fourth regnal year, in which Count Robert of Sées committed treason against us at Alençon',[52] but King Philip treated the count with respect until his death. Nor did the French kings treat rebel magnates more harshly than the Plantagenets did, no doubt because armed protest was still more acceptable elsewhere in northern France.[53]

In contrast to these moderately treated rebels, we find certain 'traitors', dubbed *proditor regis* in official documents, whose chief distinguishing mark was betrayal of royal trust. With a few exceptions, they were also of lower social standing than the magnates who rebelled: they generally belonged to the ranks of lesser landowners from whom the bulk of ducal officials were drawn, and owed their position to the exercise of ducal or royal authority rather than to inherited power.[54] Gilbert de Vascœuil, who handed over Gisors to the king of France in 1193, was a baron of middling status from the Andelle valley, on the edge of the Norman Vexin; since the district was in Capetian hands in the 1140s and 1150s, he must have grown up on the borders of the French king's lands. He had earned the trust of Richard I at the beginning of the Third Crusade, witnessing

[50] *Gesta Henrici*, i, 45, 47: 'exarsit nefanda proditorum rabies', taken from the *Historia post Bedam* (Howden, i, 193), which in turn borrowed the phrase from Henry of Huntingdon, 712 (cf. 700 and n.7, 706, where the editor compares it to a similar phrase in Lucan, *Pharsalia*, II, line 544); see also Power 2001a, 122 n.3.

[51] *HGM*, ii, lines 12585–700; Power 1999a, 130. *RN*, 68–70, implies that John was actually at Alençon for four days. For less acerbic descriptions of the count's desertion, see Rigord, 158; Will. Bret., 211; *Hist. des ducs*, 96. Coggeshall, 139, is neutral about the count but harsher against the rebels in Anjou. These refute Powicke (1961, 285), who stated that all men regarded the count as a manifest traitor.

[52] ADSM, 3 H 16 (*CDF*, no. 391), and OBL, Mss D. D. Wykeham-Musgrave c.59, Item 1, both edited in Power 2001b, 458–62 (cf. 445–6): 'anno regni nostro quarto, quo comes Robertus Sagiensis fecit nobis proditionem apud Alenconem'.

[53] The harsh treatment of Renaud de Dammartin, count of Boulogne, after 1214 was exceptional, but so were the circumstances.

[54] Cf. Gillingham 1999, 240–1. An exception amongst the magnates was Hugh III de Gournay, whom, it was believed, King Philip treated as *manifestus proditor* after he betrayed King John's castle of Montfort-sur-Risle to him (*Ann. Jumièges*, 87).

two of the king's agreements at Messina with the kings of France and Sicily, and afterwards escorting Queen Eleanor and the archbishop of Rouen back to Normandy. Richard made him custodian of Gisors at a particularly sensitive moment, for the king had just repudiated Alice of France, an act which cast the future of Gisors into doubt once more.[55] A comparable figure on the French side was Nicholas d'Orphin, who betrayed Nonancourt to Richard I: he was no stranger to Normandy, for he came from the Montfort honour of Rochefort-en-Yvelines, and his father, Robert, had been one of the most frequent witnesses of acts of Count Simon of Evreux. Nicholas, who witnessed few Montfort acts, appears to have been installed as castellan of Nonancourt under the aegis of Count Robert of Dreux in 1193.[56] Yet the importance of his family's past associations with Evreux to his desertion should not be exaggerated; for just when Nicholas surrendered Nonancourt, Simon de Montfort, for whom the Evreux connection was even more significant, was fighting valiantly for King Philip at Aumale.[57]

FRONTIER DYNASTIES

Most histories of the period, both contemporary and modern, focus upon a particular sequence of events, such as the Angevin conquest of Normandy (1135–44), the revolt of Henry the Young King (1173–4), or the reigns of individual rulers, all of which present a synchronic view of the frontier aristocratic communities. Yet a diachronic approach, tracing the history of particular families over a long period, is also necessary for an understanding of the changing relationships between the princes and local magnates on the borders of Normandy. In particular, it illustrates longstanding baronial interest in specific castles, together with the political control that the fortresses symbolised despite changing circumstances. The behaviour of frontier magnates becomes far more explicable when considered in a diachronic context. Castles revealed most starkly the discordance between ducal and baronial interests. Each fortress had a particular place in the defences of Normandy or neighbouring principalities, but most were also symbols of magnate power and authority, with their own history of inheritance, claims, disputes, rivalries and traditions.

[55] Howden, iii, 58–9, 63, 206; Newburgh, i, 389; Coggeshall, 61; Ambroise, lines 1165–7; *Itin.*, 176; Power 1997, 375–6, 378–9, 384n. For Gilbert's English lands, see *P.R. 24 Henry II*, 54; *Rot. Lib.*, 34; *CRR*, vi, 170–1. He had also acted as a justice in the Norman Vexin, perhaps when he was constable of Gisors (Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 148); according to William the Breton he had also surrendered Tours to Philip Augustus in 1189 (*Philippidos*, 92, iii, lines 728–34).

[56] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 159; Powicke 1961, 112. See above, pp. 290, 292.

[57] *Philippidos*, 132–3 (v, lines 188, 218).

Even the relationship between the kings of France and dukes of Normandy was mediated primarily through control of border castles from the reign of Robert Curthose to the treaty of Messina (1191), notably Gisors and the other fortresses of the Norman Vexin. Only in 1191 does Philip Augustus appear to have started to entertain grander designs than control of these border strongholds. It would be simplistic to see the quarrels of the Plantagenets and Capetians as merely a struggle for possession of Gisors, which was invariably the touch-paper for much greater princely rivalries; but the history of such castles reveals how relations between the duke and his neighbours crystallised around local issues. The fortresses disputed between royal dynasties were often also claimed by one or more local aristocratic families, for instance the family of Gisors at Gisors, the family of Breteuil and earls of Leicester at Pacy-sur-Eure, and the Roumares and Garlandes at Neufmarché.

The Talvas

One of the greatest of all frontier families, the Montgomery-Talvas dynasty, failed to come to terms with ducal power in the twelfth century. This was not simply due to the Talvas' *double mouvance*, as for several decades before his death in 1171 William Talvas II was preparing for his county of Ponthieu to be separated from his Norman and Manceau lands, which had been under one ruler since 1144.[58] Nor can his dynasty's recurring contumacy until 1203 be ascribed merely to Henry I's confiscation of its English lands in 1102, or the same king's seizure of Domfront in the 1090s and the Bellêmois in 1113: for as lord of the Saosnois in Maine, William Talvas was on good terms with the Angevin dynasty before 1144. Count Fulk V of Anjou had successfully reinstalled William in Alençon after the town revolted against Henry I in 1118.[59] In 1135, when William Talvas was in conflict with King Henry once more, he retreated to his castles in Maine and from there sustained Geoffrey of Anjou's cause in Normandy.[60]

With Maine and Normandy under one ruler from 1144, partly through the efforts of William Talvas himself, his problems of divided loyalties should have ceased. Furthermore, his younger son John of Sées married Beatrice, the niece of Geoffrey of Anjou, a marriage which brought lands

[58] For the career of William Talvas (d. 1171), see Thompson 1994; for the division of his lands between his grandson John of Ponthieu and younger son John of Sées, see *GND*, ii, 266; *Actes de Ponthieu*, v–vi; Holt 1975, 261; Thompson 1994, 172–3. Louise (1992, ii, 176, 180–1) is more hesitant about the finality of this division before 1171, but he mistakes John, count of Ponthieu, for his uncle John, son of Count William, in *Actes de Ponthieu*, nos. lv, lviii.

[59] Orderic, vi, 204–8, 224; Thompson 1994, 172. [60] Orderic, vi, 444–6, 454, 462, 466.

in England once more to the Talvas, although she may also have inherited internal dissensions within the Angevin dynasty.[61] Duke Geoffrey came to the Talvas' aid in 1150: the previous year John of Sées had lost his castle of La Nue in the Saosnois through treachery to Count Robert of Perche, the brother of the king of France, but Geoffrey now retook it.[62] Yet the Talvas' accommodation with ducal power was shortlived. In 1166 Henry II seized Alençon, La Roche-Mabile and the Alençonnais from William Talvas and his heirs, and John of Sées lost his English lands as well.[63] Henry's action may have been prompted by rumours of a Manceau revolt, but he also placed great importance upon Alençon itself, now in the heart of his lands: his seizure of Alençon resurrected the revival of the ancient dispute between duke and count over the fortresses at the junction of the roads from central Normandy to the Loire valley.[64] In 1173, after the Young King fled to Perche and Paris from Alençon, Henry held his Easter court at Alençon, from where he could move quickly against any revolt in Normandy or Anjou. Count John was a leader of the revolt of 1173–4, and suffered the ignominy of being repulsed from his own town of Sées.[65]

Not all the Talvas activities point to hostility to the ducal régime. Acts concerning their lands in central Normandy depict them as receptive to ducal administration. Both the son and the seneschal of Count John I (1171–91) are known to have attended the exchequer court at Caen,[66] and Count John wrote to Richard I and his officials to inform them of the rightful seisin of land at Crocy near Falaise.[67] Between 1191 and 1200 Count John's son Count Robert confirmed that another act concerning Crocy had been proved false before the seneschal of Normandy, an

[61] Thompson 1996b, 53–9: lands at Aldbourne (Berks.) and Wanborough (Wilts.), for which see also Thompson 2002, 165–7. She plausibly dates John's marriage to Beatrice to 1141 × 44, when William Talvas and Beatrice's grandfather Rotrou II of Perche were both supporting Geoffrey's campaigns in Normandy (*ibid.*, 86). Beatrice was the daughter of Helias, imprisoned for life by his brother Geoffrey of Anjou in 1145, and of Philippa of Perche, a granddaughter of Henry I. John of Sées held the lands by 1156, if he is the 'count of Ponthieu' recorded in Wiltshire in *P.R. 2–3–4 Henry II*, 59.

[62] Torigni, i, 254. For La Nue, see Louise 1992, ii, 207–8; for the date of this war, see Grant 1997, 63. Thompson (2002, 90) notes that William Talvas was then on crusade.

[63] Torigni, i, 360; Thompson 2002, 169. The castle of Essay near Alençon remained in comital hands (*Gesta Henrici*, i, 45n.), but the forest of Ecouves was in the ducal domain in 1180 (*MRSN*, i, 18).

[64] Torigni, i, 361–2.

[65] *Gesta Henrici*, i, 41–2, 45; Diceto, i, 355, 371, 379. The *Gesta Henrici* mentioned the 'count of Ponthieu' but his uncle and namesake Count John I of Sées was intended, for a marginal note reveals that he held Essay, St-Rémy-du-Val (in the Saosnois) and Mamers (i, 45, n. 14).

[66] Haskins 1918, 328 (William, son of Count John I, 1189 × 1200); *Actes de Henri II*, intro., 347 (Adam de Sainte-Croix, 1176). For Adam as seneschal and witness for Count John I, see ADC, H 6511, nos. 3, 9.

[67] ADC, H 6511, no. 5 (1189 × 90) (*CDF*, no. 601). The counts also dated acts by Richard I's coronation: ADC, H 6510, fols. 17v–18r, no. 64 (*CDF*, no. 604); H 6511, no. 7.

interesting example of cooperation between comital and ducal authorities.[68] Yet a series of disputes between the counts and the abbey of Troarn, which had been founded in the previous century by Roger II de Montgomery, indicates growing Plantagenet influence in the Talvas honour of Troarn near Caen. When William Talvas clashed with the monks of Troarn over the manor of Robehomme, before the Second Crusade, the monks assiduously collected letters concerning the case from Pope Eugenius III, Archbishop Hugh of Rouen and Bishop Rotrou of Evreux, but none from Duke Geoffrey.[69] A few years later it was Pope Adrian IV who intervened when the count and his son were accused of stirring up the clerks of Robehomme against their diocesan, the bishop of Bayeux.[70] In contrast, Henry II's confirmation was sought for the resolution of the next Talvas dispute with Troarn, in 1171, when Count John I also surrendered his right of patronage over the abbey to the duke;[71] and the count and his sons sold the manor of Robehomme itself to the monks in the presence of Richard I at the Caen Exchequer in 1190.[72] There were no more Talvas acts for Troarn. While there is less evidence of the Talvas heeding Angevin government in the marches, Count John I undertook to seek King Henry's confirmation for a concord that he made with the priory of Mamers in Maine, concerning the respective rights of the counts and the priory.[73] When he was preparing to go on crusade, John wrote to the seneschals of Normandy and Maine to inform them of his arrangements and debts, and he expected the officials of Richard I to intervene if his son ejected his own seneschals from their posts.[74]

[68] ADC, H 6512, no. 4 (*CDF*, no. 605): 'in presentia mea . . . abiurauit etiam predictus Hernulfus memoratis monachis omnes illas consuetudines quas per auctoritatem cuiusdam false carte, quam contra eos fecerat, ab eisdem ausu temerario expetere presumebat, quam scilicet cartam Willelmus filius Radulfi senescallus Normannie propriis oculis uidit et omnino falsam esse comprobauit'.

[69] BN, ms. lat. 10086, fols. 108r–v, 111v–113v, mostly published in *Ctl. du Temple*, nos. 477–8, 550–2, and *ibid.*, 'Bullaire', nos. 15–16; also Sauvage 1911, 24–8, and 371–5 (*Preuves*, nos. X, XI); *PDN*, ii, nos. 5, 9–12. Although Bishop Rotrou was a justice of Geoffrey of Anjou, he appears to have been involved in this dispute at the request of the Pope.

[70] *Livre Noir de Bayeux*, i, nos. CLXXXIII, CLXXXIV, CCI (1155 × 59).

[71] *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CCCIX Sauvage 1911, 386–7 (*Preuves*, no. XIV). William Talvas died on 29 June 1171 (Torigni, ii, 28; Sauvage 1911, 28 n.1).

[72] Sauvage 1911, 29–30, 388–9 (*Preuves*, no. XVI); ADC, H 7834; *CDF*, nos. 484–5; *Actes de Henri II*, intro. vol., 349–50.

[73] ADSA, H 298, a *vidimus* (1246) of an act of Bishop William of Le Mans, probably dating from 1171 × 80: 'Promisit etiam comes ut compositionem istam sigillo domini Regis muniri faceret.' See also above, p. 69.

[74] ADC, F 5047 (kindly drawn to my attention by M. Le Roc'h Morgère of the Archives du Calvados): 'Siniscallo Normannie et siniscallo Cenomannie et omnibus balliuis domini R. regis Anglie, Johannes filius Will(elm)i comitis Pontiuii salutem. Nouerit uniuersitas uestra quod ego tradidi Johanni filio meo, ut filio et heredi meo, totam terram meam de Normannia et de Cenomannia, ad custodiendum . . . Et in terra mea predicta siniscallos meos constitui, ita ut Johannes filius meus eos a siniscalliis suis remouere non possit donec a Jherosolimis redierim uel mortuus

Perhaps these signs of cooperation or acknowledgments of Angevin authority explain King John's reliance upon Count Robert on the Norman frontier in 1202–3, but ducal control of the Alençonnais remained an open sore until the count betrayed Alençon to Philip Augustus. After 1204 Count Robert enjoyed much rosier relations with his distant Capetian king, whose power from southern Normandy to Poitou rested upon a network of magnates including the count, than his family ever had had with the dukes of Normandy.[75]

Tillières, l'Aigle, Gournay

The relations of some other frontier families with the dukes of Normandy were less consistently hostile. The Crispins of Tillières had interests in *Francia* and associated with their 'French' neighbours the lords of Brezolles, but most often supported the duke in his wars: perhaps they were overawed by the great ducal fortress of Verneuil in the midst of their lands, and Gilbert V had also received lands in England from Henry I.[76] By 1180 there was a ducal constable at Tillières: he was probably already there in 1173, because when Gilbert de Tillières joined the Young King's revolt he based himself at his fortress of Damville, eight miles to the north. Ralph de Diceto names Gilbert amongst the resentful 'disinherited' who rebelled in 1173, perhaps because the family had lost custody of the fortress from which it took its name, but the failure of the uprising proved to Gilbert the futility of revolt against the duke as a means of enhancing his position.[77]

Unlike the Tillières, their neighbours and kinsmen (from the mid-twelfth century) the lords of l'Aigle held all their possessions within the Anglo-Norman realm, but had rather variable relations with the dukes of Normandy. Until its extinction in the male line in 1231 their relationship with the duke was defined as much by their English and central Norman lands as their position on the Norman frontier, while the marriages of its members show that they were integrated into mainstream Norman society.[78] Gilbert I de l'Aigle (d. 1118) fought for the dukes against Robert de Bellême and was later active as a justice on Henry I's

fuerim.' The count detailed his debts and his arrangements for his wife and other children in the event of his death.

[75] See Power 1999a, 130; below, p. 451.

[76] Powicke 1961, 182, 100–1, 197; *Bk. Fees*, i, 106 (Compton, Berks.). For the Tillières in ducal service, see Orderic, vi, 248 (1119); Torigni, i, 268–9 (1152).

[77] Diceto, i, 371; *Gesta Henrici*, i, 46, 56; Powicke 1961, 71. He was at the Norman Exchequer in 1185: *Holy Trinity Charters*, no. 18 (*Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. DCXLVII).

[78] Thompson 1996a, 190–5; above, p. 237.

behalf.[79] His marriage to Juliana du Perche (1091) established a dynastic alliance between Perche and l'Aigle that remained the political fulcrum of this frontier district until at least 1158.[80]

After Gilbert's death, however, the relations of the lords of l'Aigle with the ruler of Normandy passed from cooperation to hostility. Richer II (1118–76) rebelled against Henry I in 1118 because he was denied his father's English lands, including part of the honour of Pevensey: he turned for help to Louis VI, who took control of l'Aigle even though King Henry had quickly acceded to Richer's demands. Richer remained loyal to Henry I once he had regained his English inheritance, but these events show how even minor protests in the frontier regions could be fanned into a dangerous threat to ducal power by external interference.[81] The construction of the fortress of Bonsmoulins by Henry I cannot have been to Richer's advantage since it lay so close to his lands, and he extorted the castle from Stephen in 1137.[82]

If this acquisition was intended to secure Richer's position, it proved to be in vain. By 1152 Richer's relations with the dukes of Normandy had broken down once more. The young Duke Henry burned Bonsmoulins and demanded hostages from Richer, who had allegedly been harbouring brigands and excommunicates in the castle, but since Duke Henry was then at war with the erstwhile regent of Perche, Count Robert of Dreux, it is likely that the family alliance between l'Aigle and Perche, rather than ensuring peace upon the southern Norman march, had eventually brought Richer and the duke into conflict; in any case, Henry probably resented that one of his grandfather's new fortresses had fallen into baronial hands.[83] Six years later, Henry II capitalised upon this relationship by forcing Richer to give up Bonsmoulins at the same time as the count of Perche surrendered Moulins, but Richer was allowed to recover the English lands which he had lost in Stephen's reign.[84] Thereafter, although Richer II was implicated in the Young King's revolt, the lords of l'Aigle were generally more amenable to the authority of the ruler of Normandy; and Gilbert II de l'Aigle (d. 1231) probably fought for King John to the end of his regime in Normandy.[85] As at Tillières, a mixture of force and

[79] Thompson 1996a, 182–5. For Gilbert as justice, see *Ch. Jumièges*, i, no. xlvii; Barroux 1942–3, 143, 150 (Lyons-la-Forêt, 1106 × 18); on both occasions William de Tancarville was also a judge.

[80] Orderic, iv, 200–2; vi, 484, 546–8.

[81] Orderic, vi, 196–8; Thompson 1996a, 185–7.

[82] Orderic, vi, 484.

[83] Torigni, i, 269: 'raptores et excommunicatores'.

[84] Torigni, i, 314–15.

[85] Thompson (1996a, 192–3), following *Bk. Fees*, i, 65, and *Rot. Lib.*, 67, argues that Gilbert deserted in Oct. 1203, when lands that Guérin de Glapion held from Gilbert were seized; but the first source implies that Gilbert deserted King John only after the latter's return to England (Dec. 1203), and the second forms part of a more general confiscation of Guérin de Glapion's assets. *P.R. 6 John*, 186, and *RN*, 124, show Gilbert's lands in John's hands by early June 1204.

persuasion had enabled the dukes to stamp their will upon a family of secondary importance.

In north-eastern Normandy, the lords of Gournay-en-Bray have often been taken as the very epitome of turncoat marchers; Hugh III de Gournay (d. 1214–15) was the butt of contemporary contempt and derision for precisely this fault.[86] Such opinions paid scant attention to the previous history of Gournay. Like the Crispins of Tillières, the lords of Gournay had acquired lands beyond the limits of ducal authority, some in the adjacent parts of the dioceses of Amiens and Beauvais, others further away in the Laonnais through the marriage of Hugh II (d. 1179) to Melisende de Coucy. Like the lords of l'Aigle, the Gournays were one of the first Norman families to incur the wrath of Duke Henry of Normandy, and they likewise placed much store in retaining or recovering lands in England, notably the manors of Wendover and Bledlow in Buckinghamshire and Houghton Regis in Bedfordshire. Their abiding concern for a small number of English manors is all the more striking because their lordship over three castles in north-east Normandy gave them a capacity for relatively independent action in Norman politics.

The grandfather of Hugh III, Gerard (d. *c.*1104), had been one of the first Norman lords to side with William Rufus against Robert Curthose, and his lands in eastern and southern Normandy rendered him 'so powerful that no one could force his hand': he easily defied Robert Curthose when the duke wished to transfer his land at Ecouché near Argentan to his cousin Count William of Evreux, who also claimed it.[87] Gerard's son Hugh II, whom the Warenne Chronicle depicted as 'wild in spirit though young in age', was much criticised by Orderic for rebelling against Henry I in 1118 despite his upbringing in the king's own household.[88] The situation was complex: Hugh's stepfather, Dreux de Mouchy, was then in revolt against Hugh's ally Louis VI of France, while Hugh's uncle William de Warenne was serving the king of England and eventually secured his young nephew's release from captivity. Orderic's account suggests that Dreux had retained custody of Hugh's lands until the eve of his rebellion, which was probably the cause of the tension between them.[89]

Henry I's response to Hugh II's revolt was to attack his castle of La Ferté-en-Bray, the nearest of Hugh's castles to Rouen. Robert Curthose had selected the same target in order to punish Hugh's father in 1089 and it would be assaulted again by Duke Henry of Normandy in 1152,

[86] *Ann. Jumièges*, 87; *Hist. des ducs*, 92. Cf. *Rot. Chart.*, 113, 116; Powicke 1961, 108, 285–6; Gillingham 1999, 241.
[87] Orderic, iv, 182, 186 ('tantæque potentiæ cui nemo uim inferre poterat').
[88] *Hyde Chronicle*, 313 ('juvenis quidem ætate sed animo ferus'); Orderic, vi, 190–2.
[89] *Hyde Chronicle*, 313, 315; Orderic, vi, 188–92, 198–200.

when Hugh II was allegedly sheltering Henry's enemies.[90] Yet in the intervening three decades Hugh II had been a force for order, notably in the aftermath of the death of Henry I when the other nobles of Normandy, perhaps fearing that Louis VI would attempt to exploit the uncertainty over Henry's successor, deputed Hugh to defend the duchy's frontier, and later he held the ducal castle at Lyons-la-Forêt, apparently for King Stephen.[91]

The renewed breakdown in relations between the dukes of Normandy and the Gournays therefore dates from the coming of the Angevins. Hugh II's support for King Stephen had extended to England, where he apparently joined him at the siege of Shrewsbury in 1138 and was later rewarded with the manors of Wendover and Houghton Regis.[92] Hugh's participation in the crusade of Louis VII also made him appear too friendly with the king of France, who came to blows with Henry of Anjou upon his return from the Holy Land.[93] Henry meted out further punishment against Hugh de Gournay after his accession to the English throne by resuming Wendover and conferring it upon Faramus de Boulogne.[94] During the Young King's revolt the now aged Hugh II and his only surviving son, Hugh III, were captured by the rebels, who burned Gournay and extorted ransoms from its burgesses, which hardly suggests that the lords of Gournay were inveterate opponents of the Angevin régime; but Hugh's servants plundered royal estates in Suffolk, and his manors of Bledlow and Houghton Regis were taken into royal hands in reprisal.[95] Hugh III probably recovered Bledlow in the last years of Henry II's reign, but Houghton was not restored until the accession of Richard I,[96] who also granted Hugh freedom from ordinary taxes on the eve of their departure on crusade and later made him governor of Acre.[97] The lord of

[90] *GC*, xi, instr., cols. 18–19; Orderic, vi, 200; Torigni, i, 268.

[91] Orderic, vi, 450; Torigni, i, 235.

[92] *RRAN*, iii, no. 132; Gurney 1848–58, i, 174–5; Farrer 1923–5, iii, 421. I am grateful to Edmund King for confirming the authenticity of King Stephen's act at Shrewsbury (doubted by the editors of *RRAN*).

[93] For Hugh's crusade, see Gurney 1848–58, i, 111.

[94] *CRR*, vi, 272–3, records an inquest in 1212 which stated that Henry II seized Wendover after the Toulouse campaign (1159), with a copy of Henry's charter of confirmation for Melisende de Gournay's dower, including Wendover (cf. *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CCCXXV); but it also recorded another act of Henry II that granted Wendover to Faramus de Boulogne, and stated that Richard I had confirmed Wendover to Faramus' daughter. In fact, Henry II had given Wendover to Faramus by 1156–7 (*P.R. 2–3–4 Henry II*, 22, 24). For the details and problems of this dispute, see *Missenden Ctl.*, i, pp. 245–6; *VCH Bucks*, iii, 23–4; Farrer 1923–5, iii, 421–2; Holt 1992, 157–8; Amt 1993, 86; Holt (1994, 308 n.70, 312) suggests that Henry's act for Melisende may be spurious.

[95] Diceto, i, 369; *P.R. 20 Henry II*, 39, 86; *P.R. 21 Henry II*, 108, 110.

[96] Houghton Regis: *P.R. 1 Richard I*, 30; *HKF*, iii, 421. Bledlow disappears from the pipe rolls after 1182 (*P.R. 28 Henry II*, 116, 119).

[97] *Cartæ Antiquæ Rolls 11–20*, no. 461 (Gisors, 28 Mar. 1190); Howden, iii, 122.

Gournay's rebellion during Richard I's German captivity cost him all his English manors for a time;[98] consequently Hugh soon divested himself of his more troublesome English lands by exchanging Bledlow for tithes which the abbey of Bec held at Gournay and Gaillefontaine, and by granting Houghton to his daughter as her dowry.[99] He still coveted Wendover, however, and after challenging the daughter of Faramus de Boulogne for the manor in 1201, he received it the following spring, only to lose it again when he revolted in 1203; in 1209, after the loss of all his Norman lands, Hugh recovered Wendover once more.[100]

The behaviour of the lords of Gournay suggests that they were no more susceptible to revolt than most other Norman magnates. How, then, do we account for the tergiversations of Hugh III between 1193 and 1203? An important aspect of this dynasty's history is its territorial power. To the Jumièges annalist, Bray was more or less synonymous with the land of Hugh de Gournay.[101] No ducal revenues appear for Bray, and the service of Hugh's knights to the duke in the 'march' was undefined.[102] The lord of Gournay's *dominatio* or *potestas*, as Hugh III termed his lands in a charter of 1198, bore far more resemblance to a lord of Mayenne or Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais than to most of his Norman peers.[103] Nevertheless, by the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was being undermined by the growth of French royal power in the Beauvaisis. In 1188–90 Hugh had confirmed a grant of Geoffrey de Beaussault concerning lands near Formerie in the diocese of Amiens, but in 1202 Philip Augustus entrusted the castle of Formerie to his loyal cousin Philip de Dreux, bishop of Beauvais, for twenty-two years, disregarding the rights of Geoffrey's brother and successor Simon de Beaussault.[104] In the wars of 1193–6 and 1202–4 many of Hugh's knights sided against him.[105] Hugh III consolidated his territorial control north of Gournay in 1199 by acquiring the fief of Marigny and Dampierre from Hugh de Montfort, but could not offset the threat to his authority from the east.[106]

[98] *P.R. 7 Richard I*, 35, 61; *Chancellor's Roll 8 Richard I*, 151.

[99] Eton College, C 5 (Bledlow) (*HMC 9th Report*, appendix, 356; transcript courtesy of Nicholas Vincent); *Bk. Fees*, ii, 875; *Rot. Lib.*, 40.

[100] *Rot. Pat.*, 1; Holt 1992, 157–8; for the restitution of 1202, see *Rot. Lib.*, 32, given at Hugh's castle of La Ferté (17 May).

[101] *Ann. Jumièges*, 85.

[102] *RB*, ii, 628.

[103] ADOI, H 4739: act of Hugh, lord of Gournay, granting free passage to the monks of Beaupré 'per totam terram dominationis mee', and instructing 'cunctis hominibus potestatis mee, prefectis, bailliuis et seruientibus meis', to protect the abbey's goods. See also *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 719, for Hugh's lordship over the lands of the abbey of St-Germer de Fly.

[104] ADOI, H 4850 ('Ctl. Lannoy', no. CII); *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 714.

[105] See below, pp. 416, 427–8.

[106] *Rot. Chart.*, 21. Dampierre-en-Bray (cant. Gournay) and Marigny (now Margny, a ruin at La Vieuville, cne. Dampierre) later formed the core of the estates of the Portier family, from whom

The orientation towards *Francia*, the Beauvaisis and Vermandois was both the strength and weakness of the Gournays' power. They had no fortifications or ecclesiastical foundations east of the Epte, which formed the boundary of the dioceses of Rouen and Beauvais south of Gaillefontaine, but numerous fiefs to the east of the river were held from them, and the French Vexin and Beauvaisis mattered to them a great deal. Hugh III was acquiring property in the French Vexin in the 1190s,[107] while the chief lord of the western French Vexin, John de Gisors, not only held land from Hugh at Gisors itself but also witnessed acts of Hugh which were of no immediate concern to him, suggesting some intimacy with his northern neighbour.[108] The Beauvaisis affected the position of the lords of Gournay still more. The coinage of Beauvais was the usual currency in Bray.[109] Hugh II de Gournay had financed his participation in the Second Crusade by pledging a *fief-rente* that he held from the bishop of Beauvais and by raising loans from the citizens of that city, although it required papal intervention to make him settle his debts upon his return.[110] Contacts with the district continued in his son's time: during the Third Crusade Hugh de Gournay camped at Acre with the counts of Clermont and Blois, and the kings of England and France granted joint custody of Acre to Hugh III and Dreux de Mello, a prominent French *curialis* who also had connections with the Beauvaisis.[111] In about July 1200 Hugh stood surety for another Beauvaisis lord, Renaud de Mello, when he promised to deliver his *domus fortis* of Bailleul to the bishop of Beauvais.[112] The

descended Enguerrand de Marigny, the famous chamberlain of Philip IV. *RHF*, xxiii, 638; ADSM, 53 HP 32, no. 80 (act of Hugh le Portier concerning Marigny, s.d.); BN, Coll. Picardie CCCV, no. 21 (Enguerrand le Portier, lord of Marigny, concerning Dampierre, 1235); Favier 1963, 9–12, and *Ctl. Marigny*, nos. 30–3.

[107] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 504 (cf. no. 944).

[108] Gurney 1848–58, i, 160 (ADC, H 6597): Hugh III grants a *masura* at Ecouché to Perseigne; witnesses include Count Geoffrey of Perche, John de Gisors and Gerard de Fournival. *Ibid.*, suppl. vol., 758–9 (ADE, H 91, fols. 34v–35r): act of Hugh III for Bec witnessed by John de Gisors. Cf. *Registres*, 99–100.

[109] Power 1994, 296–8.

[110] Gurney 1848–58, i, 111; Guyotjeannin 1987, 128–9; *PL*, clxxx, 1460, no. CDXXXIV (Eugenius III to Archbishop Hugh of Rouen, 1151). The bishop, Odo III, in turn pledged the *fief-rente* to the cathedral chapter (BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1656, fols. 13v–14r).

[111] Diceto, ii, 79; *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 179–80; Howden, iii, 122. Either Dreux, later constable of Philip Augustus, or his father of the same name was the half-brother of William de Garlande and Robert Mauvoisin, and although their kinship to the lords of Mello (see next note) cannot be established exactly, it is likely that they were cadets of this lineage; Bournazel 1975, 36–8 and (for Dreux) n.79; Dor (1992, 26 n.31), who corrects Bournazel in important details; Baldwin 1986, 104–5.

[112] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 647 (n.3 for date); AN, K 189, Beauvais, no. 6. For Renaud, eldest son (d. 1201) or younger brother of William de Mello, lord of Bulles (d. *c.*1198), see Newman 1971, i, 83–8; Guyotjeannin 1987, 145–6. In *c.*1170 a William de Mello had witnessed a lay act of Hugh II de Gournay concerning Bledlow (PRO, C146/5895; *Cal. Ancient Deeds*, vi, 279), perhaps the William, lord of Mello, who issued an undated act 'apud Balleolum in domo mea' (BN, Coll. Picardie CCCIV, no. 51). Three of the latter's uncles, Renaud (?) de

Gournays' interests extended even deeper into *Francia*: after Hugh III had betrayed King John in 1203, his lands in the Laonnais which had formed the dowry of his mother, Melisende de Coucy, served as a refuge until his reconciliation with King John in 1206,[113] and it is probably due to this connection that another scion of the Coucy family, Robert de Boves, had a fief near Gournay in the early thirteenth century.[114] Robert's brother, the notorious mercenary captain Hugh de Boves, also appears to have found service with King John as the *nepos* of the Hugh de Gournay, on whose behalf he afflicted the monks of Dunstable in a quarrel over the manor of Houghton Regis.[115]

The growth of Capetian power in the Beauvaisis was therefore likely to be of considerable significance to the lords of Gournay, and in 1193 Hugh faced a French invasion of his lands. We cannot know whether or not he joined King Philip willingly: he must have been deeply affected by Gilbert de Vascœuil's surrender of Gisors to the king of France, both because of his existing connections with Gilbert in Normandy and England, and because of his own rights in Gisors.[116] Whether or not Aumale and Beauvoir-en-Lyons were Hugh's reward for his desertion of King Richard – the key text, the terms of the truce of 1194 recorded by Roger of Howden, is ambiguous, although Hugh certainly acquired lands in the French Vexin at this time[117] – the lord of Gournay paid heavily for his actions, for it was while raiding Hugh's lands from Rouen that the earl of Leicester fell into an ambush.[118] Hugh was back in royal favour by 1197, and a surety for King John at Le Goulet in 1200; and it is some testimony to Hugh's loyalty to John that he continued to fight for him for almost a year after his castles of La Ferté, Gaillefontaine and Gournay had fallen into French hands. Like his predecessors, Hugh III de Gournay was no mere trimmer, but a powerful yet struggling head of a great lordship overwhelmed by irreconciliable external pressures.

Bulles and his brothers Lancelin and Theobald, had endowed the abbey of Mortemer with the consent of Hugh II de Gournay, his wife Melisende and their sons Gerard and Hugh (ADE, H 633, damaged confirmation of Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, 1161). Their kinsman Manasser de Bulles had witnessed an act of Hugh II for Saint-Pierre des Préaux in 1172 (ADE, H 711, fols. 51v–52r, no. 116).

[113] Gurney 1848–58, suppl., 759–60 (Nouvion-le-Vineux near Laon, Dec. 1205); for his parents' grants to the abbeys of Anchin (from Nouvion) and Prémontré (from Gaillefontaine), see ADN, 1 H 41, nos. 460, 466 (cf. *Actes de Henri II*, intro. vol., 390); ADOI, H 6036. Hugh is said to have fled in 1203 to Cambrai, the nearest imperial city; it was Otto IV who secured Hugh's pardon from King John in Dec. 1205, leading to the restoration of his English lands in Feb. 1206 (*Hist. des ducs*, 92; *Rot. Pat.*, 57; *Rot. Claus.*, i, 65).

[114] *RHF*, xxiii, 638 (Héricourt-sur-Thérain, later one of the *Conquests Hue de Gournay*).

[115] *Rot. Lib.*, 160; *Ann. Mon.*, iii, 44 (cf. 38, 42).

[116] Power 1997, 373–5, 378–9, 384n.

[117] Howden, iii, 258 (cf. Powicke 1961, 108); *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 504.

[118] Howden, iii, 253–4.

The duke's southern neighbours

To the south, Normandy was bordered by Brittany, Maine and Perche, and the control of fortresses played a particularly important part in relations between the dukes of Normandy and the counts of Perche in particular.[119] Kathleen Thompson has shown how successive kings of England skilfully renegotiated their relationship with counts of Perche, whom they bribed with lands in England, royal marriages, and lavish grants on both sides of the Channel to the counts' younger brothers. Rotrou II received Matilda, an illegitimate daughter of Henry I, as bride even before Henry's subjugation of Normandy, and in 1189 Richard I married his niece Matilda (Richenza) of Saxony to the future Count Geoffrey III during his own coronation festivities.[120] Yet the borders of Normandy and Perche remained paramount in the relations of the counts of Perche with the rulers of Normandy, especially the castles of Moulins, Bonsmoulins and Bellême.[121] In 1113 Rotrou II aided the king of England at the siege of Bellême, to which he had a claim and which he received with the entire Bellêmois to hold from King Henry, despite the claims of the French king to overlordship there.[122] Although the grant of Bellême to the count signalled the retreat of direct Norman control over the Bellêmois, Henry maintained garrisons in the district.[123] Rotrou was drawn further into the Norman orbit through ducal weakness after the death of Henry I, for he and his nephew Richer de l'Aigle extorted the castles of Moulins and Bonsmoulins as the price of their support for Stephen.[124] Rotrou's subsequent disillusionment with the king of England contributed heavily to Stephen's defeat in Normandy, but he also acted as a neutral party, hosting a great gathering of 'the barons of those regions' at Mortagne after Stephen's capture at Lincoln.[125]

Count Rotrou's death ushered in a great change in his dynasty's position on the Norman frontier. In a time of Norman weakness, Louis VII was able to bestow the county along with Rotrou's widow upon his

[119] For what follows concerning the counts of Perche, see principally Thompson 2002, chapters 3–7.

[120] Thompson 2002, 164–89 (English lands), 55, 71–2 (Matilda), 109–10 (Richenza-Matilda), 104–5, 170–1, 178 (Geoffrey, brother of Rotrou III), 119–20, 135, 143 (Stephen, brother of Count Geoffrey III).

[121] For the three castles see Power 1995, 189; Thompson 2002, 61–5, 79–80, 88, 92–3, 120.

[122] Orderic, vi, 182; *GND*, ii, 264; Lemarignier 1945, 64; Louise 1992, i, 418–22.

[123] Orderic, vi, 194 (Motte-Gautier-de-Clinchamp, 1118). Cf. Louise 1992, ii, 209–10.

[124] Orderic, vi, 484. In 1139, Rotrou was 'taken into the king's pay' and defeated the unruly knights of the honour of Breteuil (*ibid.*, 534–6; cf. 512).

[125] Orderic, vi, 546–50. Cf. Crouch (1986, 32), for Rotrou's meeting with the earl of Leicester at Nogent-le-Rotrou, another of Rotrou's castles.

brother Robert, who styled himself 'lord of Bellême' in 1145;[126] Robert must therefore have gained control of the 'Norman' castle of Moulins as well. In 1149, moreover, he temporarily won the castle of La Nue, on the borders of Maine and Perche, by treachery.[127] Moulins and La Nue became stumbling blocks in the relationship between the counts of Perche and the Angevins, whose lands now bordered the triangular county of Perche upon two sides. When Count Robert's stepson, Rotrou III, reached his majority, he was never as closely aligned with the duke of Normandy as his father had been. In 1158 Henry II forced him to cede Moulins and Bonsmoulins, giving reason enough for the counts of Perche to bear a grudge from then on. According to Robert of Torigni, Rotrou received the castle of Bellême in return; but since Bellême was already in comital hands in 1145, the most that Henry can have renounced in 1158 was a nominal right to hold the castle.[128] Rotrou's marriage to a sister of the count of Blois also contributed to his political orientations, for other marriages were bringing the house of Blois into close and amicable relations with Louis VII. Perche was raided by Norman forces under Henry II in 1168, and the following year the king of England constructed earthworks along his border with Perche 'to repel raiders'.[129] In 1173, Rotrou supported the Young King's rebellion, together with his father's old enemies, the Talvas counts of Sées, and the count of Blois, and appears to have been party to the original conspiracy, for at the outset of the revolt the Young King fled to Mortagne. Early in 1174 the three counts led an abortive raid on Sées.[130]

Foiled in their attempts to recover their lost border castles, the counts of Perche confined themselves to playing a less adventurous game. Rotrou sought to heal the rift between Henry II and the Young King in 1183, and was probably responsible for the fateful colloquy between Henry II, his son Richard, and Philip Augustus at Bonsmoulins in 1188.[131] Nevertheless, the count allowed Philip Augustus and Count Richard of Poitiers to invade Maine from Perche in 1189. The marriage of his son Geoffrey to Richard's niece must be seen in the context of that

[126] Torigni, i, 234; *Ctl. Perche*, nos. 27–29*bis* (ADOR, H 2160). Nos. 27–8 are dated: 'MCXLV, indictione III, regni Francorum gubernacula moderante Ludovico filio Ludovici, et fratre ipsius Roberto Belismensis domino et comite Perticensi.' No. 27 adds that the church in question was in the castle of Bellême. For the dates of these acts, see also A. W. Lewis 1981, 252 n.90.

[127] Above, p. 351. [128] Torigni, i, 314–15.

[129] Torigni, ii, 8, 13; Diceto, i, 330–1. For relations between the counts of Perche and Blois, see Thompson 2002, 91–7.

[130] Diceto, i, 355, 379.

[131] *RHF*, xviii, 217 (Geoffrey of Vigeois), and Thompson 2002, 106–7; *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 50; *HGM*, iii, 96–7.

invasion, even though her dowry lay in England.[132] However, Geoffrey was described as 'in the entourage (*familia*) of the king of France' during the Third Crusade, and like his cousin the count of Blois he joined Philip's invasion of Normandy in 1193, in return for the express promise of Moulins and Bonsmoulins from the rebel Count John of Mortain.[133] Powicke saw this promise of Moulins as part of a grand Capetian strategy to disrupt the Angevin lands, but the count's desire for the two castles stemmed from very traditional local concerns.[134]

In fact, Count Geoffrey failed to take the castles in 1193–4. Now, however, it was King Richard who chose to assuage his desire, luring him into his camp in 1197–8 by granting Moulins and Bonsmoulins with their *bailliages* and other land in southern Normandy.[135] Like King Stephen two generations earlier, in giving Moulins away Richard I could be said to have 'judged it more prudent to make small concessions to preserve what mattered',[136] to assist his struggle with the French king; he made a similar concession to Ralph de Lusignan, count of Eu, when he granted him the ducal stronghold of Drincourt.[137] The ambiguities of the situation on the border of Perche are well expressed in an act of Count Geoffrey concerning Moulins, which was witnessed by the erstwhile ducal castellan, Guérin de Glapion, who was also a local landowner: whose interests (apart from his own) did Guérin represent?[138] For part of his countship at least Count Geoffrey was also rendering the service of ten knights to the duke of Normandy for Bellême.[139]

Nevertheless, Angevin gifts and arrangements were insufficient to secure the Norman frontier towards Perche. The premature death of Count Geoffrey in Lent 1202 and his brother's subsequent departure with the knights of Perche on crusade prevented them from playing any

[132] *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 73; Rigord, 94; Will. Bret., 189–90; Thompson 2002, 109–11.

[133] Howden, iii, 93, 218; *Layettes*, i, no. 412. *MRSN*, i, 244–6, shows expenditure upon the defences of Moulins 'tempore guerre anno m°c° xc°iii°'. For Richard I's alleged reproach against Count Geoffrey, see Norgate 1924, 277–9; Gillingham 1999, 242–3.

[134] Powicke 1961, 99.

[135] Howden, iv, 54; Power 1995, 189 n.35; Thompson 2002, 119–20, noting other Angevin gifts to Geoffrey and Stephen du Perche at this time. The castles certainly came into Geoffrey's hands (ADOR, H 721, H 722; cf. *GC*, xi, col. 692), and their absence from the exchequer roll in 1198 apart from two minor payments (*MRSN*, ii, 326, 390) makes Geoffrey's defection to Richard in 1197–8 the most likely date for his acquisition of them. In 1200 he was said to be holding lands in France from King John, and in 1202 he pledged them to fund his planned crusade (*Dipl. Docs.*, no. 9; *Rot. Pat.*, 7). He also received a fief at Gâprée (Orne, cant. Courtomer), between Moulins and Sées (*Registres*, 283).

[136] Orderic, vi, 484–5, describing Stephen's concession of Moulins and Bonsmoulins to Rotrou II and Richer de l'Aigle (1137).

[137] Howden, iv, 160–1.

[138] ADOR, H 721 (act for St-Evroul); for Guérin as constable of Moulins, see *MRSN*, i, 244–6, and for his lands at Bonsmoulins, see *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 156 (1193); cf. above, pp. 278, 316.

[139] *Rot. Lib.*, 74.

part in the fall of Normandy, but it is unlikely that King John would have been greatly helped had Stephen du Perche remained in France. Count Geoffrey had stood surety for Philip Augustus in the treaty of 1200, and Countess Matilda was evidently supporting the king of France when King John granted her a truce in October 1202.[140] The help that King Philip brought to the Norman rebels at Alençon in August 1203 suggests that Perche continued to be a route open to French armies.[141] Conversely, although John is said to have returned to Normandy from Le Mans by way of the Bellêmois after the rebellion at Alençon in January 1203, his route across southern Normandy from the siege of Alençon to Verneuil in August suggests that he was having to give Moulins and Bonsmoulins a wide berth, not to mention Mortagne, which actually lay on the most direct route.[142] In November 1203, shortly before John fled to England, the countess of Perche did agree to fulfil the military service of ten knights which the counts had owed to John's predecessors for Bellême, and her English possessions were restored, but too late to help Angevin Normandy.[143] When the duchy fell, the counts of Perche had already secured control of all three castles that had defined their relations with the duke of Normandy for nearly one hundred years, but the king of France took the first opportunity, the death of Count Thomas of Perche in battle in 1217, to undo their success by recovering Moulins and Bonsmoulins.[144]

The history of the counts of Perche reveals how competing political influences even between great princes along the Norman frontier often focussed upon control of particular fortresses. Several other castles along the southern borders of Normandy became the focus of frontier rivalries, but there the duke of Normandy was rivalling local magnates rather than other counts. The counts or dukes of Brittany had no fortresses close to the Norman border until the reign of Peter Mauclerc (1213–37); nor did the rulers of Maine before the Angevin conquest of Normandy in 1144. Instead, the dukes disputed control of castles with the great Breton or Manceau lords. King Henry II initially extended his power into Brittany through the seizure of the castles of Dol and Combour from Ralph de Fougères, who had their heiress in wardship, although the king did not annex the fortresses to his domain.[145] The ducal advance

[140] *Rot. Pat.*, 18, and Thompson 2002, 149; cf. *RN*, 87, ordering the release of the countess's sergeant (8 Apr. 1203).
[141] Will. Bret., 211–12.
[142] *HGM*, ii, lines 12657–62; Powicke 1961, 164–5. Curiously, John's return journey to Normandy from Le Mans also took him via Mamers, a castle of the rebel count of Sées.
[143] *Rot. Lib.*, 74; *P.R. 6 John*, 33.
[144] Romanet 1890–1902, ii, 8, no. 5 (*GC*, ix, col. 885); Thompson 2002, 160.
[145] Torigni, i, 340, 353.

into Maine had begun with the seizure of Domfront by William the Conqueror, soon followed by his construction of Ambrières in the midst of the lands of Geoffrey I de Mayenne.[146] Domfront remained a Talvas castle until its inhabitants revolted against Robert de Bellême in 1092, but it was to all intents absorbed into Normandy proper and the ducal domain by the early twelfth century.[147] Relations between the duke of Normandy and the house of Mayenne, on the other hand, continued to revolve around control of Ambrières, Gorron, and Henry I's later construction, Châteauneuf-sur-Colmont, despite Henry I's customary ploy of offering English lands as compensation for his seizures.[148] When Normandy and Maine were united under Angevin rule in 1135–44, the traditional support of the lords of Mayenne for the counts of Anjou gave way to suspicion; for whoever held these three fortresses dominated the upper reaches of the Rivers Mayenne and Colmont. From the death of Henry I to the accession of King John the three castles remained a thorn in the side of relations between the rulers of Normandy and the lords of Mayenne.

More commonly the dukes and their neighbours did not define relations through castles; pensions, lands in England or Normandy, and marriages were just some of the tools employed by Henry II and his sons to influence or control their neighbours. Apart from the counts of Perche and the lords of Mayenne, four other great dynasties faced the southern borders of Normandy: the counts of Dreux (from 1152), the viscounts of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe, and the lords of Fougères and Châteauneuf-Brezolles. Other families such as the lords of Combour, Ferté-Arnaud or Sillé-le-Guillaume were not insignificant, but they could not match these four lineages in the extent of their lands and power. The counts of Dreux and the lords of Châteauneuf and Brezolles were far less equivocal in their attitudes than the counts of Perche, maintaining steadfast hostility to the duke of Normandy, although Henry I vainly attempted to bind the Châteauneuf family to him by marriage,[149] and Count Robert of Dreux enjoyed a Norman *fief-rente* from the reign of Henry II and occasionally flirted with the Angevins.[150] Their usual antagonism towards the rulers of Normandy indicates how much more open to compromise were the counts of Perche. The dukes of Normandy did sometimes seize castles from these neighbours: William the Conqueror took Thimert in 1058

[146] Bates 1982, 76, 255–7; William of Poitiers, 50–4. [147] Orderic, iv, 256–8; v, 318.

[148] Power 1995, 186–8; Pichot 1995, 137, 292–3; *Bk. Fees*, i, 86, 97; above, pp. 72–4, 162–3; below, pp. 379, 389, 436–7, 461.

[149] Bishop Ivo of Chartres forbade the match on grounds of consanguinity: *PL*, clxii, cols. 265–6; Southern 1953, 78–9; for discussion, see Hollister 1984, 83, 87–8; Thompson 1987, 253–4; Van Houts 1989, 225–7.

[150] *Rot. Chart.*, 58; A. W. Lewis 1985, 148, 150 n.16.

and Rémalard in 1078 from the lords of Châteauneuf and Brezolles, and Henry I captured Sorel from Gervase I de Châteauneuf in 1112, and both William and Henry may well have intended to exert permanent lordship over these castles, as they succeeded in doing at Domfront.[151] None was annexed to the ducal domain, however, and more often the dukes chose to raid the Dreugesin rather than to occupy its castles. In return, the counts of Dreux and lords of Châteauneuf, like the counts of Perche, attempted on occasion to acquire the Norman fortresses which faced their lands. In 1193–4 Robert II of Dreux and Gervase de Châteauneuf exploited the captivity of Richard I in Germany to take Nonancourt and Tillières respectively.[152]

In general, it is not easily explained why in some cases the relationship between the duke and one of his neighbours or barons concentrated so heavily upon a particular border stronghold, whereas in other districts there was no such fortress. Certainly the grander a castle's defences became, the more imperative it was to control it. Henry II's addition of a whole new line of defence at Gisors made it even more desirable than the fortified motte which it enclosed.[153] The remote but commanding motte of Moulins-la-Marche, although fortified on a far less impressive scale than Gisors, was vital to whoever wished to control the heads of the Avre and Sarthe valleys, whether the lords of Moulins before 1115 or the duke of Normandy and count of Perche thereafter. Yet mere building works do not explain everything. What is clear is that the dukes felt far more threatened when they lost control of fortresses on the southern and south-eastern marches than elsewhere on their borders. The sources mention the three castles of the lords of Gournay time and time again, from Orderic in the early twelfth century to the inquest into ducal rights over the Norman clergy in 1205,[154] and at times they arguably posed a serious threat to ducal power, yet were never apparently coveted by the dukes of Normandy. How different was the experience of Ivry, Pacy or Gorron, where the dukes allowed far less freedom of manoeuvre to the local seigneurs and desired to keep the castles for themselves.

[151] Douglas 1964, 74, 237–8; Orderic, ii, 358–60; vi, 176.
[152] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 159 (Nonancourt); Howden, iii, 258–9 (Nonancourt, Tillières).
[153] See Mesqui and Toussaint 1990.
[154] Orderic, iv, 182 (describing events of *c.*1089); vi, 192; *Layettes*, i, no. 785. Cf. *RRAN*, iii, no. 381 (Haskins 1918, 152–3), for the extent of the fief of La Ferté, but the act's authenticity is doubtful.

Chapter 10

THE NORMAN MARCHES IN THE REIGN OF HENRY I (1106–35)

As the previous chapter has shown, the aspirations of the frontier dynasties could be very diverse, and relations with the dukes of Normandy varied considerably from lineage to lineage. Relations between the Norman rulers and neighbouring princes were also liable to fluctuate. Consequently, any attempt to understand the history of the Norman frontier regions requires an examination of the changing circumstances which the local magnates confronted and to which they had to adapt. The next four chapters are devoted to the course of political events in the duchy's outermost regions, where ducal power rubbed shoulders with other princely and magnate interests, concentrating upon four main periods: the reign of Henry I, the precursor to the Angevin conquest; the establishment and maintenance of Angevin rule under Geoffrey and Henry Plantagenet; the erosion and collapse of Angevin power under Henry's sons; and the impact of the Capetian conquest upon the Norman borderlands.

THE CONTEXT OF HENRY I'S REIGN

On 1 December 1135, as he lay dying at his castle of Lyons-la-Forêt, Henry I of England might well have reflected that he was fated to spend his final moments close to the unruliest parts of all his broad dominions. Even in the last months of his life the troubles of the Norman marches, which had lain dormant since Henry's brutal repression of Waleran of Meulan's rebellion in 1124, had returned to haunt him, as the king's son-in-law Geoffrey of Anjou conspired with Talvas and Roger de Tosny against him.[1]

Henry's dealings in the marches of Normandy with his neighbours and subjects had much in common with the experiences of his predecessors. Their relations with the other French magnates and with the

[1] Orderic, vi, 444–8, reporting that Henry also objected to Geoffrey's attack against another son-in-law, Roscelin de Beaumont; *GND*, ii, 256–8, 264; Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, 22–4; Torigni, i, 194–5, 200.

kings of France dated from the foundation of the Scandinavian settlement itself, and their dealings with the chief families of the Norman marches can be traced back to the early years of the eleventh century, at precisely the time that Henry's ancestors were attempting to establish direct control over all their notional territory. Nevertheless, as Andrew W. Lewis has commented, the reign of Henry I marked a watershed in the history of the Norman frontier. Henceforth the marches of Normandy would be peripheral only in a geographical sense; the attention that the duchy's rulers devoted to their borders through castle-building and cultivation or oppression of the local aristocracy made the duchy's marches as important as its heart.[2] Henry's predecessors had established many border fortresses – Richard II at Tillières, William the Conqueror at Neaufles and Saint-James, William Rufus at Gisors, to name only some of the best-known examples – and from the Conqueror's reign onwards the dukes were especially forceful in their attitude towards Norman border fortresses; but according to Robert of Torigni it was Henry I who made concerted attempts to establish a ring of fortifications 'on the margins of his duchy and neighbouring provinces', from Pontorson in the south-west to Drincourt in the north-east.[3] 'In order to defend his land, he girded almost the entire Norman march, as far as the duchy extended, with an abundance of knights and sustained them with copious wages', observed another contemporary, Abbot Suger, who knew only too well how Henry's castle-building had discomfited Louis VI.[4]

The seeds for the shift in ducal attitudes towards the frontier under Henry I had been sown during the reigns of his older brothers, Robert Curthose and William Rufus, in which Henry himself had played an active part. In 1087, when William the Conqueror died from wounds sustained in a conflict on his eastern border, the ensuing disorder affected far more than just the fringes of the duchy. Under Robert Curthose, William's eldest son and successor in Normandy, open conflict (*discidium*) erupted across much of the province: two of the chief events early in his reign were the sieges of Brionne and Courcy, in the geographical heart of Normandy.[5] Less dramatic but equally widespread were the magnates' attempts to tighten their lordship: the nuns of La Trinité de Caen recorded new seigneurial exactions or the revocation of gifts made to

[2] A. W. Lewis 1992, 154.

[3] *GND*, ii, 250–2 ('in margine ducatus sui et confinium prouinciarum'). For the development of ducal policy towards border castles, see Yver 1955–6, 60–3, 80–90; Tabuteau 1992, 65.

[4] Suger, 110: 'cum universam pene Normannie marchiam, sicut se ducatus extendit, multa militia et sumptuosis stipendiis ad terre defensionem circumcingebat'. Cf. *ibid.*, 184, for similar comments regarding ducal achievements in fortifying the 'march of the Normans'.

[5] Orderic, iv, 208–10, 232–6; for the *discidium Normannorum*, see 182; for Curthose's reign in general, see Haskins 1918, 62–84, 285–92, and David 1920, modified by Green 2000.

the abbey in over thirty localities in central and north-west Normandy.[6] Hence the chronic weakness of the prince made the frontier regions less distinctive when compared with other parts of Normandy, as a great part of the duchy was engulfed in turmoil. Yet the duke's difficulties did have a 'frontier' dimension. When his brother William Rufus wished to challenge Robert's authority, he began by cultivating support in the north-east frontier regions. Orderic Vitalis depicts the submission of the five most powerful men there to Rufus in 1089: first Count Stephen of Aumale and Gerard de Gournay, followed by Count Robert of Eu, Walter Giffard and Ralph de Mortemer.[7] At the same time, Norman pressure upon neighbouring principalities was reduced, notably Maine and the French Vexin.

The activities of Gerard de Gournay indicate how the disorder was simultaneously a struggle for local hegemony, a facet of a more widespread noble war, and a signal for the retreat of ducal power from the frontiers of the duchy in the face of both English and French royal power. The *Miracles of Saint Nicholas* describe Gerard's conflict with William de Breteuil, who had sheltered a knight who had rebelled against the lord of Gournay; consequently the *prévôt* and people of William's village of Pont-Saint-Pierre dwelt in fear of being attacked and their village burned.[8] The two lords were apparently disputing control of the Andelle valley. However, their petty war also formed part of a broader contest in the late 1080s between Gerard de Gournay and Count William of Evreux, the uncle and ally of William de Breteuil, which was primarily concerned with the honour of Ecouché near Argentan, far away in southern Normandy.[9] Moreover, whereas Gerard was siding with William Rufus, William de Breteuil remained consistently loyal to Robert Curthose.[10] The concerns of the marcher lords evidently operated in a much broader context than the marches alone, but Gerard's revolt had a direct impact upon ducal

[6] *Holy Trinity Charters*, 10–12, 125–8; Haskins 1918, 62–4.

[7] Orderic, iv, 182. *ASC (E)*, 17–18 (trans. Whitelock, 168–9), reporting these events under 1090, mentions only St-Valéry-en-Caux and Aumale; in 1091, it adds, Rufus extorted Fécamp, the county of Eu and Cherbourg. Robert besieged and recaptured Eu, at least for a time: ADC, J non classée, Ctl. St-Etienne de Caen, fol. 46v; *Livre Noir de Bayeux*, i, no. VI (*RRAN*, i, no. 310); David 1920, 55.

[8] 'Miraculi S. Nicolai', 419–21.

[9] Orderic, iv, 186–8, also noting that the count of Evreux implored Robert Curthose to restore Pont-St-Pierre to William de Breteuil to secure William's support. Gerard de Gournay had inherited Ecouché from his mother Basilia, daughter of Gerard Flaitel; Count William appears to have believed that he had a claim as the cousin and designated heir of Ralph de Gacé, Basilia's first husband. For the complex ties of kinship between the families of Evreux, Breteuil, Tosny and Montfort, see Green 2000, 96–7 (table).

[10] Orderic, iv, 182, 198, 222, 226; cf. v, 290, for the loyalty of William de Breteuil to the absent crusading duke in 1100.

control of the frontier zones. The embattled duke ceded the archbishop of Rouen's manor of Gisors to Philip I in return for his aid in besieging Gerard's fortress of La Ferté-en-Bray, and was obliged to establish the lord of Saint-Saëns in the ducal castle of Arques, deeper into the duchy, as a 'barrier' (*repagulum*) against the rebels, effectively abandoning any hope of reasserting his authority in the outer reaches of his father's lands.[11]

South of the Seine, desertions to Rufus' cause also began in the frontier regions. In 1090 Ralph de Tosny turned to the king of England for support against Count William of Evreux, William de Breteuil and their allies, the lords of Montfort, a faction which was contesting the dominance of south-eastern Normandy with Ralph.[12] The duke's power also proved weaker at the other end of his territory, where he soon allowed his brother Henry to take over the Avranchin, Cotentin, and abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel, although Robert and William Rufus later united long enough to expel the rebellious young prince, who took refuge with Philip I in the French Vexin.[13] Hardly deterred, Henry soon afterwards accepted the invitation to become lord of another frontier fortress, Domfront, where the inhabitants had risen against their lord Robert de Bellême. Henry was radically redrawing the seigneurial map, with no reference to any superior authority, fiercely defying Curthose.[14] Once he had used this base to recover his foothold in the Cotentin, Henry also wooed another powerful border lord, Hugh d'Avranches, with the lordship of Saint-James, which Hugh had previously held merely as hereditary custodian.[15] Curthose's problems of control were certainly most acute in the outer reaches of his inheritance, although he still ventured to reassert dwindling Norman authority over Maine.

William Rufus' successful appropriation of the duchy by 1096 brought Normandy and England under a single ruler once more and appears to have eradicated much of the turmoil within the duchy. Ducal authority revived, boosted by infusions of English wealth, as contemporaries recognised,[16] and recorded conflicts were largely confined to the borders of the

[11] *GC*, xi, instr., cols. 18–19; Orderic, iv, 182; David 1920, 55, 82. Count Simon of the Vexin had restored Gisors to the church of Rouen in 1075 (*Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 229). Green (2000, 107–8) emphasises the pragmatism of Robert's concession of Gisors in view of the grave circumstances confronting him.

[12] Orderic, iv, 212–14.

[13] John of Worcester, iii, 59; Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, i, 550–2, 712; Orderic, iv, 120, 250–2; David 1920, 62–5. Barlow (1983, 288) is sceptical about Orderic's description of Henry's exile in the Vexin.

[14] Orderic, iv, 256–8 (cf. 292); *Roman de Rou*, ii, 244 (III, lines 9637–48), which claims that Robert de Bellême afterwards vainly attempted to retake Domfront; Bouet 1983, 80–3.

[15] *GND*, ii, 208.

[16] Suger, 8, describes Rufus as 'opulentus et Anglorum thesaurorum profusor mirabilisque militum mercator et solidator'.

duchy as the king sought to assert Norman claims to the French Vexin and Maine. One sign of the strength of the resurgence of ducal power was Rufus' rapid renewal of his father's frontier war with Philip I; indeed, the king of England went one step further by invading the French Vexin, winning over several of its castellans to his side.[17] He also recovered and fortified Gisors, inaugurating a century of huge ducal investment in the site. Rufus also followed his brother's example in attempting to revive Norman fortunes in Maine, but with more success. Yet when the king was slain in 1100 ducal power again retreated from the frontier zones. Henry, now king of England, initially agreed to abandon all his Norman lands except Domfront to Robert, who had returned from crusade immediately after Rufus' death;[18] nevertheless, within a few years he was building up support against Robert Curthose in France by courting the nobles along the southern frontier of the duchy. Eustace de Breteuil and Count Rotrou of Mortagne received two of Henry's illegitimate daughters in marriage with English dowries, and Robert's meagre resources prevented him emulating his younger brother's policy.[19] The duke is also said to have lost his lordship over the county of Evreux to Henry despite the count's indignant objections that he was being bartered like livestock; and when the duke secured the support of Robert de Bellême it was on the latter's terms, after suffering a humiliating rout, which cost him control of much of southern Normandy including the ducal fortress of Argentan and the bishopric of Sées.[20] Although opposition to Duke Robert's rule was not confined to the border regions, Henry's Norman allies from 1104 onwards almost all derived their power from the Norman borderlands, and he enjoyed increasing support from the princes and lords to the south and west of the duchy.[21] It was at l'Aigle that Henry held

[17] Barlow 1983, 376–81, 393–6: notable adherents to his cause in the Vexin, allegedly won over by English money, were Count Robert of Meulan and Guy de la Roche, and further south, Amaury de Montfort, the future count of Evreux, and Nivard de Septeuil (Orderic, v, 214, 218). Amaury's elder brother Simon, lord of Montfort, remained loyal to Philip I, and Amaury led Rufus' forces against his own family's castles of Montfort and Epernon.

[18] Orderic, v, 318; David 1920, 134–6; Hollister 1973, 328–34.

[19] Orderic, vi, 40, 44. Green (2000, 112) argues that Robert's power in north-east Normandy in 1100–01 was stronger than it had been before 1096.

[20] Orderic, vi, 58; 34–6, 46 (cf. v, 308); David 1920, 141–4.

[21] Orderic, vi, 54–6, names the counts of Meulan, Aumale, Eu and Mortagne, the earl of Chester, the lords of Breteuil and Conches, and Ralph de Mortemer, as well as Robert fitzHamo and Robert de Montfort from central Normandy (1104). By 1106 the king had also been joined by the counts of Brittany, Maine and Evreux, and Thomas de St-Jean (*ibid.*, vi, 78, 84, 88–90, 94–8; Henry of Huntingdon, 452–4; *EHR*, xxv (1910), 295–6; Hollister 2001, 185–201, and 185–9 for temporary Angevin support in 1105). For Henry's cultivation of Breton support see Green 1986a, 146–9. His Breton allies in 1106 may have included Alan de Dinan, who appears in eight English counties in 1129–30 and whom later tradition recorded as Henry I's champion against a French royal champion between Gisors and Trie (in 1109?) (*Bk. Fees*, ii, 937); also possibly Ralph de

a critical meeting with the exiled Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury in 1105, presumably as the guest of Gilbert de l'Aigle.[22]

In some parts of Normandy Robert managed to maintain his father's authority with force, even heavy-handedness.[23] Even at the peripheries of the duchy ducal authority did not completely collapse, nor were the Norman marches always as turbulent as the accounts of Orderic Vitalis and other chroniclers might suggest. At an unknown date William Crispin appears as a ducal viscount 'in the court of Robert count of the Normans' at his castle of Neaufles-Saint-Martin in the Norman Vexin,[24] and on the eve of his crusade Robert had attested and confirmed an exchange of property in the Norman Vexin between the abbeys of Saint-Etienne de Caen and Saint-Bénigne de Dijon.[25] More precise details are known about an important act of restitution to another of the chief ecclesiastical institutions of Normandy. In 1105 the barons who held lands from the church of Rouen on both sides of the River Epte gathered at the priory of Vesly near Gisors, in order to witness the restoration of land at Gisors to the cathedral chapter. They included Payn de Gisors or Neaufles, to whom Robert Curthose had given Gisors and who still retained the castle when Henry I gained the duchy.[26] The duke's generosity to his supporters appears to have ensured order in this remote but strategic corner of his lands, at a time when the chroniclers would have us believe that the duke's authority had crumbled away to nothing. Nevertheless, it is clear that like Rufus before him, Henry found his way into the duchy through the readiness of the lords along the Norman frontiers to accommodate

Fougères, for Walter de Mayenne was imprisoned at Fougères at about this date (*Ctl. Manceau*, ii, 6–7). It is not clear, however, whether Walter had been captured fighting for Curthose or in another war altogether.

[22] Eadmer, 165–6, 169–71; Hollister (1984, 278) emphasises the significance of this meeting for the impending climax of the conflict between Robert Curthose and Henry I.

[23] E.g. *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 267, p. 809: judgment of Robert Curthose in a *placitum* between the abbeys of St-Florent de Saumur and Lonlay over the church of St-Gervais de Briouze, given at Caen and Bonneville (dated 1093–4 by Tabuteau 1988, 258, no. 398), reaffirming a judgment of William I (pp. 805–9).

[24] BN, ms. lat. 5441, I, p. 100 (ed. Crispin and Macary 1938, 170–1, and facsimile); Haskins 1918, 46 n.201.

[25] Haskins 1918, 285–6 (App. E, no. 2), with Robert's *signum*; ADC, J non classée, fols. 36v–37r, no. CXX, exchange between Abbots Gerento of St-Bénigne and Gilbert of St-Etienne of the church and land of 'Longchamps near the Forest of Lyons': 'hanc prouidę conuentionis dispositionem laudauerunt et concesserunt Robertus dux Normannorum filius Willelmi regis Anglorum et barones eius et propriis manibus firmauerunt' (1087 × 1101, probably 1095 × 96, when Gerento was a papal envoy to Normandy: see Haskins 1918, 75–6, and *GC*, xi, col. 424, for its confirmation by Paschal II in 1102).

[26] ADSM, G 8740 (Crispin and Macary 1938, 172–3): gift of Ralph fitzWalbert de Boury, about to go to Jerusalem, made before the *casati Sanctę Marię*. See above, p. 131. For (Theobald) Payn de Gisors (Neaufles), see especially Orderic, v, 308; Suger, 8–10; *Ctl. Pontoise*, 407–8; Green 1984, 58–9.

him, and Henry built upon the associations and material gains which he had acquired in his previous career at the fringes of Normandy.

HENRY I, DUKE OF THE NORMANS (1106–35)

In 1106 Henry's victory at Tinchebray over the barons who were still loyal to Duke Robert put the seal upon his twenty-year struggle to gain and maintain a place within the duchy. In his methods of ruling, Henry would resemble Rufus far more closely than Curthose, but like his eldest brother the king of England faced repeated opposition in Normandy from many of his own nobles; unlike Robert, however, Henry easily suppressed all rebellions against him – except, that is, in the Norman marches. Chronic ducal weakness at the peripheries of Normandy had repeatedly worked to Henry's advantage before 1106, and had also served William Rufus well. It is therefore all the more remarkable that Henry's greatest difficulties as duke arose in his dealings with his frontier magnates, who often colluded with their neighbours in *Francia* and Maine. Many of Henry's supporters against Duke Robert later rebelled against him, including the counts of Evreux, Eu and Aumale, Eustace de Breteuil and his wife Juliana, Henry's own daughter. Some of Henry's other allies against Duke Robert in the marches did remain faithful to his cause, notably Count Robert of Meulan and Count Rotrou of Mortagne; nevertheless, since so many of Henry's former supporters in the marches now opposed him, it suggests that the structural weaknesses of ducal rule, rather than Henry's own errors, account for the regions' instability (especially when compared to England or central Normandy).[27]

Henry's reign in Normandy has been conveyed in much greater detail to us than those of his successors thanks to the vivid and lengthy narratives of Robert of Torigni, William of Malmesbury, Suger of Saint-Denis and above all Orderic Vitalis, himself a contemporary inhabitant of southern Normandy. Together with the king's acts they have enabled historians to reconstruct a plausible narrative of Henry's reign in the province.[28] The chroniclers had few doubts about the turbulence of the period, particularly in the frontier regions. 'Normandy is a convenient and long-suffering fosterer of evil men, even though she has no great expanse of territory', wrote William of Malmesbury around 1125. 'Hence she long endures internal rebellions, and when peace is restored soon regains her

[27] Green (1986b, 173) notes the relative order in Normandy compared to many other French provinces.

[28] Most recently Hollister 2001, notably 234–326. For Henry I and the Norman border lords, see Green 1986b, esp. 162–5.

old fertility, evicting at her pleasure the confounded disturbers of the province but allowing them free passage into France.'[29]

The sentiments of the monk of Malmesbury are hardly surprising when viewed in the context of recent events. The previous decade had witnessed repeated conflict along the Norman marches, as Henry I of England fought his nephew William Clito and the latter's allies to the south and east of his duchy. Henry's relations with his neighbours were not uniformly hostile: he enjoyed consistent Breton support, as William of Malmesbury commented,[30] and even Suger of Saint-Denis, while praising Henry's lord and opponent Louis VI, displayed a far from grudging admiration for the king of England, in whose time Suger had freed the abbey's Norman property from the oppression of royal officials and recovered its ancient dues there,[31] and which the abbot later praised the king for preserving even in time of war.[32] For all his bewailment of Norman disorder, the monk of Malmesbury also wrote that Henry had given 'a peace such as no one could ever remember'.[33] Nevertheless, the recorded history of Henry's reign in Normandy often seems to be little more than a catalogue of rebellions by border families and incursions into Henry's lands by Louis VI and his barons; once Henry had crushed the last major revolt against his rule in 1124, the inhabitants of the frontier all but vanish from view until his death. The conflicts were separated by long periods of peace,[34] but even these were not without incident, such as the clash between two lords on the southern borders of Normandy near Sées, Robert de Moulins and Enguerrand l'Oison, in *c.*1115.[35] Robert of Torigni noted that after Henry suppressed the revolt of Waleran of Meulan in 1124 Normandy and England remained at peace for the remainder of his reign, but the chronicler also noted that, unlike the heart of the

[29] Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, i, 718–20, § 397: 'Est enim Normannia oportuna et patiens malorum nutricula, quanuis non multo tractu regionum diffusa; itaque diu seditiones intestinas probe tolerat, et pace reddita in fecundiorem statum mature resurgit, turbatores suos illius prouintiae diffisos cum libuerit in Frantiam liberis anfractibus emittens.'

[30] Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, i, 728.

[31] 'Gesta Suggerii Abbatis', 108; Grant 1997, 51–5. The property lay at Berneval near Dieppe, where Suger was the abbey's *prévôt* in 1108–9. He refers to the officials as *graffiones*, an archaic Frankish term assimilated to the Old English *gerefa* ('reeve') and possibly the root for the Norman tax *graverie* (Niermeyer, 472; Musset 1959–60, 427). The act of Abbot Adam of St-Denis describing the abbey's recovered revenues at Berneval calls the monks' opponent merely the *prepositus villae* (Barroux 1942–3, 140).

[32] *RHF*, xv, 520–2: letter of Suger to Geoffrey of Anjou and Matilda (1149).

[33] Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, i, 724: 'composita pace in Normannia qualem nulla aetas meminit'.

[34] Cf. Suger, 186: before the French attack against Gasny in 1118 Normandy had prospered under 'a long peace'.

[35] Orderic, iii, 134, apparently *c.*1115. Hollister (1984, 78, 83) emphasises the internal peace of Normandy between 1106 and 1135.

king's lands, the borderlands were still prone to occasional disturbance.[36] Although there were fewer recorded conflicts on the Norman–Manceau border than in the Franco-Norman marches, perhaps this merely reflects the poverty of evidence for the region: Orderic Vitalis, writing in the 1130s, describes the district of Saint-Cénery-sur-Sarthe as constantly afflicted by war.[37]

As in the time of Henry's predecessors, the political developments of his reign had a much broader context than the Norman marches alone, as they were shaped primarily by the persisting rivalries between the descendants of William the Conqueror and the changing relationship of the island kingdom with the continental duchy. Yet four factors would accord the border regions of Normandy a particular significance during Henry's reign. First, the unfinished Norman conquest of Maine and equally unresolved rivalry of the dukes of Normandy with the counts of Anjou left the southern limits of Henry's effective power in a state of flux.[38] It was indeed Fulk V of Anjou who emerged soon after Tinchebray as one of Henry's chief opponents and it was he who inflicted the most humiliating defeat upon the king of England at the battle of Alençon in 1118;[39] it is small wonder that Henry I is said never to have ceased to be suspicious of the counts of Anjou.[40] Secondly, throughout the period the French monarchy's exploitation of the disappearance of the counts of Amiens-Valois-Vexin was strengthening Capetian power along the eastern borders. Louis VI did his best to foment rebellion against the king of England and to pillage the duchy's borders, while also nurturing designs upon Gisors; during the war of 1116–20 he seized numerous castles in the Norman Vexin and south-east Normandy, including Gasny, Dangu, Les Andelys, l'Aigle and Ivry, although his disastrous defeat at Brémule, in the course of his attempt to take the castle of Noyon-sur-Andelle, nullified all his gains.[41] These two factors would combine with a third, still more deadly threat to Henry's power as duke: his rivalry with his nephew William Clito. Although there was substantial sympathy for Clito throughout Normandy, it was most visibly demonstrated at the

[36] *GND*, ii, 236: 'Vnde factum est, ut raro etiam illa terra incliti augusti Henrici, que in confinio exterarum prouinciarum erat aliqua hostili lesione, lederetur, nedum illa, que ab eis longe aberat.' The context makes it clear that it is King Henry I, not Emperor Henry V, who is meant here.

[37] Orderic, iv, 156.

[38] Green (2000, 103) succinctly summarises the situation in Maine around 1100; Lemesle (1999, 17–47) stresses the stabilising influence of the Manceau aristocracy. For the county's underlying social structure, see Barton 1995.

[39] Suger, 192; Orderic, vi, 204–8; *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 155–61, provides a fulsome account of Fulk's victory, probably written in the mid-twelfth century: some details, particularly personal names, are confused or wrong, and the whole passage has a strongly epic quality. For the battle see also Thompson 1994, 172; Hollister 2001, 252; Bradbury 1984, 8; Morillo 1994, 170–1.

[40] Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, 4.

[41] Orderic, vi, 184–6, 234–42.

frontiers because of the proximity of external support from the king of France, and for much of the reign from the counts of Anjou and Flanders as well. Fourthly, the pressures that Henry's nephew and neighbours exerted upon the Norman frontiers were all the more serious because of an exceptional number of genealogical mishaps amongst the region's nobility. The contenders for the duchy were therefore confronted by a number of different inheritance claims, notably at Evreux, Breteuil, Ivry and l'Aigle, and it would be difficult if not impossible to satisfy them all. Henry's difficulties were aggravated by the overzealous efforts of his officials to control the border lordships which came into Henry's hands through death or confiscation.[42]

The first inklings of rebellion in the Norman marches appear to have been the sedition of Count William of Evreux and his wife Countess Helwise, who destroyed the king's tower at Evreux around 1110.[43] The count's uprising broke out soon after the accession of Fulk V of Anjou in 1106–7 and Louis VI of France in 1108: both princes had legitimate reasons for believing that their fathers had ceded too much ground to the rulers of Normandy, and the death of Helias of Maine in 1110 allowed his son-in-law Fulk to take over that county, in defiance of Helias' lord the king of England.[44] Henry was soon drawn into open conflict with the Angevin count, and although many of the Manceaux allegedly sided with the king of England, Fulk's control of Maine was sufficiently strong to win over Robert de Bellême to his side; it probably also contributed to the rebellion of the count and countess of Evreux, Fulk's kin.[45] The shockwaves from these events may also have generated dissent in the heart of the Anglo-Norman realm: between 1109 and 1113 Henry turned against Robert de Lacy, Philip de Briouze and William Malet, amongst others,[46] and in 1112 he cast Robert de Bellême into lifelong imprisonment, even though the lord of Bellême allegedly came to his court as King Louis' envoy.[47] Despite, or perhaps because of, the ferocity of Henry's actions, his other enemies soon came to terms with him, and the Norman marches enjoyed several years of peace; the king of England besieged Bellême itself and conferred it upon his son-in-law Rotrou of Perche.[48]

Although peace appeared to have been established in 1113, within four years the king of England faced a much more serious crisis along

[42] Orderic, vi, 204–6 (misdeeds of Stephen of Blois at Alençon, 1118), 330–2 (Evreux, *c.*1122).
[43] Orderic, vi, 148, 180. The *dangio regis* at Evreux is presumably the *Ebroicæ urbis arx* held by William Pointel for Henry I in 1118, when he surrendered it to Amaury de Montfort (*ibid.*, 204).
[44] *ASC (E)*, 35 (trans. Whitelock, 182); Hollister 2001, 224.
[45] *ASC (E)*, 35–6, s.a. 1110–12 (trans. Whitelock, 182); Orderic, vi, 176–8.
[46] *ASC (E)*, 35, s.a. 1110 (Briouze, Malet) (trans. Whitelock, 182); Wightman 1966, 66 (Lacy). Henry had already dispossessed Robert de Montfort-sur-Risle in 1107 (Orderic, vi, 100).
[47] Orderic, vi, 178, 182; 256, 257 n.7. [48] Orderic, vi, 182.

his borders. The years between 1116 and 1119 constituted a particularly disturbed period in the history of the Norman frontier, when the king of England waged campaign after campaign as far apart as Aumale and Alençon.[49] We can sense some of the crisis that engulfed the north-eastern frontiers from the 'Hyde' or 'Warenne' Chronicle: although apparently written a full generation later, it is well informed about that region in the 1110s and delivers a woeful tale of insurrection by the frontier lords, notably the counts of Eu and Aumale and Hugh de Gournay, and invasion by the counts of Flanders.[50]

Despite making common cause in favour of William Clito, Henry's opponents, like those who had once caused so much trouble for Clito's father, were driven by a number of disparate issues. In south-eastern Normandy, the main trouble in these years stemmed from the deaths of several dominant magnates: the counts of Evreux and Meulan and Gilbert de l'Aigle in 1118, and Ascelin Goel, lord of Ivry and Bréval, about the same time. The removal of the turbulent Ascelin encouraged Eustace de Breteuil to seek to regain Ivry, which Ascelin had extorted from his father; Eustace rebelled against Henry I, his father-in-law, as a result.[51] At Evreux, meanwhile, the king of England was unwilling to see the 'French' Amaury de Montfort succeed his uncle, and he was also determined to prevent Gilbert's son Richer de l'Aigle inheriting his father's English lands.[52] In the Norman Vexin, where King Henry incurred Capetian resentment by fortifying Gisors, the antipathy of the local barons against him was so great that William Crispin came within a hair's breadth of slaying him at the battle of Brémule.[53] Here, too, however, the death of Count William of Evreux had created a vacuum which the king attempted to fill: the count's castle of Noyon-sur-Andelle served as Henry's base on the day of the battle of Brémule. The primacy of local considerations may be seen in Orderic's story that Henry advised Ralph of Gaël, the king's favoured candidate to be lord of Breteuil, to surrender the castle of Pont-Saint-Pierre and lands in the Andelle valley to Ralph de Conches (de Tosny), whom he mistrusted, in order to secure safe passage to and from his lands beyond the Seine.[54] Ralph de Gaël

[49] See especially Orderic, vi, 186–250; *Hyde Chronicle*, 311–19; Suger, 182–200; *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 68, 155–60.

[50] *Hyde Chronicle*, 311–19. Elisabeth van Houts, who kindly allowed me to consult her forthcoming edition of this source, emphasises the text's connections with the family of Warenne.

[51] Orderic, iv, 198–202, 286–90; vi, 210–14. For the respective claims of Eustace and Ascelin, see Green 2000, 96–7.

[52] Orderic, vi, 148, 188, 196–8. The Crispin genealogy described Amaury's aunt Eve de Montfort as *de gente Francorum*, indicating her 'French' identity in Anglo-Norman eyes (*PL*, cl, col. 741; for her identification, see *Complete Peerage*, vii, 708*f*).

[53] Orderic, vi, 238; Henry of Huntingdon, 464.

[54] Orderic, vi, 250.

could not maintain his position with the king-duke's favour alone: he also needed to buy the friendship of his fellow magnate with a sizeable portion of his inheritance, a gift which in Orderic's opinion bound Ralph de Conches to the king as well. Even then Ralph was unable to establish himself in the Breteuil inheritance and eventually returned to his native Brittany in despair.[55] In any case, it is likely that Ralph de Conches had been playing a double game, simultaneously enjoying the trust of his uncle Amaury de Montfort and of Henry I.[56]

In other parts of Normandy, different conditions prevailed. In the south, the rulers of Normandy had long encountered resistance from the local aristocracy. The king's expulsion of Robert de Bellême from the Alençonnais in 1112 and of his son William Talvas from the Bellêmois and Saosnois the following year removed the dynasty that had wielded the most power in the region for over a century; Henry's nominee as lord of Alençon, Stephen of Blois, proved an oppressive master and drove the townsmen to revolt.[57] Robert Giroie, who held his castle of Saint-Cénery on the Manceau border against the king of England in 1118, was the third head of his family in succession to take up arms against the duke of Normandy, and although the conditions of the southern frontier had greatly altered since the previous revolt in the 1060s, his protest formed another stage in a tortuous history of conflict between the rulers of Normandy and Anjou, the Talvas and the lords of Mayenne over this stretch of the Sarthe valley.[58] Meanwhile the king of England aspired to recover the whole county of Maine, which his father and brothers had each subjugated in turn.

In the north-east, Henry's victory in 1106 had allowed him to restore Arques to the ducal domain, and the forfeiture of Helias de Saint-Saëns in *c.*1110 transferred Helias' inheritance to William de Warenne, from now on a loyal ally of the king of England in the region.[59] Perhaps this strengthening of the duke's position in the region helped to drive its three greatest magnates, Count Stephen of Aumale, Count Henry of Eu and Hugh de Gournay, into opposition to him: the first two lords had lands in Ponthieu, whose count was William Talvas, and also benefited from contact with Count Baldwin of Flanders. However, one source attributed the

[55] Orderic, vi, 294; Crouch 1986, 108–9. [56] Orderic, vi, 244, 250.

[57] Orderic, vi, 178, 204–8; King 2000, 275–7.

[58] Orderic, vi, 194, 224; ii, 28 (written *c.*1115), implies that Robert had previously been loyal to Henry. Robert had recovered St-Cénery for his lineage from Robert Curthose, who had captured it from Robert de Bellême (iv, 154–6); the two previous lords of St-Cénery, his father Robert and cousin Arnold d'Echauffour, had both been driven into exile by Duke William (ii, 28, 78–80, 90–2, 106, 124).

[59] Orderic, vi, 162–4 (mentioning a ducal viscount of Arques); Hollister 1986, 142–3. For an undated siege of Arques in Henry's reign, see *RRAN*, ii, nos. 794–5; Hollister 2001, 204 and n.1.

rebellion there to the king's overzealous vigilance, as he arrested Count Henry and Hugh de Gournay when they were in peaceful attendance at his court, and only a refusal to answer the king's summons to his court saved Count Stephen from a similar fate.[60] Hugh's revolt was allegedly motivated by more personal reasons.[61] King Henry suffered from the lack of a domain base here: he was obliged to construct a castle at Vieux-Rouen below Aumale, nicknamed the 'Whore-Humbler' (*Mata putena*) in derogatory reference to the countess of Aumale, in order to blockade Aumale,[62] and failed to prevent the count of Flanders penetrating as far as Arques.[63] The king took over the castle at Bures-en-Bray and garrisoned it with English and Breton mercenaries; it was said that he mistrusted the Normans too much.[64]

Consequently what at first appears as a single conflict was in fact a tapestry of interwoven claims and disputes, all of which threatened to undermine ducal control over the southern and eastern borderlands of the duchy. Some conflicts are so obscure that their traces are too uninformative: it is impossible to know, for instance, how a raid by the 'men of Bray' upon Poix, led by an otherwise unknown Gazo de Gourchelles, fitted into the more generalised conflict along this stretch of the Franco-Norman marches.[65] Not surprisingly, the sheer scale of opposition to the king forced him to make significant compromises: by 1119 he had admitted Amaury de Montfort and William Talvas to their inheritances, allowed Richer de l'Aigle to acquire his father's English lands, and restored the castle of Ivry to Robert Goel, eldest son of Ascelin Goel.[66]

During a third phase, the rebellion of Waleran of Meulan in 1123–4, many of the families implicated in the earlier conflicts now chose to remain loyal to the king of England, including the counts of Eu and Aumale, William Talvas and Hugh de Gournay. Yet the seriousness of the crisis should not be underestimated: Waleran's uprising had Capetian and Angevin backing and the Emperor's threatened invasion of France appears

[60] *Hyde Chronicle*, 313; cf. Orderic, vi, 190. [61] Hollister 2001, 248–9; above, p. 355.
[62] Orderic, vi, 278–80; cf. *Hyde Chronicle*, 320. [63] Orderic, vi, 190. [64] Orderic, vi, 190.
[65] ADOI, H 172, no. 2, an act of Godfrey bishop of Amiens (Poix, '1121'): 'Diebus uero nostris ingruente cuiusdam dissentionis malitia, accidit quod Braherii conductu Weszonis de Golecules Piceium oppidum et ecclesiam prefatam incendio uastauerunt, vnde dominus Galterus Tirellus uir bone memorie uehementer condoluit.' This extant act is not authentic, since Bishop Godfrey died in 1115, while Walter Tirel, slayer of William Rufus, was still alive in 1122 (*GC*, x, col. 1171; *Ctl. Pontoise*, 454), and the hand (and perhaps some witnesses) suggests that it was written in the mid-twelfth century; but the report of the attack on Poix – whether in Godfrey's time or later – presumably has a kernel of truth. For the *Braiherii*, cf. Orderic, vi, 194.
[66] Orderic, vi, 218, 228–30. Robert Goel was the eldest, legitimate son of Ascelin Goel, *pace* Crouch (1986, 16) who confuses him with his illegitimate brother Robert Rufus.

to have been intended to draw off Louis VI from Normandy – which it duly succeeded in doing.[67] Despite these broader contexts the insurrection relied heavily upon many of the Franco-Norman alliances of the previous conflicts, uniting the lords of Châteauneuf and Ivry, the count of Evreux and three of the chief barons of the Norman Vexin, William Crispin, Payn de Gisors and Baudry de Baudemont.[68] The revolt's novelty lay in the participation of the count of Meulan himself, for that lineage had generally remained on good terms with the rulers of Normandy since the minority of William the Conqueror; Waleran and his brother-in-law Hugh de Montfort therefore brought the revolt to central Normandy as well, to a far greater extent than the king's opponents had managed during the previous uprisings. Only the victory of the royal forces at Bourgthéroulde prevented a much more widespread protest across the heart of the duchy in the Lieuvin and Ouche.[69] It also probably halted Angevin attempts to reverse Henry's recent acquisitions on the Norman–Manceau border. It was Fulk, rather than Louis VI, Waleran of Meulan or Amaury de Montfort, who in the early 1120s first renewed the hostility to Henry I; it is said that he believed the king of England had failed to provide his daughter Matilda with her rightful dower after the death of her husband, Henry's son William the Atheling. The count of Anjou married his daughter Sibyl to William Clito and enfeoffed him with the county of Maine, which he had previously granted to the ill-fated Atheling as Matilda's dowry.[70] Gorron had fallen into Fulk's hands by 1124,[71] although Henry soon recovered it.

After his resounding victory in 1124 and with the fortuitous death of William Clito in 1128, Henry I had the leisure to win the loyalty of some at least of the former rebels: William Louvel, for example, received extensive lands in England.[72] Yet the dramatic success of the king's knights in 1124 did not defuse all the tensions in the Norman marches. William de Roumare, lord of Neufmarché in the north-east

[67] Leyser 1991, 237–9. For the revolt, see Crouch 1986, 15–24; for its Angevin context, see below, pp. 380–1.

[68] Orderic, vi, 332, 342–6. [69] Orderic, vi, 356.

[70] Orderic, vi, 164–6, 332 (cf. 330); Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, i, 762; Symeon of Durham, *Opera*, ii, 267, 274; *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 68. Hollister (1984, 285–6 and 2001, 290–1) argues that Fulk's resentment focussed upon Matilda's dowry, which Henry refused to return, and suggested that it consisted of the fortresses of Gorron and Ambrières. However, both Symeon and William of Malmesbury state that the count's grievance concerned his daughter's dower (*dos*), not dowry; moreover, the latter explicitly states that her *dos* lay in England, but implies (i, 758) that Matilda's dowry had comprised the entire county of Maine – which (both he and Orderic suggest) Sibyl in turn received as dowry when she married Clito.

[71] The Norman baron Thomas de St-Jean was said to have been imprisoned at Gorron at about that date: Boussard 1976, 91, 96 (*Regesta*, ii, no. 1422, ed. pp. 351–2); Hollister 1984, 85–6.

[72] *Complete Peerage*, viii, 211 and note (*f*); *P.R. 31 Henry I*, 5, 23, 95, 99.

Norman Vexin, remained in open arms against the duke of Normandy until the death of William Clito in 1128, and Orderic states that he was not alone.[73] Despite the humiliating defeat of Eustace de Breteuil and Juliana in 1119, Eustace's unresolved claims to his father's inheritance of Breteuil survived to burst into flame once more in the following reign, although the alliance of his son William de Pacy with Roger le Bègue, one of the sons of Ascelin Goel, suggests that the contest over Ivry itself had been resolved.[74]

THE TIES OF FACTION: KINSHIP AND LORDSHIP

The rebellions of Henry I's reign reveal the ties of faction in much starker relief than later troubles in the Norman marches, albeit through the prism of Orderic's fulsome accounts. The Saint-Evroul historian has much to say about the workings of kinship and lordship within the resistance to Henry's rule. The most striking was the kinship network that linked the houses of Evreux, Montfort, Crispin, Tosny (Conches) and Breteuil, which eventually came to include the counts of Anjou and branches of the Capetians as well. Although closely bound by numerous ties of marriage, in the time of Robert Curthose (so Orderic claimed) a feud between Countess Helwise of Evreux and Isabella, lady of Conches, had pitted the count of Evreux and lords of Breteuil and Montfort against the Tosnys; amongst those who perished were Richard, lord of Montfort, whose death before the walls of the abbey of Conches shocked the combatants into sinking their differences.[75] Soon afterwards, a new marriage alliance, forged in the tempestuous politics of the southern borders of Normandy and Maine, linked the families of Evreux and Montfort to the counts of Anjou and created a network of alliances that was to have profound consequences for both the eastern and southern Norman marches. According to Orderic, Fulk IV of Anjou promised military aid to Robert Curthose in Maine on condition that Count William gave him his niece Bertrada de Montfort, then in the care of Countess Helwise, as wife. The count of Evreux had agreed to these terms only in return for the inheritance of Ralph de Gacé in southern, eastern and central Normandy, to which he had a claim.[76]

By the reign of Henry I, the ties between these families were more significant than their divisions: in particular, they brought together the magnates of south-eastern Normandy, the count of Anjou and the lord of Montfort in common action against Henry I, giving them a strength

[73] Orderic, vi, 378–80. [74] Orderic, vi, 476. [75] Orderic, iv, 212–16.
[76] Orderic, iv, 184–6, 260–2.

and influence that they could never have possessed separately and which posed a particularly dangerous threat to Henry I. Again and again Orderic Vitalis attributes the common action of various members of these families to their kinship, and charter evidence appears to support his claims. When the count and countess of Evreux rebelled around 1110, they fled to their great-nephew Fulk, the new count of Anjou. By the time that Henry I and Fulk V resolved their differences in 1112, the Evreux rebellion had also drawn in Amaury de Montfort, who was Count William's nephew and heir and Fulk's uncle, and Amaury's cousin William III Crispin.[77] Amaury de Montfort and William Crispin fought repeatedly against King Henry, sometimes in the Evrecin where Amaury's claims lay, sometimes in William Crispin's sphere of influence, the Norman Vexin.[78] Bertrada's second, bigamous marriage to King Philip I of France added another thread to this web of relationships: Bertrada's sons Philip and Florus, who had apparently resided in Anjou with their mother since their father's death, helped to garrison Evreux against Henry I in 1119.[79] Orderic also claims that Amaury regarded his nephew Ralph de Tosny as a potential ally in 1119, although Ralph remained loyal to Henry I.[80] In 1123–4, Amaury successfully drew his nephew Count Fulk into the rebellion of Waleran of Meulan and instigated the betrothal of Fulk's daughter Sibyl to William Clito.[81] Angevin support for Amaury and his confederates was reciprocated: William III Crispin also fought for the count of Anjou against Angevin rebels,[82] and when Count Geoffrey the Fair claimed the duchy of Normandy on behalf of his wife Matilda in 1135–6, he was able to exploit the connections of his great-uncle Amaury de Montfort.[83] Shortly before his death the king of England, suspecting that Roger de Tosny was a partisan of Geoffrey, placed a ducal garrison in Roger's castle of Conches; in the ensuing wars Roger proved one of the stoutest of Angevin partisans.[84]

For much of his reign Henry I found this network to be one of the greatest obstacles to his continental ambitions. The king of England therefore attempted to rupture the opposition to him by establishing new ties of kinship. He twice detached Fulk V of Anjou from his allies with marriages to his legitimate children, first his son William the Atheling

[77] *ASC (E)*, 36, s.a. 1112 (trans. Whitelock, 182); Orderic, vi, 148, 176, 180; cf. 344, for William Crispin as Amaury's *nepos*. Chronology means that William's grandmother Eve must have been the sister of Amaury's father Simon de Montfort, not, as is sometimes claimed, of Amaury himself (*PL*, cl, col. 741; *Complete Peerage*, vii, 708*f*).

[78] E.g. at l'Aigle in 1118 and Gisors in 1123 (Orderic, vi, 198, 344).

[79] Orderic, vi, 230; A. W. Lewis 1981, 50, 245–6 n.29.

[80] Orderic, vi, 222–4, 244, 250.

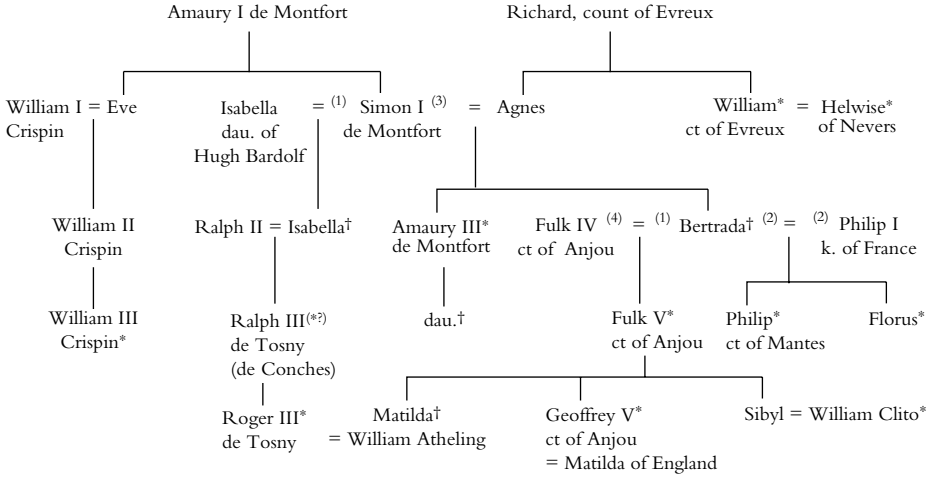
[81] Orderic, vi, 332. Henry I succeeded in having the marriage annulled (164–6).

[82] *PL*, cl, col. 742.

[83] Orderic, vi, 466.

[84] Orderic, vi, 444–6, 474–6, 480, 514, 524.

Table III *The kinship of the families of Evreux, Montfort, Anjou, Tosny and Crispin*


Amaury I de Montfort
Richard, count of Evreux
William I = Eve Crispin
Isabella dau. of Hugh Bardolf
= (1) Simon I de Montfort (3) = Agnes
William* ct of Evreux = Helwise* of Nevers
William II Crispin
Ralph II = Isabella†
Amaury III* de Montfort
Fulk IV ct of Anjou (4) = (1) Bertrada† (2) = (2) Philip I k. of France
William III Crispin*
Ralph III(*?) de Tosny (de Conches)
dau.†
Fulk V* ct of Anjou
Philip* ct of Mantes
Florus*
Roger III* de Tosny
Matilda† = William Atheling
Geoffrey V* ct of Anjou = Matilda of England
Sibyl = William Clito*

* Opponents of Henry I mentioned by Orderic Vitalis; Geoffrey of Anjou and Roger III are included for their conflict with Henry I in 1135.
† Nun at Fontevraud or Hautes-Bruyères.
NB Count William of Evreux and Ralph II de Tosny were also the great-uncles of Eustace de Breteuil*, husband of Juliana*†.

in 1119 and then his daughter Matilda in 1127–8.[85] At different points in the reign he also gave illegitimate daughters to Conan III of Brittany and to the lords of Montmorency, Montmirail, Beaumont-sur-Sarthe, and possibly Laval.[86] Only the intervention of Bishop Ivo of Chartres prevented Henry marrying another daughter to the heir of Châteauneuf and Brezolles.[87] In 1127–8, moreover, Henry succeeded in turning the Anjou–Montfort alliances to his advantage. At that very moment Henry found himself facing the most serious potential threat yet to his hold upon Normandy, namely William Clito's acquisition of the county of

[85] John of Worcester, iii, 144, stresses Henry's diplomatic tactics in 1119.
[86] *GND*, ii, 248–50; *Complete Peerage*, xi, App., 112–17. For William Gouet III of Montmirail, see Thompson 1997, 305–6. Since he succeeded his aged father in *c.*1120 and had apparently died by 1140, William Gouet's marriage to Henry's daughter Mabel probably took place in the 1110s, around the same time as the proposed Châteauneuf marriage. Constance, wife of Roscelin de Beaumont, was still alive in 1175 (ADC, H 6609; *P.R. 21 Henry II*, 65), so her marriage was probably contracted late in Henry's reign; Roscelin appears in Devon, perhaps on account of her dowry there, in 1130 (*P.R. 31 Henry I*, 155; cf. *Bk. Fees*, i, 98). Hollister (2001, 230, 268) dates the Breton marriage to *c.*1113, and suggests a date of 1119 for the Montmorency marriage; *ibid.*, 228 n.99, for the possibility that Guy IV de Laval married another daughter of the king.
[87] *PL*, clxii, cols. 265–6.

Flanders following the murder of Charles the Good. A fresh Norman rebellion or Angevin assault might have proved the undoing of the king of England, and the former at least was already in the offing in 1127, when Louis VI had revived Clito's cause once more and some Normans were sympathising with him again.[88] Instead, Henry simultaneously managed to lure the Angevin dynasty into his camp by offering the hand of his own daughter Matilda in marriage to the heir of Anjou,[89] and to exploit Amaury de Montfort's sudden loss of favour at the Capetian court.[90] Amaury was thereby transformed from inveterate enemy to expedient ally: Henry I advanced into the Ile-de-France and occupied Amaury's castle of Epernon, deterring the king of France from supporting the ailing rule of William Clito in Flanders, with fatal results for the young count.[91] Henry's advantage was already crumbling before the king's death in 1135, but in the meantime it had helped to save him from one of the greatest threats of his reign.

The influence of the Montfort–Anjou connections was the most spectacular demonstration of the importance of kinship ties that spanned the borders of Normandy, but it was by no means the only example. In 1119 Richer de l'Aigle, alienated by Henry I's refusal to grant him his father's English lands, raided Normandy with his neighbours Eustace de Breteuil and William de la Ferté-Arnaud, who was a prominent lord in the northernmost part of the diocese of Chartres.[92] In 1123–4, the revolt of the count of Meulan relied heavily upon the kinship network which he had constructed, embracing the families of Châteauneuf, Louvel and Montfort-sur-Risle, whose influence stretched from central Normandy to western *Francia*. Count Waleran would continue to prosper his whole life long through the affinities and alliances he constructed with little regard for the Norman border. Nevertheless, his rebellion failed to spread into central Normandy apart from the lands of the count of Meulan and Hugh de Montfort, although Orderic believed that the royal victory of Bourgthéroulde stifled at birth a much wider outbreak across the duchy.[93] The ties of faction against Henry were reinforced by common religious

[88] Orderic, vi, 370. [89] Le Patourel 1984b, 2–6; Hollister 2001, 322–5.

[90] Suger, 254–6; *Chr. Morigny*, 42–3; Grant 1998, 124–9. According to the Morigny chronicler Amaury's fall resulted from the thwarted ambition of his wife's uncle, Stephen de Garlande, to transmit the royal seneschalcy to Amaury in hereditary right; see *Actes de Louis VI*, iii, 38–42 (esp. 39), 155–6.

[91] Henry of Huntingdon, 478; Hollister 2001, 321–2.

[92] Orderic, vi, 220–2. *Guillelmus de Firmitate Perticena* must be William de la Ferté-Arnaud (now La Ferté-Vidame), who was probably Richer's brother-in-law (Thompson 1996a, 189n.); when challenged, the raiders took refuge with Richard de la Ferté-Fresnel, who was also in rebellion with his lord Eustace de Breteuil.

[93] Orderic, vi, 356; above, p. 226.

associations. It is probably no accident that Eustace was an early benefactor of Fontevraud, where his wife Juliana later became a nun and Count Fulk's daughter became abbess, while the Fontevraudian priory of Hautes-Bruyères became the residence of Queen Bertrada, her sister Isabella de Tosny, and Amaury's daughter, their niece.[94]

If kinship was an important factor in bringing together magnates on either side of the Norman frontier against Henry I, the influence of lordship was more varied. Once again, the historian is dependent almost entirely upon the narrative of Orderic Vitalis, which means that only in Ouche, the Hiémois and the Evrecin can we form some idea of the responses of lesser landowners to the duke and magnates of Normandy. There are some striking instances of loyalty amongst the knights of an honour to their lord, even where the rebel had never even succeeded to the inheritance. Eustace de Breteuil, for instance, could count upon the support of his father's knights, despite his illegitimate birth, in the face of the claims of his legitimate Burgundian and Breton cousins; and it took his rival Earl Robert of Leicester many years to establish himself in his place. Only with the extinction of Eustace's progeny in 1153 could the earls of Leicester be completely secure in the Breteuil inheritance.[95] When Amaury de Montfort claimed the lands of his uncle Count William of Evreux, Henry I appointed one of the knights of the honour, William Pointel, to guard the citadel of Evreux: but, mindful of his ties with the claimant who had frequented the late count's court, William invited Amaury to enter the city as its lord, and afterwards defended it against the king of England.[96] William Pointel is later to be found as a justice in Amaury's court,[97] although his family's connection with the counts

[94] Orderic, iii, 128; vi, 278, 330; ADE, H 711, fol. 131r, dated 'anno quo Iuliana uxor Eustachii et filia Amalrici comitis moniales facte sunt'. For the gifts of Ralph de Tosny when his mother Isabella (de Montfort) became a nun of Fontevraud (at Hautes-Bruyères), witnessed by Eustace de Breteuil at Hautes-Bruyères (1123), see above, p. 296. The same year Eustace witnessed acts of Count Amaury at Hautes-Bruyères and the royal castle of St-Léger-en-Yvelines: Dion 1888, no. 160, no. 2; Dor 1992, no. 4 (Rhein 1910, 'Catalogue', no. 7); he also endowed Hautes-Bruyères in Amaury's presence, probably on the same occasion (ADML, 101 H 225*bis*, p. 71). Fulk V was a benefactor of Hautes-Bruyères as well as Fontevraud (*Ctl. Fontevraud*, no. 253).

[95] Crouch 1986, 107–112, 55, 87; see the explanations of loyalty to Eustace given by Orderic, vi, 40, 294.

[96] Orderic, vi, 188, 204, 230.

[97] ADE, H 711, fol. 130v (Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 138–9): 'in aula comitis de Gualione coram iusticiis eius, uidelicet Will'o Capreo et Will'o Pointello'. William and Richard Pointel also accompanied Amaury to his patronal priory of Hautes-Bruyères near Montfort in 1123, presumably during Amaury's revolt: Dor 1992, no. 4, following *Clypeus Nascentis Fontebraldensis Ordinis*, ed. J. de La Mainferme (3 vols., Paris-Saumur, 1684–92), ii, 328 (Rhein 1910, 'Catalogue', no. 7). William *Capreus* may be a forebear of the family of Chevreuil which was prominent in the southern Evrecin in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries: ADE, H 693, H 1749; BN, ms. lat. 5464, nos. 15, 43 (*Sceaux de la Noë*, nos. 8, 43); Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 473–5, 508–10.

of Evreux may have dwindled thereafter.[98] Henry's rule over these two vast and vital inheritances was badly obstructed by the recalcitrance of the local aristocracy. In both cases, the proximity of external support for the king's opponents increased the challenge to undermine ducal power, and in the case of Evreux the king eventually had to accept the knights' preferred candidate. The full significance of the frontier may be seen in the outcome of revolt in a third inheritance, the former lands of Robert de Bellême. In 1118, there were simultaneous uprisings at Alençon and in the Hiémois near Falaise: but whereas the rebels at Alençon were able to defy King Henry, who suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the count of Anjou, the king quickly crushed Renaud de Bailleul and the other Talvas knights in central Normandy.[99]

Despite the strength of these knights' attachment to their lords, the king did succeed in luring some of them into his service. Orderic makes much of the devotion of Ralph Rufus of Pont-Echanfray to Henry I, resisting Eustace de Breteuil when other honorial barons of Breteuil had followed him in rebellion, and mediated between the king and rebels, notably his brother-in-law Robert Goel.[100] Ralph Harenc, King Henry's custodian of the tower of Ivry in 1119, probably belonged to the Evrecin family of that name, members of which can be found acknowledging the authority of Amaury de Montfort as count soon afterwards.[101] In addition Orderic names four local landowners near l'Aigle, presumably the men of Richer de l'Aigle, who preferred to join forces loyal to Henry I at Breteuil when Richer threw in his lot with the king of France.[102] Their king's success in attracting some at least of the lesser aristocracy to his side prefigures the drift of such men into ducal service in the Angevin

[98] William was possibly the ancestor of William and Philip Pointel, constables of the Tower of London and York respectively under Richard I, who appear to have been protégés of the chancellor William de Longchamps (*P.R. 2 Richard I*, 1–4, 58–9, 75; *P.R. 3–4 Richard I*, 103, 117, 174, 136, 301). For Enguerrand Pointel, witness of an act of Count Amaury IV (1201), see above, p. 295 n.188.

[99] Orderic, vi, 204–8, 214–16, 224; Thompson 1994, 172; Hollister 2001, 252. Renaud de Bailleul, who led the rebellion in central Normandy from his castle of Le Renouard (Orne, cant. Vimoutiers), had been an important tenant of the Talvas in central Normandy and Shropshire.

[100] Orderic, vi, 218–22, 228–30; Crouch 1986, 108. The rebels included the most prominent of the honorial barons of Breteuil, Richard Fresnel of La Ferté-Fresnel.

[101] Orderic, vi, 210–12. ADE, H 711, fols. 130v–131r, no. 407 (Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 138–9), concerns William, Robert, Alvred and Roger Harenc, sons of Ralph *Vinitor* of Aubevoye (1123); ADE, H. 793, fol. 57r–61r, no. 28 (act of Richard I for St-Taurin (1195), ed. *GC*, xi, instr., cols. 138–41) mentions Roger Harenc of Glisolles (59r) and William Harenc (59v) amongst donors from the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The Harencs survived at Glisolles and elsewhere in the Evrecin into the thirteenth century: *Sceaux de la Noë*, nos. 5, 16*bis*, 35*bis*, 106; *CN*, no. 145 and n.; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 998; AN, S 4995[A], liasses 12–13 (Sacquenville); ADE, H 793, fols. 75v–76r, no. 71 (Ralph Harenc of Gauville-la-Campagne, 1203).

[102] Orderic, vi, 198; Thompson 1996a, 198.

period. Nevertheless, the overwhelming impression remains that magnate lordship was generally sufficiently powerful or attractive to present the king of England with a serious challenge when magnates chose to take up arms against him.

Henry's attempt to undermine the lordship of his opponents extended to his great princely rivals. If he found few friends amongst the barons of *Francia* apart from Amaury de Montfort (in 1127–8), Matthew de Montmorency and (abortively) Hugh de Châteauneuf, he had more success with the barons of Maine and Anjou. An Angevin chronicle bemoaned the king's success in repeatedly bribing the barons of the two provinces to rebel against their lord Fulk V.[103] In Maine beneficiaries of his largesse included the lords of Beaumont, Laval, Mayenne and Sourches.[104] Founder of administrative kingship or not, Henry used time-honoured methods to bind the Manceaux to his cause: his daughters in marriage to the viscount of Beaumont and lord of Laval, lands in England for Hamelin de Mayenne in return for the castle of Ambrières, even a golden cup for Hamelin's brother Juhel.[105] We should also see Henry's hand behind the attempts of his nephew Stephen, count of Mortain, to revive the influence of his Mortain predecessors in the Passais, where they had once held the castle of Gorron. Stephen granted lands in the honour of Lancaster to the family of Braitel, which came from the nearby fortress of Ambrières and which also appears to have benefited from Henry I's generosity as well.[106] The strength of the Anglo-Norman party within the lands of the count of Anjou by the end of the reign was demonstrated when Count Geoffrey attacked Roscelin de Beaumont, now Henry's son-in-law, as relations between the king and count worsened over the uncertainties of the impending succession.[107]

The reign of Henry I therefore left a legacy of crisscrossing loyalties and interests along the southern frontier of Normandy with Maine, which helped the count of Anjou to annex Normandy after the king's death. Yet as the history of these regions in the reign of the Conqueror and his

[103] *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 68.

[104] Hollister 2001, 228–9. Henry's gifts were probably spread across the period 1110–30, a longer period than Hollister implies, but this only reinforces the consistency of his policy towards Maine.

[105] *Bk. Fees*, 86, 97; *Ctl. Manceau*, ii, 17, which shows that Juhel had to pawn the cup to one of his men; Barton 1995, 59–60.

[106] *Bk. Fees*, i, 222, 223: gifts to Agnes Braitel's ancestors attributed to Henry I (at Navenby, Lincs.) and Stephen (at Flintham, Notts.); cf. 226, 231; ii, 1045. Most probably Stephen was responsible for both gifts, but for possible gifts of Henry see *P.R. 31 Henry I*, 41, 108 ('Braitel d'Ambrières' in Warks. and Hants). For Agnes (fl. 1212) and her father Hugh (fl. 1172), see *RB*, ii, 639; *Ctl. Fontaine-Daniel*, no. LXIV; AN, L 977, no. 1251; *Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. DLVI; Power 2003b, 192.

[107] Orderic, vi, 444.

sons shows, Angevin–Norman rivalry was not the sole reason for conflict along the southern Norman marches. Consequently the succession of the Angevins to Normandy, achieved by 1144, would not be enough to ensure peace in a region where the inhabitants were 'constantly involved in conflicts and uprisings'.[108]

[108] Orderic, iv, 156: 'iurgiis et seditionibus insistunt'.

Chapter 11

THE NORMAN FRONTIER AND THE ANGEVIN DUKES (1135–93)

THE ARRIVAL OF THE ANGEVINS IN NORMANDY (1135–50)

Following the death of Henry I, the ensuing succession crisis and Angevin conquest of Normandy involved the frontier baronage extensively.[1] In two ways the situation along the frontiers of Normandy now changed dramatically. In the east, the removal of the great king of England from the scene defused the tensions along the Franco-Norman frontier, although at his death the Norman barons made immediate provision for its defence.[2] Both Stephen of Blois and Geoffrey of Anjou enjoyed a reasonable understanding with the kings of France in the early years of their respective régimes in Normandy, and so it was not until the late 1140s that the Franco-Norman frontier once more became a focus for tension between the rulers of Normandy and the kings of France. The second change was in the south, where the initial successes of Geoffrey of Anjou, though limited, shifted most of the conflict between the rival claimants away from the borders of Normandy and Maine into the heart of the duchy. More generally, the death of Henry I and the contested succession signalled a relaxation of ducal power that allowed turmoil and disorder to spread across the whole duchy. Hence the political significance of the frontier diminished markedly; with the decline of ducal authority, dispute settlement at the limits of each castellan's power became more common, and Normandy in the late 1130s has much of the character of some other regions of France where the *ordre seigneurial* prevailed. It is clear that the Norman borderlands made particularly tempting targets for raiders from neighbouring districts: the Breton lord Gilduin de Dol, lord of Combour, ravaged the Avranchin until he perished in a skirmish there, and a

[1] The details of Geoffrey's conquest of Normandy are derived mainly from Orderic, vi, 444–550, which may exaggerate the importance of events in southern Normandy, and John of Marmoutier, in *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 225–31; cf. Chartrou 1928, 36–65. Occasionally, Orderic is demonstrably wrong about Norman events, such as the siege of Pont-St-Pierre in 1136 (Crouch 1986, 32). For Normandy in general in the period 1135–54, see Haskins 1918, 122–55, 161–3; Chibnall 1994; Crouch 2000, esp. 30–4, 59–67, 190–9, 247–53, 280–5.

[2] Orderic, vi, 450.

Norman, Roger the Chamberlain, used Brittany as a base for attacking Normandy in much the same way that Richer de l'Aigle and Eustace de Breteuil had operated against Henry I from Ferté-Arnaud in 1118.[3] However, much of the violence was committed by the local lords themselves, such as the men of Mont-Saint-Michel who rebelled against the abbot, or Richard Silvain, a minor castellan of the county of Mortain who launched plundering expeditions from his castle of Saint-Pois until he fell in a clash with King Stephen's knights.[4] For the first time since the reign of Robert Curthose the disorder along the duchy's borders was matched by comparable turmoil in many other parts of the Anglo-Norman realm.

If the frontier regions, especially in southern Normandy, stood out during the reigns of Stephen and Geoffrey, it was because their magnates achieved an unprecedented prominence in the duchy. To the extent that the death of Henry I signalled a reaction against his rule, both claimants to Normandy found that they had most to offer, and were asked to give most, in the regions where Henry I had worked hardest to reduce the power of the local nobility: the Norman marches. Count Geoffrey had the support of William Talvas and Roger de Tosny even before the death of Henry I, whose suspicion of his son-in-law focussed upon the loyalties of these two barons: the consequent dispute contributed heavily to Matilda's failure to inherit the duchy in 1135.[5] However, Stephen of Blois was accepted by the mass of the Norman baronage, and Geoffrey and Matilda at first secured only the Alençonnais and Séois (through the adherents of William Talvas), the southern Hiémois around Argentan and Exmes (through the viscount of Exmes, Wigan Algason), and Domfront and the Passais (through Wigan Algason and Juhel de Mayenne). In return Geoffrey had to reverse the confiscations of Henry I, restoring the castles of the Alençonnais to William Talvas and Gorron and Ambrières to Juhel de Mayenne, whose brother had lost them to Henry I, along with Châteauneuf-sur-Colmont which Henry I had constructed in the same district. Meanwhile, the confusion over the succession to Normandy encouraged rivalries both old and new to sprout there, and much of the support for Geoffrey must have been offered for the sake of family interests and feuds.[6] Since he enjoyed the support of Roger de Tosny, Geoffrey of Anjou was opposed by Roger's enemy, Earl Robert of Leicester, and his brother, Count Waleran of Meulan. Earl Robert's support for Stephen in

[3] Orderic, vi, 492; BMAV, ms. 210, fols. 89v–90r, partly ed. in Haskins 1918, 128 n. 19.

[4] Orderic, vi, 492–4. A later Richard Silvain was prominent at the Norman exchequer at the turn of the century (ADC, H 5637, H 5644; Haskins 1918, 180, 336) and was one of the knights of Mortain who submitted to Philip Augustus in 1211 (*Registres*, 305–6; cf. AN, L 979, no. 108, and Pouëssel 1981, 115–16).

[5] Orderic, vi, 444–6; *GND*, ii, 264; Torigni, i, 200; Chibnall 1991, 60–2; Chibnall 1994, 96.

[6] Orderic, vi, 454; *GND*, ii, 274–6; Torigni, i, 199.

turn sent William de Pacy into Count Geoffrey's camp.[7] More positive associations also shaped baronial loyalties. In 1136 Robert du Neubourg admitted Geoffrey of Anjou to his castle of Annebecq on account of their friendship, which had been fostered by Count Amaury of Evreux, the count of Anjou's great-uncle and Robert's neighbour.[8] Another example of common action amongst neighbours was the alliance of William de Pacy, Roger de Tosny and Roger le Bègue, the lord of Grossœuvre and Saint-André in the Evrecin and brother of William Louvel of Ivry, who joined forces to ravage the surrounding district.[9]

Hence Geoffrey entered Normandy on his partisans' terms. His dependence upon them was compounded by the weakness of his power even in his own lands in 1135: he not only had to bargain with Juhel de Mayenne for his support in Normandy, but he had already had to besiege Beaumont-sur-Sarthe in order to bring the viscount of Maine to heel.[10] While Geoffrey was in Normandy, a castellan revolt broke out in Anjou, and Geoffrey's weakness in his own inheritance was demonstrated in 1136 when his baggage was stolen and his chancellor murdered in the forest of Malèfre in northern Maine.[11] His rival Stephen of Blois also had to woo or quell the barons of southern Normandy, however. Soon after his belated arrival in Normandy in 1137, Stephen marched to Evreux, besieged Grossœuvre, the castle of Roger le Bègue, and bought the support of the count of Perche and Richer de l'Aigle with the bribe of Moulins and Bonsmoulins.[12] He may also have given the *vicomté* of Evreux to Waleran of Meulan.[13] Subsequently, Stephen's entourage in England at times included a number of lords from the borders of *Francia* and Normandy, notably Richer and Count Rotrou, Hugh de Gournay, Roger de Tosny, with whom Stephen was reconciled in 1138,[14] and perhaps even

[7] Crouch 1986, 31–2, 111–12; Orderic, vi, 474–6. Earl Robert had a claim to the Tosny castle of Pont-St-Pierre, while William de Pacy claimed Breteuil for his dispossessed father, Eustace. More generally, there had been much feuding between the Tosnys and Beaumonts in the previous century.

[8] Orderic, vi, 466. [9] Orderic, vi, 474–6.

[10] *GND*, ii, 274–6; Torigni, i, 199–200; Orderic, vi, 444.

[11] Orderic, vi, 456, 474; cf. *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 206–7. For rivalry between the counts of Anjou and their barons, see Chartrou 1928, 26–35. The risk of revolt in Anjou allegedly deterred Geoffrey from supporting Matilda in England in 1142 (Torigni, i, 226). Malèfre (ar. Mamers, cant. and cne. St-Paterne) is just outside Alençon, but the wood extended much further south, for Bourg-le-Roi was *juxta haiam de Malaffre* (*Dict. topog. Sarthe*, 568; Torigni, ii, 14).

[12] Orderic, vi, 482–4, 490; Davis 1990, 24–6; Crouch 2000, 63–6.

[13] Crouch 1986, 34; above, p. 65. The evidence that Waleran received the *vicomté* and control of the castle in 1137 is circumstantial only; Count Amaury of Evreux may not have died until 1138.

[14] *RRAN*, iii, nos. 132, 279, 787–8; Orderic, vi, 524.

the French magnate Hugh de Châteauneuf.[15] Despite this recognition, Stephen's authority over the Norman barons can never have been strong, even in Upper Normandy. William de Vernon, a cadet of the Redvers (Reviers) family, appears to have taken control of the castle and port of Vernon, to which his family had a longstanding claim, without reference to anyone. Stephen acknowledged in 1137 that the town was no longer part of the ducal domain, but William may never even have recognised him as duke, especially as his elder brother Baldwin de Redvers was a notable partisan of the empress and probably used William's estates in the Cotentin to undermine support for Stephen there.[16] It was from Vernon that Geoffrey of Anjou launched his final campaign to subdue Normandy in 1144.[17]

It is a testimony to Stephen's failure in Normandy that his position in much of Normandy collapsed when the counts of Perche and Meulan and their allies abandoned his cause in the aftermath of his capture at Lincoln.[18] The adhesion of these barons to Count Geoffrey helped to determine the outcome of events for the whole duchy: their desertion allegedly led to the fall of Verneuil and Nonancourt. It is also telling that at this crucial juncture the nobles of southern Normandy and the adjacent provinces, whom Orderic dubs the *principes regionum*, gathered as one body at Mortagne, and hence outside the lands disputed by Geoffrey and Stephen, to discuss the strife.[19] It is unclear from Orderic's account exactly when Count Rotrou, the lord of Mortagne, broke his pact with Stephen, but the crucial realignments took place at much the same time as the meeting at Mortagne. What is significant is that the baronage of the regions along the southern frontiers of Normandy were prepared, in

[15] *RRAN*, iii, no. 921 (Waverley, 1140, a charter roll copy), has *Hug(one) filio Bern(ardi) de Novo Castello, et Rob(erto) de Relism fratre suo*. Perhaps the original charter read *Hug' filio Geru'* and *Rob' de Belism'*, for *Geru.'* could easily be misread as *Bern'* in a copy. Since Hugh was the brother-in-law of Stephen's adherents Waleran of Meulan and Robert of Leicester and a neighbour of the counts of Blois and Perche, his attendance at Stephen's court in England is quite plausible. A certain Robert de Bellême witnesses an act of King Stephen at Oxford between 1136 and 1140 (*ibid.*, no. 626), and a Robert de Bellême, brother of a Hugh de Châteauneuf, appears in an act for St-Père at Dreux (*Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 602, which identifies him as the infamous Robert de Bellême, brother-in-law of Hugh I de Châteauneuf). Moreover, Hugh certainly had a brother called Robert (Romanet 1890–1902, ii, 217; ADEL, H 5166). Orderic, vi, 464, 476, 548, mentions a 'French' knight called Robert de Bellême or Robert Poard who first opposed Stephen's Norman partisans and later fought alongside them, but since he had a brother Maurice he was probably a different person.

[16] App. I, no. 32. At Evreux in 1137 Stephen confirmed Henry I's gifts from the port of Vernon, which had been in Henry's domain, to Evreux Cathedral (*RRAN*, iii, no. 281; cf. ii, no. 1154). For Baldwin in the Cotentin, see Orderic, vi, 510–12, 514; Bearman 1996, 35.

[17] Torigni, i, 233. [18] Crouch 1986, 49–52.

[19] Orderic, vi, 548–50. Torigni, i, 229, states that Verneuil did not surrender until 1143.

the face of collapsing ducal power, to come together as a group to resolve their differences. Just as they could gather for endowments, marriages or funerals, the barons from this region could meet to decide their fate in the absence of any strong higher authority.

In other parts of the duchy resistance to the count of Anjou was more persistent, but now Geoffrey was in a stronger position to resist the petitions of his followers along the Norman borders than he had been at King Henry's death: in 1142, when a Breton contingent led by Henry de Fougères hoped to receive the ducal fortress of Pontorson in reward for their part in the subjugation of the county of Mortain and the Avranchin, Geoffrey was able to refuse their request for 'the fortress which is like a nail in the eyes of the Bretons'.[20] Although direct ducal control over the frontier districts had receded from the Passais to the borders of Perche, Geoffrey now managed to uphold it on the Breton border. By January 1144 Geoffrey was poised to complete the subjugation of Normandy, and, crossing the Seine at William de Vernon's fortress of Vernon, he besieged and took the ducal citadel in Rouen with the help of the count of Perche, who died from wounds sustained at the siege.[21] After taking Drincourt, the new duke also exacted Lyons-la-Forêt from Hugh de Gournay, to whom the custody of this ducal fortress must have given hegemony of eastern Normandy but who now feared that Geoffrey's forces would devastate his lands.[22] There was one request that Geoffrey could not deny, however. With the collapse of Stephen's rule in Upper Normandy, Louis VII hurried into the province to ensure that his authority was not ignored; and he returned to France with the valuable concession of Gisors, and probably the whole Norman Vexin.[23]

The triumph of Geoffrey of Anjou in Normandy owed much to the barons of the southern Norman frontier, several of whom were prominent amongst the officials who administered Normandy on his behalf

[20] John of Marmoutier, in *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 226–7: 'oppidum quod eis quasi clavus in oculo est'. The same campaign also subjugated the county of Mortain (Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, 126; Torigny, i, 226).

[21] Torigni, i, 234; Thompson 2002, 84. [22] Torigni, i, 235.

[23] Torigni, i, 235, 267; 'Historia Ludovici', 161–2. For Geoffrey's concessions to Louis VII, see Lemarignier 1945, 45; Chibnall 1994, 110. It is easier to believe that Louis received the whole Norman Vexin in 1144 (when Geoffrey was in no position to refuse the king's demands and needed recognition) than in 1149 or 1150, when the count of Anjou was more firmly established in the duchy and his relations with his royal lord were rapidly deteriorating. By 1147 Gasny on the Epte was in the hands of the king of France, who granted 6 *muids* of wine to the monks of Notre-Dame-du-Pré near Rouen 'de sexaginta modiis quos ecclesia Beati Audoeni nobis apud Gaeni ex concessione comitis Andegau' sub annuo redditu debet' (ADSM, 14 H 149, *vidimus* of 1427 from a lost cartulary copy). In 1180, with the Norman Vexin in ducal hands again, the *bailli* of the Roumois accordingly accounted 60 *muids* of wine-revenues at Gasny and paid 6 *muids* as tithe to Notre-Dame-du-Pré (*MRSN*, i, 77).

from 1144 onwards.[24] Robert du Neubourg, for instance, was probably Duke Geoffrey's steward, William Louvel of Ivry acted for him at Nonancourt, and William de Vernon was a justice throughout Normandy.[25] Geoffrey attracted most of the great frontier magnates to his court, including William Talvas and the young Count Simon of Evreux with Amaury de Maintenon, his French guardian.[26] The Empress named Juhel de Mayenne as surety for her pacts with the earls of Essex and Oxford.[27] In his act for the citizens of Rouen, Duke Geoffrey's first eight lay sureties after his brother were Count Waleran of Meulan, William Louvel, Richer de l'Aigle, William de Vernon, Roger de Tosny, Baudry de Baudemont, Amaury and Joscelin Crispin, and Gilbert de Tillières, all barons from the south-eastern Norman marches.[28] The fact that Geoffrey was not credited with the foundation or reconstruction of Norman castles apart from the tower of Rouen, untypical for the times and in contrast with his activities in Anjou, probably reflects the extent to which Geoffrey avoided antagonising the Norman barons; after all, he ruled them only *iure uxoris*.[29] Although he appears to have introduced or developed the *bailli* as the chief official in the duchy, he hardly ever placed Angevins in positions of trust over the Normans; one exception, Guy de Sablé, frequently acted as justice in Normandy and was probably *bailli* at Verneuil, and appears to have established his dynasty in the lordship of Gacé.[30]

It might be thought, then, that the power of the magnates of the southern frontier would have greatly augmented their power under Stephen and Geoffrey. In fact, few of the barons gained much from the years of turmoil. Count Waleran won Montfort-sur-Risle, the *vicomté* of Evreux, and Gournay-sur-Marne in *Francia*, and the counts of Perche and Richer de l'Aigle procured Moulins and Bonsmoulins. With these distinguished exceptions, baronial ambitions were by and large limited to recovery rather than more ambitious estate-building; typical was the attitude of

[24] For Duke Geoffrey's government, see Haskins 1918, 130–55; *RRAN*, iii, xxxii–xxxix.

[25] *RRAN*, iii, xxxvi–xxxvii and nos. 57, 283, 779; Haskins 1918, 145, 147–9. William de Vernon also witnessed six other acts of Duke Geoffrey (nos. 245, 443, 596, 599, 729, 735), and one of Duke Henry (no. 325).

[26] Count Simon: *RRAN*, iii, no. 56 (at Bayeux or Falaise). William Talvas: *ibid.*, iii, nos. 407 (with his son John), 747, both concerning the vicinity of his lands in central Normandy; cf. Haskins 1918, 145.

[27] *RRAN*, iii, nos. 275, 634 (Oxford, 1141).

[28] *RRAN*, iii, no. 729; *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. XIV*; Haskins 1918, 144. This confirmation of Duke Henry (1150 × 51) contains the sureties from an act of Duke Geoffrey, for his brother Helias is called *frater ducis*; Helias was imprisoned before 1150 and died in Jan. 1151 (Chartrou 1928, 32–3). 'Gilbert Crispin' must be Gilbert de Tillières. For Joscelin and Amaury Crispin of Neaufles, see Green 1984, 55–6, 62; App. I, no. 11.

[29] Haskins 1918, 143, 145–6; for Rouen Castle, see Torigni, i, 242.

[30] *RRAN*, iii, no. 283; App. I, no. 16. For the *baillis*, see Haskins 1918, 151–2; Boussard 1956, 335–6.

Juhel de Mayenne, who demanded the three castles of the southern Passais from Geoffrey and Matilda because 'he claimed that those fortresses lay in his lands'.[31] By and large, what we see are not unscrupulous empire-builders but an aristocracy with far more immediate concerns, chiefly local hegemony or the 'recovery' of rights they believed they had lost; even the cession of Gisors to Louis VII had many precedents, dating back to Count Ralph of the Vexin's acquisition of the manor during the adolescence of William the Conqueror.[32]

THE ROAD TO REVOLT (1150–73)

A major change in the rapport between the duke and his barons may be detected from the accession of Henry of Anjou in Normandy in 1150. Unlike his father, Henry ruled Normandy in his own right, and he appears neither to have used nor to have trusted the men who had helped his father most in the conquest of Normandy. Perhaps it was because they had been the chief beneficiaries of ducal weakness since 1135. In southern Normandy, for instance, only two leading barons with sizeable lands remained in high favour with Henry once he had become king of England, namely Robert du Neubourg, steward and justice of Normandy, and Earl Robert II of Leicester, justiciar of England.[33] Henry did find useful servants from the border regions of Normandy, for instance Manasser Biset, a steward in his household: he was probably the younger son of the Biset family that was closely associated with the counts of Aumale in both Normandy and the Beauvaisis, even though the loyalty of Count William of Aumale to the Angevins before 1154 was at best lukewarm.[34] Moreover, the relative calm which had existed between Normandy and France since before the death of Henry I came to an end in 1149–50 because both Henry and his father Geoffrey of Anjou antagonised their royal lord Louis VII. The change in the political climate posed particular difficulties for Norman barons with interests in *Francia*; it also offered King Stephen's faction an opportunity to court recalcitrant Normans. Although the initial Angevin–Capetian tension arose over Geoffrey's treatment of the lord of Montreuil-Bellay, on the borders of Anjou and Poitou, it rapidly spread

[31] *GND*, ii, 274–6: 'dicebat enim idem Iuhellus illa iii. oppida . . . esse in sua terra'. Cf. Torigni, i, 200.

[32] *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 229; Green 1984, 50–1.

[33] *Actes de Henri II*, intro., 445–7; Boussard 1956, 366–7; Warren 1973, 55–6, 260–1; Crouch 1986, 89–95. Robert du Neubourg's brother Rotrou, bishop of Evreux, continued to act as justice of Normandy; in 1165, he was made archbishop of Rouen.

[34] *RRAN*, iii, xxxv; ADSM, 1 H 1, no. 5; English 1979, 62; below, p. 395, and App. 1, no. 8.

to the marches of Normandy.[35] Louis VII had mistrusted Duke Geoffrey's intentions even before the Second Crusade, imploring Abbot Suger to see to the defence of Gisors in his absence.[36] In 1149, the Talvas family and Louis VII's brother Robert, count of Perche, clashed on the borders of Maine and Perche, leading Louis VII to invade the duchy in two places in 1150, sacking Sées with his brother and advancing with Stephen's son Eustace as far as Arques.[37] Even before Duke Henry's marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine injected a new enmity into his relations with the king of France, the Norman border lords were facing new pressures from several directions at once.

In 1152–3 Duke Henry finally came to blows with several of his marcher lords. Faced by an increasingly formidable array of enemies that year, including his own brother Geoffrey, Duke Henry turned first against his own barons whom he mistrusted. In the north-east, Stephen's allies may have made some headway: Duke Henry attacked the castle of Hugh de Gournay at Ferté-en-Bray because he had allegedly refused the service he owed to the duke and was said to be harbouring Henry's enemies.[38] Developments at Aumale probably also gave the duke reason for alarm. For years, conditions in England had provided more than enough to occupy the energies of the count of Aumale, William le Gros, and after 1144 his continued adherence to King Stephen would not have endeared him to the new régime in Normandy; so by 1150 he had left his Norman lands in the charge of his brother Enguerrand.[39] However, in 1152, when Duke Henry's relations with the king of France had already deteriorated, the French king's brother Bishop Henry of Beauvais came to Aumale; this must have been with Enguerrand's approval, but would have hardly been to the taste of the duke of Normandy.[40] Indeed, the latter's displeasure is suggested by his promise, made the following spring, to give the English lands of Enguerrand d'Aumale to the earl of Chester if

[35] Torigni, i, 251, 253; *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 215–22; *Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, no. 7; Chartrou 1928, 69–74; Boussard 1938, 69–71; Pacaut 1964, 62–3.

[36] *RHF*, xv, 487 (kindly drawn to my attention by Edmund King).

[37] Torigni, i, 253–4; *RHF*, xv, 461, 520–2; Chartrou 1928, 69–76; Chibnall 1994, 109–10; Grant 1997, 63–4, and 1998, 283–6 (whose redating of events is followed here); Crouch 2000, 247–50; Thompson 2002, 89–90.

[38] Torigni, i, 261, 267–8.

[39] ADSM, 1 H 23: act of Enguerrand, viscount of Aumale, for the abbey of Aumale, 'in the time of Count William of Aumale and his brother Enguerrand', witnessed by 'Enguerrand the count's brother' (1135 × 52). ADOI, H 4653: act of Enguerrand, viscount of Aumale for Beaupré, concerning Brombos (dioc. Beauvais), made 'in the presence of lord Enguerrand d'Aumale' (Aumale, 1150). For the count's English concerns, see Dalton 1990 and 1994, 152–84.

[40] ADOI, H 4653: act of Henry, bishop of Beauvais, confirming the alms of Stephen, brother of Franco, viscount of Aumale (Aumale, '1152': the extreme dates are 25 Dec. 1151 × 18 Apr. 1153). For Bishop Henry, later archbishop of Reims, see Guyotjeannin 1987, 126–30; Grant 1998, 282–3.

Enguerrand refused to join him.[41] Just as William Rufus had gained his first footholds in Normandy through Eu, Aumale and Gournay, Duke Henry had most to fear in a revival of Stephen's cause from this quarter. Along the southern frontiers of Normandy Henry also exacted a heavy price. After his assault upon Hugh de Gournay in 1152 he turned his attention to Richer de l'Aigle, burning his castle of Bonsmoulins, and then attacked the fortresses of Brezolles and Marcouville in the lands of Hugh de Châteauneuf.[42] In 1153, Count Waleran of Meulan was humbled because of his friendship with Louis VII, and the count of Evreux's private war with William Louvel and his brother Roger le Bègue was probably also directed at Count Waleran as William's brother-in-law.[43] Henry received support from some frontier barons, including William de Pacy and Gilbert de Tillières, and his punitive actions were not restricted to the marches: he besieged Torigni-sur-Vire several times between 1151 and 1154.[44] Yet it was the frontier barons who fared worst in this forceful assertion of ducal power.

The incipient antagonism of Henry of Anjou to his frontier lords did not end in 1153. He spent much of the next twenty years seeking to recover the rights and domains which he believed the dukes had lost since the death of Henry I, as specific circumstances permitted.[45] In effect Henry's actions spelled conflict with those frontier barons who since 1135 had recovered what their families had lost under Henry I. Already in 1152 Duke Henry had begun the reconquest of the Norman Vexin from Louis VII;[46] by the end of 1160 he had fulfilled this ambition through the premature marriage of his eldest son Henry to the daughter of the king of France.[47] The fate of the Norman Vexin drew most attention from chroniclers as the century progressed, but Henry's energies were in fact directed just as much towards his southern frontier.

In 1158, Rotrou III of Perche had to surrender Moulins and Bonsmoulins (held by Richer de l'Aigle) to him.[48] That same year Henry II personally supervised the reconstruction of Pontorson, although not long afterwards he had to expel the castellan he had placed there on account of his misdeeds.[49] In 1157, Henry had seized the city of Coutances from

[41] *RRAN*, iii, no. 180 (Jan. × Apr. 1153): *Engelramus de Albamarl'* most probably referred to the count's brother, since Enguerrand viscount of Aumale was dead in '1152' (see previous note).

[42] Torigni, i, 268–9; cf. Thompson 1996a, 190, for the attack upon Bonsmoulins.

[43] Torigni, i, 278, 281–2; Crouch 1986, 71–6.

[44] Torigni, i, 254, 268, 286–7; Yver 1955–6, 109–10.

[45] For this policy, see Warren 1973, e.g. 59–62, 367–8. Coulson (1984, 13–15) contrasts Angevin and Capetian 'policy' towards baronial castles.

[46] Torigni, i, 267–8, 286. [47] Landon 1935, 220–3.

[48] Torigni, i, 314–15, who describes the castles as former *dominia ducis Normanniæ*.

[49] Torigni, i, 313, 335. As he himself explains, Pontorson was afterwards committed to Robert of Torigni, so his account deserves particular caution.

Count William of Mortain along with all the young count's Norman and English castles; at William's death in 1159 King Henry added the entire county of Mortain to the ducal domain.[50] In 1162, at the death of Juhel I de Mayenne, he compelled Juhel's son to hand over the three castles of the southern Passais.[51] Henry then exploited the death of John de Dol, lord of Combour (1162): John had entrusted both his daughter Isolde and his lands to Ralph de Fougères, but Henry seized the heiress and the town of Dol in 1162, and then took advantage of Ralph's absence on crusade in 1164 to take the fortress of Combour.[52] The king of England then married the girl to the son of the Norman *curialis* John de Subligny, who with his brother Adam governed the territory of Dol on Henry's behalf.[53] In 1166 William Talvas and his heirs, Count John of Ponthieu and the future Count John of Sées, were made to surrender the fortresses of Alençon and La Roche-Mabile and the Alençonnais. These events were merely the prelude for Henry's full-scale invasion of Brittany in 1166, allegedly to break a coalition of the barons of Maine and Brittany against him: he destroyed Fougères, arranged to marry his son Geoffrey to the daughter of Count Conan of Brittany, and exacted the homage of 'almost all the barons of Brittany' at Thouars in Poitou.[54] Henry continued his measures around the southern borders of the duchy in 1169, founding Bourg-le-Roi near the Talvas lands in Maine and the main routes from Maine to Normandy, and constructing earthworks along the Sarthe and Avre 'between France and Normandy, to keep out raiders'.[55] Although Louis VII's attack on Chennebrun in 1168 may have been the chief 'raids' in Henry's mind, his action indicates that the southern Norman march was still unstable at this time, and some of the Manceaux had been implicated in the Breton conspiracies of that year.[56] All in all, Henry

[50] Torigni, i, 305–6, 326.

[51] Torigni, i, 335.

[52] Torigni, i, 340, 353; Everard 2000, 41–2, 83–5. AN, l 968, no. 209, is an act of Ralph de Fougères dated 1163, 'scilicet quando Ierosolimam profectus sum'. BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 4, an act made in Ralph's presence, is dated Dec. 1163, although this could conceivably be Dec. 1162 if dated by Christmas.

[53] Morice 1742–6, i, cols. 647 (describing Adam de Subligny as Isolde's *nutritus*), 658–9, 691–4; BN, ms. lat. 5476, pp. 33 (act of Adam de Subligny), 57; App. i, nos. 10, 28; Everard 2000, 83–5. No share of the inheritance apparently went to Isolde's sister Denise, for whom see BN, ms. fr. 22325, p. 523; Everard 2000, 197.

[54] Torigni, i, 360–2.

[55] Torigni, ii, 13, 14; Powicke 1961, 185. The *Fossés Royaux* survive along the Sarthe and Upper Avre. In the communes of Beaulieu (Orne, ar. Mortagne, cant. Tourouvre) and Chennebrun (Eure, cant. Verneuil), they divide the Bois de Normandie from the Bois de France (IGN 1:50000, sheet 19/15). An act of 1206 for La Trappe (ADOR, H 1847; *Ctl. Trappe*, 463) mentions the *Fossata Regis* at Les Genettes near Bonsmoulins. Bonnard (1907, 27–8), following a map of 1701, stated that they extended as far as Nonancourt; cf. IGN 1:25000 sheet 20/15-Est, for Le Fossé-du-Roi (at Bourg-l'Abbé, cant. Nonancourt, cne. Muzy). Cf. Louise 1992, i, 422, and ii, 252; Contamine 1980, 369–70.

[56] Torigni, ii, 7 (conspiracies), 8 (Chennebrun).

took every opportunity to increase his political power and reclaim former ducal castles along the southern Norman frontier between 1158 and 1169, at the expense of the local nobility, but almost every case simultaneously formed another stage in a longstanding rivalry between the duke and a frontier magnate.

THE YOUNG KING'S REVOLT (1173–4)

The threats of revolt in Maine in 1166 and 1168 were the first inklings of widespread protest against Henry II. Given the multifarious links between the barons of northern Maine and southern Normandy, an uprising in Maine stood to affect the duchy as well. The sedition of 1168 was all the more dangerous because there were hints of collusion between conspirators in Maine, Breton lords who were still defying King Henry, and the king of France, at a time when Angevin rule in Poitou was also facing its most serious challenge since Henry's marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine.[57] Nevertheless, the frontier barons' reaction to ducal occupation of their castles remained mute until 1173. Since at each fortress Henry clashed with the specific claims of individual magnates, common sentiment and action amongst the disaffected may have been slow to develop. Armed protest seems to have been possible only where the offended noble held lands outside the Plantagenet dominions: Waleran of Meulan threw in his lot with Louis VII in 1161, and in the *guerra regum* of 1168 Henry's opponents included Count John of Ponthieu, one of the Talvas heirs, and the count of Perche.[58] Instead, the politics of the frontier were dominated by the smouldering rivalry of the kings of England and France, which led to repeated and widespread devastation. While the duke was busy recovering fortresses along his southern borders, French armies penetrated deep into eastern borders of Normandy. In 1167, Henry II sacked Chaumont-en-Vexin and his Normans raided into Perche, capturing a number of French knights; for his part the king of France terrorised the Norman march, burning Les Andelys and Gasny, while his allies the counts of Flanders, Boulogne and Ponthieu plundered up to the walls of Drincourt.[59] In 1168, Louis burned Chennebrun near Verneuil, and in revenge Norman forces raided the lands of Hugh de Châteauneuf, King Henry himself burning Brezolles while his men destroyed Châteauneuf. The enmity of Count John of Ponthieu also provoked the king of England into a destructive attack across Vimeu, the south-west part of Ponthieu.[60]

[57] Torigni, ii, 4–7. [58] Torigni, ii, 7–8; Crouch 1986, 77–8; Thompson 1994, 183.
[59] Torigni, i, 365–6; *Draco Normannicus*, 680–95; Diceto, i, 330; Gervase of Canterbury, i, 203; Gillingham 1988, 1–2; Crouch 1990, 30–2.
[60] Torigni, ii, 7–8; Thompson 1994, 183n.

The moment for protest against Angevin rule came in 1173 when Henry II's sons revolted against their father: the support that they won from Scotland to Aquitaine demonstrates how much the insurrection owed its strength to much broader grievances.[61] The prominence of the frontier magnates in the revolt is undeniable, and the whole Norman border was affected; the earl of Chester even chose to base his revolt on his lands in south-west Normandy, where he could cooperate with the rebels from Fougères and Mayenne, rather than in England. Hence Warren and Boussard both saw this as the last reaction of an atavistically minded baronage, and Boussard also ascribed the readiness of the frontier baronage to participate to their divided French and Norman obligations.[62] However, the actions of Henry II that provoked the outburst had been as guided by precedent as his barons were: in his attempt to account for what Roger of Howden termed the 'raging madness of the traitors', Ralph de Diceto observed that Henry was 'compelling those who occupied territories which should have contributed to his treasury, to be content with their own patrimony', and condemned the king's sons for handing back these lands to the rebels unjustly.[63] Here was the nub of the problem: what the barons regarded as their patrimony did not correspond with the opinion of Henry II, who had the likes of Robert of Torigni to tell him which castles constructed by Henry I had since passed into baronial hands.[64] The opportunities that the Young King's revolt offered for redressing such longstanding local grievances go a long way towards explaining the participation in rebellion of the counts of Meulan, Perche and Sées and the lord of Mayenne, as well as the support of the count of Boulogne, who was promised the honours of Mortain to which he had a strong claim as King Stephen's son-in-law.[65]

The lists of rebels given by the *Gesta Henrici* and Robert of Torigni are extremely detailed, including even very minor figures;[66] it may be assumed that barons not mentioned as rebels, such as Richard de

[61] Warren (1973, 117–36) gives an overview of the rebellions.

[62] Boussard 1956, 477 n.5: 'les barons normands révoltés étaient tout d'abord ceux qui béneficiaient, de par leur situation de seigneurs des marches, d'une double mouvance franco-normande'; Warren 1973, 122–3, 236 (cf. 95, for his comments on the three Passais castles in 1162).

[63] Warren 1973, 124 (cf. 368), translating Diceto, i, 371: 'bonorum occupatores quæ suam ad mensam quasi ad fiscum ab antiquo pertinere noscuntur, patrimonio proprio contentos ess debere constanter assereret, et etiam cogeret'.

[64] See the lists compiled by Robert: *GND*, ii, 250; Torigni, i, 196–7.

[65] *Gesta Henrici*, i, 44. Cf. *ibid.*, 58: 'Juhel de Mayenne', captured at Dol, was either the young lord of Mayenne or his uncle of the same name. Others from Juhel's lands who were taken at Dol included William de Gorron, John and William des Loges, Philip de Landivy, William du Bois-Bérenger, and William *de Orenge*; most of the others named in the *Gesta* were from the lordships of Fougères and Dol.

[66] Torigni, ii, 35–6, 38–9; *Gesta Henrici*, i, 45–9, 56–8; see also Diceto, i, 371, 379.

Beaumont, Simon d'Anet and William de Saint-Cénery, were not openly involved in the cause of King Henry's sons. On the basis of these lists, Boussard ridiculed the assertion of chroniclers that nearly all the barons of Normandy and England were in revolt; but, as Warren pointed out, those not actively fighting with Henry II were as good as opposing him.[67] The counts of Eu and Evreux and the lords of Gournay and l'Aigle all appear to have been swept along by events into rebellion; the feeble defence which the count of Aumale offered at that town was regarded as almost treacherous; and only two barons from the southern frontier, Henry du Neubourg and Richard de Vernon, are known to have supported Henry II actively.[68]

The motives of some of these rebels are hard to discern. Although Henry's confiscations of castles provide easy explanations for some barons joining the rebellion, it is less easy to account for the choices which some other families made. Waleran d'Ivry, whose father William Louvel had suffered with Waleran of Meulan in 1153, may also have hoped to secure those estates of his grandfather, Ascelin Goel, which his family had lost to Simon d'Anet before 1173.[69] While Hugh de Gournay and Richer de l'Aigle had both suffered at Henry's hands in 1152, others were from families that had hitherto cooperated with Henry II, notably Earl Robert III of Leicester and Gilbert de Tillières.[70] The manifold links between the barons of southern Normandy and their 'French' neighbours may have fostered the spread of the revolt; kinship was the alleged link between the earl of Leicester and his French *consobrinus*, Hugh III de Châteauneuf, when they invaded England together.[71] But the southern Normans also had many ties, of blood, tenure or association, with central Normandy, which belie the notion that in 1173 an alienated marcher baronage joined their cousins from *Francia* and Maine in opposing Henry II and the barons of most of Normandy. The revolt was far more complex, and not surprisingly there were many conflicts of loyalty, although these may have sometimes led to collusive action. Baudry, son of Goel de Baudemont, adhered to the Young King, but his father did not

[67] Boussard 1956, 477–80; Warren 1973, 123–4.

[68] *Gesta Henrici*, i, 45, 47, 51–2; Torigni, ii, 39; Diceto, i, 373; Newburgh, i, 173; above, (l'Aigle) (Gournay). The *Gesta*'s reference to 'the elder count of Evreux' implies that the 'younger count', his son Amaury, stayed loyal. It was probably during the uprising that Henry the Young King confirmed the commune of Eu, given at Drincourt (*Livre Rouge d'Eu*, 17–18), for the first two witnesses, William de Tancarville and William de Ste-Maure, an Angevin who had no connections with Eu, were leading rebels (*Gesta Henrici*, i, 45, 47).

[69] See p. 207. As late as 1162 William Louvel claimed lands near Bréval that Simon d'Anet also claimed that year (*Ch. St-Germain*, i, nos. CCI, CXXVIII); they lay outside Henry II's gift, but Waleran d'Ivry may have hoped to profit from any victory of Louis VII.

[70] For the English rebel earls, see Warren 1973, 122.

[71] Torigni, ii, 45 (cf. Newburgh, i, 179, and Jordan Fantosme, 72–8); Power 2001a, 131–2.

rebel, while their lord Richard de Vernon helped to crush the revolt.[72] Many of the rebels captured by Henry II before or during the siege of Dol came from the lands of Ralph de Fougères or the earl of Chester in the Avranchin, but most of the remainder hailed from the lordships of Mayenne and Dol-Combour. Juhel, lord of Mayenne, was under age but was numbered amongst the rebels, and his knights. Isolde, lady of Dol and Combour, was also a child, having been forcibly married by Henry II to the son of an Angevin *curialis*, John de Subligny; John and his brother had been administering the *pagus Dolensis* in 1168, and the rebellion of a number of knights from Dol suggests that their rule was anything but popular.[73] However, in another magnate inheritance recently fallen into Angevin custody, the nearby county of Mortain, most of the knights remained loyal, for they had apparently been won over by King Henry's patronage.[74]

Above all, the revolt was not simply a protest against the Angevin court but a product of that unstable entity's intrigues. Robert of Torigni blamed the most powerful lord in the county of Mortain, Hasculf de Saint-Hilaire, for goading the Angevin princes into insurrection, but he did so not as a Norman frontier lord but as one of the *equites juniores* of the Angevin court: the leader of a veritable revolt of the *juvenes*.[75] In so far as the Old King's demands for castles had been clustered on the southern borders of Normandy, this certainly encouraged an element of frontier insubordination, but the peculiar situation of a war between all three young Plantagenets and their father, still in his prime, was so remarkable that it is not surprising that most barons preferred to wait on events. The frontier rebels cannot have been the only marcher lords with grievances; rather, they were those who believed that rebellion would resolve their grievances immediately.

COOPERATION RESTORED (1174–93)

The years after the great revolt have been seen as a time of concession and compromise, beginning with the moderate treaty of Falaise in 1174.[76] Although King Henry did not restore any castles which he had taken from

[72] *Gesta Henrici*, i, 46, 51–2. Goel was still alive in 1177 (ADE, H 853; Torigni, i, 277n.), and Baudry predeceased him: Goel compensated the abbey of Bec for Baudry's depredations against its priory of Mézières in the Norman Vexin (ADE, H 91, fol. 40r). This act was witnessed by Richard de Vernon, who also made a grant for Baudry's soul to the priory of Saulseuse (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 677). Baudry's mother was the sister of another rebel from the Vexin, Joscelin Crispin (see Green 1984, 54–8).

[73] *Gesta Henrici*, i, 56–8; Everard 2000, 84–5, 60 and n.118.

[74] Above, pp. 60–1, 275–6.

[75] Torigni, ii, 35; cf. *Gesta Henrici*, i, 46. For *juvenes*, see Duby 1977, 112–22.

[76] Warren 1973, 136–42.

his barons in the first twenty years of his reign and retained others, such as Pacy and Tillières, which he had captured during the war, the baronage tended to remain loyal when the Plantagenets quarrelled amongst themselves once more between 1183 and 1189. Henry relaxed his régime in the marches of Normandy and Maine by conferring Bourg-le-Roi upon his cousin the viscount of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe,[77] and one of his kinswomen married Juhel de Mayenne.[78]

Nevertheless, the king of England continued to mistrust some of his marcher lords. In 1177, he forced Waleran d'Ivry to surrender Ivry and give his son as a hostage, an action which even the normally favourable Robert of Torigni attributed to greed, although there was some precedent for ducal control of the castle.[79] As the Young King threatened to revolt once more in 1183, the king of England seized the earls of Gloucester and Leicester as a precaution; it is likely that his action affected their Norman honours as well as their English lands, including the Gloucester castle of Sainte-Scolasse near Alençon and the Leicester honour of Breteuil.[80] Meanwhile, the Young King's death that summer reopened the thorny question of the status of Gisors and the Norman Vexin, nominally his widow's dowry, and although she and her brother the king of France renounced their claims to these lands in 1186, border skirmishes and confrontations boiled over into open warfare between Henry II and Philip Augustus by 1188.[81] Once more the border lords found themselves caught in the middle of royal conflict: after ravaging the districts between Ivry and Mantes, including Simon d'Anet's town of Bréval, King Henry sent his Welsh mercenaries against Simon's other French lands, destroying his castle of *Danevilla*.[82] In 1189 Juhel de Mayenne, Ralph de Fougères and

[77] *Ctl. du Mans*, no. xvi, which implies that Richard I renewed this gift; the viscounts retained it after 1204, leading to disputes with the cathedral chapter of Le Mans (*Enquête de 1245*, 42–3, 97–8, 208, 215–16).

[78] *P.R. 31 Henry II*, 216, describes Juhel's wife as 'neptis Regis' (1184–5); she is otherwise unknown.

[79] Torigni, ii, 68; *Gesta Henrici*, i, 191. The donjon of Ivry was in ducal hands between *c.*1028 and 1087, and had a ducal castellan in 1119 (Orderic, vi, 210–12, 228–30; Mauduit 1899, 24–8, 77–82).

[80] *Gesta Henrici*, i, 294. *Gloucester Charters*, 3–5, attributes royal disfavour against the earl of Gloucester to rivalry over Bristol Castle.

[81] For the Gisors dispute and ensuing wars, see Landon 1935, 224–6; Gillingham 1999, 76–83, 91–4; for the tension along the Epte border see also Lemarignier 1945, 46–7. The chief Angevin–Capetian tension was in Berry: Gillingham 1999, 83–5; Cartellieri 1899–1922, i, 251–9, 276–8; Devailly 1973, 411–13; Vincent 2000, 5–7.

[82] *HGM*, i, 7815–40, and *Philippidos*, 76–7 (iii, lines 295–309), both mentioning Bréval; *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 46–7 (*Danevilla*). Simon's English lands were seized at the same time (*P.R. 34 Henry II*, 66; cf. *P.R. 2 Richard I*, 7). A castle called *Damvilla*, within boat-reach of Anet, appears in the Capetian accounts of 1202–3 (Lot and Fawtier 1932, 109, cxlvii). Neither *Danevilla* nor *Damvilla* can refer to Damville (cant. Breteuil), *pace* the editors of both texts, for it belonged to Gilbert de Tillières and lay neither *in terra regis Francie*, as the *Gesta Henrici* stated, nor on a navigable river. A more likely identification is Guainville (cant. Anet): see Châtelain 1983, 213–14.

Guy de Laval revolted against Henry II in support of his son Richard, allegedly in the hope of regaining their lost honours.[83] Their protest was a sign that the Norman marches were far from pacified.

The death of Henry II in 1189 brought to the ducal throne one of the Angevin princes who for so long had provided a focus for resentment against their father. Richard's first actions as king demonstrated his desire to show favour to disaffected magnates: he married his niece to the heir of the count of Perche, and restored lands which Henry II had not relinquished since the revolt of 1173–4 to the earl of Leicester and Hugh de Gournay, including, in the earl's case, the key frontier fortress of Pacy.[84] At the same time, a concerted effort was made to use the revenues of the Angevin lands to buy neighbouring lords with lands and pensions. This practice would bear most fruit in 1197–8 when Richard won over the counts of Blois, Perche, Flanders and Boulogne to his side,[85] as well as powerful castellans along the borders of Normandy and Ponthieu, William de Cayeux and Thomas de Saint-Valéry – the latter no doubt chastened by Richard's destruction of Saint-Valéry in 1197.[86] The payment of money-fiefs and other gifts to French lords, some of them very generous indeed, are prominent in the letters of King John early in his reign; beneficiaries included the counts of Flanders, Ponthieu, Beaumont-sur-Oise, Auxerre, Dreux and Bar, the *vidame* of Picquigny,[87] Robert de Boves,[88] and even courtiers of the king of France such as William de Garlande, Bartholomew de Roye and Thomas d'Argenteuil, a clerk to the king of France.[89] Robert of Torigni believed that such bribes had helped to keep Henry II informed of events at the French court during the revolt of 1173,[90] and the benefits to Richard I during the late 1190s were undoubted, even though the count of Blois had

[83] *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 72; Diceto, ii, 63–4.

[84] *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 75; above, pp. 360–2 (Perche), 356 (Gournay).

[85] In general, see Howden, iv, 60–1; Gillingham 1999, 307–14.

[86] Powicke 1961, 108–9, 119; *P.R. 10 Richard I*, 194.

[87] *Rot. Lib.*, 16, 18, 21; *Rot. Chart.*, 11, 58; cf. *MRSN*, ii, 302 (count of St-Pol, 1197–8). The count of Bar's pension was to be commuted to control of an English castle, and for a short time he received Bolsover (Derbs.): *Memoranda Roll 1 John*, 26, 27, 28; *P.R. 1 John*, 200, 205; *P.R. 2 John*, 12.

[88] *RN*, 22 (Robert *de Boue*); also *Rot. Chart.*, 7 (Robert *de Bave*)?

[89] *Rot. Lib.*, 9–10; *Rot. Chart.*, 64, 71. Both the English and Norman pipe rolls record numerous other such gifts, e.g. *MRSN*, i, 57 (Peter de Courtenay, 1180), ii, 501–2 (Ralph de Clermont); *P.R. 1 John*, 131–2, and *P.R. 2 John*, 64 (Manasser, son of the count of Guînes, whose family already held significant English lands).

[90] Torigni, ii, 50. It is interesting that William Mauvoisin and the seneschal of Ponthieu, Enguerrand de Fontaines, both received gifts in England in spring 1174 (*P.R. 20 Henry II*, 3). Enguerrand retained this property until the wars of Richard I and Philip Augustus (*Bk. Fees*, i, 65; *P.R. 6 Richard I*, 1–2; *Chancellor's Roll 8 Richard I*, 201); for him, see *Actes de Ponthieu*, 143, 177, 195–6, 235, 239.

already reverted to King Philip's side before the Lionheart's death.[91] In contrast, the renewal of monetary payments by John in 1200 proved of little worth in the next, decisive war.

French border lords were prominent recipients of Angevin gifts. In the early part of his reign a branch of the sprawling Poissy clan from the Seine valley west of Paris had been established in Normandy through the favour of Count Simon of Evreux, and then received substantial English lands from Henry II.[92] Now, in the wake of the revolt of the young king, Henry II favoured the Mauvoisins, another powerful clan who dominated the Seine valley below the Capetian stronghold of Mantes. William Mauvoisin attended King Henry's court in Normandy and England, possibly aided by his alleged kinship with Count Eudo of Brittany, and a contemporary even depicted him advising the king on the eve of Becket's murder.[93] Henry granted him land in Wiltshire, Hampshire and Surrey in the spring of 1174, which suggests that William had supported the king of England during the great revolt; he and his wife retained these lands until the last year of Henry's reign.[94] In the 1180s William's brother Manasser Mauvoisin was holding lands by marriage in Devon and also appears in the *bailliage* of Auge.[95]

The impending crusade, meanwhile, was providing Richard I with an excellent opportunity to unite the baronage of the Plantagenet domains behind him. Crusaders with extensive lands on the Norman frontier

[91] *Layettes*, i, no. 478 (1 Sept. 1198). The chronology of events advocated here differs from Gillingham 1999, 313 (see above, p. 296).

[92] For Henry II's gifts to Robert de Poissy, see ADE, 30 J 54, fol. 9r–v, no. 16; *P.R. 2–3–4 Henry II*, 142, 154; *Rot. Curiæ Regis*, ii, 178 (Nobottle in Little Brington and Blisworth (Northants.), in the honour of Peverel of Nottingham; for identification of these places, see *RB*, i, 336; *HKF*, i, 240–2; also *VCH Northants*, iv, 224; v, 380, 390). Robert de Poissy, who became lord of Hacqueville and Mouflaines in the Norman Vexin, also gained fiefs in the honours of Evreux (see p. 209) and Breteuil, and a ducal mill in the Roumois (*RB*, ii, 643; *Registres*, 275; *MRSN*, i, 77); he witnessed an act of Henry II for Conches (*Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CCCCXXIII, p. 554). He may also have attended the court of Louis VII in 1152–3 (Luchaire 1885, nos. 279, 282, ed. pp. 389–90).

[93] William FitzStephen: 'Willelmus cognomento Malus Vicinus, nepos Eudonis comitis Britanniæ' (*Becket Materials*, iii, 129). William Mauvoisin witnessed the treaty of Falaise, and appears in a number of other royal acts in the 1170s, mostly in Normandy: *Actes de Henri II*, ii, nos. CCCCLXVIII, CCCCLXXXVI, DXXI, DXXVI, DXXVII, DLXXXIX*bis*; *Cartæ Antiquæ Rolls 11–20*, no. 453. 'Count Eudo' (de Porhoët) had broken faith with Henry II by 1168, returning to the Angevin fold in 1175 (Everard 2000, 45–6, 53–4).

[94] William appears from 1174 (*P.R. 20 Henry II*, 3, 29, 125), his wife from 1184 to 1187 (*P.R. 30 Henry II*, 152; *P.R. 33 Henry II*, 173, 211). *P.R. 31 Henry II*, 189, may imply that William had died during 1184–5, but the pipe roll evidence is very ambiguous. The Mauvoisins' lands were all in royal hands in 1188 (*P.R. 34 Henry II*, 3, 29, 125). Cf. *Bk. Fees*, i, 65–6.

[95] *Cartæ Antiquæ Rolls 11–20*, no. 561 (lands of Manasser Mauvoisin and his wife Mabel, at Start in Stokenham, Devon); *P.R. 30 Henry II*, 78; *P.R. 31 Henry II*, 159; *MRSN*, i, 83 (cf. 208, and ii, 457, 555). The servant of another brother, Peter, was in England in 1170 (*P.R. 16 Henry II*, 15).

included Earls Robert III and IV of Leicester,[96] the counts of Sées and Evreux,[97] Hugh de Gournay,[98] Juhel de Mayenne,[99] Richard de Vernon, father and son,[100] and Waleran, heir of the count of Meulan.[101] When Roger de Tosny and Gilbert de Tillières attended Richard's court at Verneuil, on the point of their departure for Palestine, King Richard lent his seal to them for a grant which they wished to make to Saint-Evroul.[102] Ambroise's account also reveals that Normans of much humbler status accompanied the king of England.[103] Although the French king stirred up trouble between King Richard and his men from central France, he had no such success with the Normans in the ranks of Richard's army.[104] Richard also placed great trust in several of the Norman frontier barons during the expedition. Richard's *fidejussores* for his treaty with King Tancred at Messina included Robert du Neubourg and Gilbert de Vascœuil, and perhaps the count of Evreux.[105] Gilbert escorted Queen Eleanor to England and then became castellan of Gisors.[106] His powerful associate Hugh de Gournay was entrusted with King Richard's half of Acre.[107] Outwardly at least, the barons of the Norman frontier were in harmony with their duke in the early 1190s.

Yet the crusade also fostered contacts across the frontier that were likely to run counter to the duke's attempts to keep the loyalty of his men in times of war with Philip Augustus. A number of the Anglo-Norman crusaders are said to have reached Acre with a group of French

[96] Howden, iii, 88, 94; Ambroise, *passim*.

[97] *Itin.*, 74; ADE, H 793, fol. 75r–v, nos. 69–70 (cf. Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 133). No. 69 shows that the count of Evreux was in the Holy Land by July 1187. He was dead by mid-1193.

[98] Howden, iii, 122, 193; Ambroise, lines 6169–70; *Itin.*, 93, 261.

[99] Ambroise, lines 10475–7; *Itin.*, 389; *Ctl. Manceau*, ii, 32–3.

[100] *Itin.*, 93.

[101] *Ctl. Beaumont*, no. CCLV. He allegedly met his death at the hands of the Turks, although he witnessed an act of John count of Mortain at Mortain in 1193–4 (*MRSN*, ii, cxcic; AN, L 973, no. 828, dated 5 Richard I).

[102] BN, ms. lat. 11055, fol. 28, no. 25 (*CDF*, no. 646; Landon 1935, 24). The act confirmed their grant of the church of Guernanville (cant. Breteuil) to St-Evroul. For the arrival of Gilbert and Roger at Acre, see *Itin.*, 93, 217. A 'William de Tillières' accompanied Richard I to Marseilles (Landon 1935, 37), although these references could be an error for Gilbert; cf. *CDF*, no. 1253; *Cartæ Antiquæ 11–20*, no. 557.

[103] Ambroise, xi–xii; Round 1903, 475–81; for one of these Normans, Ralph de Rouvray, see Power 1997, 371.

[104] Rigord, 107–8, names Geoffrey de Rancon, a Poitevin, and the viscount of Châteaudun; the latter, though primarily from the county of Blois, had revenues in Anjou, and travelled to Acre with a contingent drawn mainly from the Angevin lands: *Ctl. St-Jean d'Angers*, no. VIII (*Ctl. Evêché du Mans*, ii, no. 999), dated 1187; *Itin.*, 217. For the viscount's knights in John's army in 1203, see *Rot. Pat.*, 27.

[105] Howden, iii, 62–3: 'Amaury de Montfort' is assumed to be the count of Evreux, who was therefore on his way home (cf. n. 97 above), although it could be the Breton baron of that name (Everard 2000, 166). For Robert, eldest son of Henry II du Neubourg, see App. I, no. 24.

[106] Above, pp. 348–9.

[107] Howden, iii, 122.

counts in July 1190.[108] Walter d'Oyry, whose family had lands in the county of Aumale and lordship of Poix, is to be found fighting outside Acre alongside his neighbour Baldwin de Dargies, a knight from the Amiénois.[109] At the battle of Arsuf the count of Dreux and his brother the bishop of Beauvais, and men of the French Vexin and Beauvaisis such as William and Dreux de Mello, William des Barres, William de Garlande and William de Boury, fought alongside Anglo-Normans such as the earl of Leicester, Hugh de Gournay, Roger de Tosny and Walkelin de Ferrières.[110] Men who were used to opposing each other now found themselves united in a common endeavour.

THE NORTHWARD EXTENSION OF CAPETIAN POWER (1181–91)

In the 1180s a change was taking place beyond the bounds of the duchy, in the very homeland of Walter d'Oyry and Baldwin de Dargies, which would have great significance for the lords of north-eastern Normandy. This was King Philip's penetration of the Vermandois and Amiénois. The political complexion of the districts between Amiens and Beauvais in the mid-twelfth century is often difficult to discern, and since the disappearance of the counts of Valois–Amiens–Vexin (1077) it had frequently lain beyond the control of anyone except the local castellans. Even in the heyday of the counts of the Vexin the lords of Milly and Gerberoy had been renowned as the 'greatest magnates in the Beauvaisis'.[111] The bishop of Beauvais entertained claims to comital authority over the Beauvaisis, but when in the late 1140s and 1150s Bishop Henry of France, brother of Louis VII, attempted to recover episcopal lands, *fiefs-rentes* and other rights which his predecessors had alienated to the aristocracy of the diocese, he provoked their heated resistance.[112] That crisis demonstrated the extent to which power beyond the limits of Normandy was wielded not

[108] *Itin.*, 93; cf. Diceto, ii, 79. They included Hugh de Gournay, Ranulf de Glanville, Ivo de Vieuxpont and Walkelin de Ferrières. However, the reliability of this list is debatable: Walkelin was then accompanying Richard I down the Rhône valley (Landon 1935, 37).

[109] *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 144. For Walter and Baldwin, who were both related by marriage to the counts of Clermont-en-Beauvaisis, see App. 1, nos. 7, 25.

[110] Ambroise, lines 6165–90; *Itin.*, 260–1. For William de Boury, see *Ctl. Pontoise*, 446–7. Hugh de Gournay and Dreux de Mello had previously taken charge of Acre together (*Gesta Henrici*, ii, 179–80).

[111] Orderic, ii, 130: 'maximos Beluacensium optimates' (mid-eleventh century).

[112] Guyotjeannin 1987, 128–9; Grant 1998, 282. Letters of Eugenius III identify the bishop's oppressors merely as 'circumpositis militibus' (*PL*, clxxx, cols. 1454–5, no. CDXXVII), 'multis militibus atque baronibus' (cols. 1457, no. CDXXX), or 'quibusdam militaribus personis' (cols. 1510–11, no. CDXCIV); Guyotjeannin suggests that Hugh de Gournay was one of the oppressors, as he wished to retain his *fief-rente* instituted by Bishop Henry's predecessors.

by counts but by castellan lineages, notably the *vidames* of Gerberoy and Picquigny, the Tirel lords of Poix, the lords of Boves, cadets of the great Coucy dynasty, and the lords of Breteuil-en-Beauvaisis, whose inheritance came by marriage to the count of Clermont in about 1162. In the late twelfth century the bishops of Beauvais were gradually building up their *seigneurie* around their episcopal city, and the royal court, which had long had effective authority in Beauvais itself, was starting to judge cases further and further afield across the Beauvaisis, but the lay lords remained relatively independent.[113]

Until 1185, the strongest claims to hegemony in the region rested with the counts of Vermandois.[114] In the most western district, the county of Amiens, their claim stemmed from Louis VI's confiscation of the county from Thomas de Marle, lord of Coucy, and his subsequent grant of Amiens to Count Ralph I of Vermandois because of the latter's descent from the vanished counts of the Amiens–Valois–Vexin.[115] In his description of the army mustered against the Emperor in 1124, Suger placed the men of the Amiénois, Beauvaisis and Ponthieu under Count Ralph's leadership; the account of Gilbert of Mons suggests that Count Ralph retained the county of Amiens and rights of homage over a number of lordships, notably Boves near Amiens, Poix on the borders of Normandy, and Breteuil, Bulles and Milly near Beauvais, until his death in 1152, although the counts of Saint-Pol and Ponthieu squabbled over parts of the Amiénois.[116] Thereafter, however, most of these rights and claims appear to have lapsed, despite the best efforts of Count Ivo of Soissons, whom the dying Ralph I had designated guardian of his heirs, to defend his wards' rights against the incursions of neighbours.[117]

Following the early death of Ralph's son Ralph II in 1167, his rights devolved upon his sister Isabella and her husband, Count Philip of Flanders, who succeeded in re-establishing some form of hegemony over these regions as far as the Norman border. His partial success in reasserting comital power over the Vermandois was demonstrated on one

[113] Guyotjeannin 1987, 126–36, 156–69; see above, pp. 103–7.

[114] Duval-Arnould (1981–4, 395–402) corrects earlier accounts of this dynasty's history and lands.

[115] Suger, 178 and n.3; *Annales de Louis VI*, no. 220; For the notional extent of the county of Amiens, see Maissiet de Biest 1954, Carte II, and Feuchère 1954, 21, 22 (map); for its disintegration, see *ibid.*, and Fossier 1968, ii, 486–7 (stressing the immunities of the abbey of Corbie), 544.

[116] Gilbert of Mons, 86–8. For the lords of Poix, see *Ctl. Pontoise*, 451–60, and Round 1895, 476–9, correcting Delgove 1876; Fossier 1968, ii, esp. 502–5, 532, 681–4. For Breteuil, see *ibid.*, ii, 501–2; Feuchère 1954, 27; for its lords, Dion 1883, and below, App. I, no. 7. For Bulles (with Mello) and Milly-sur-Thérain, see Newman 1971, i, 82–6; Guyotjeannin (1987, esp. 143–7) stresses their subjection to the bishop of Beauvais in this period. For the count of St-Pol and the Amiénois, see Feuchère 1953, 132–5; Tanner 1999, 106, 109.

[117] Gilbert of Mons, 86. Torigni, i, 263–4, alleged that Louis VII gave Ralph II in wardship to his cousin Count Waleran of Meulan: see Duval-Arnould 1981–4, 398 n.8; Crouch 1986, 71.

occasion when he presided over his court with the 'peers of Vermandois', in a case concerning a *villa* near Compiègne, even though the abbey of Corbie held it from the king of France.[118] Count Philip also restored comital authority over the Amiénois: during his second war against Philip Augustus (1184–5), he fortified Amiens and Poix, even though the latter was the chief castle of the castellan Walter Tirel, as well as a number of fortresses in the Beauvaisis including Milly-sur-Thérain and Bulles.[119] The count's attempts to weld these lands into a territorial principality meant that in the eyes of Gilbert of Mons, the chief chronicler of Count Philip's wars against Philip Augustus in the 1180s, the southern limits constituted a 'march' between the king of France and the count.[120] The extent to which Philip of Flanders had extended his power southwards was demonstrated in 1182, when a parley at the end of his first war against the king of France took place between Gerberoy and Gournay, and in 1184, when the count came to meet his prospective second wife at Poix after she had travelled through the Angevin lands from La Rochelle.[121] These developments inevitably had implications for the Norman marches. For generations, the fiefs of the counts of Aumale had extended into the Beauvaisis, and in 1184 Earl William de Mandeville, who had married the heiress of Aumale, rendered military service to his lord Count Philip against the count of Hainault. Although the earl also had Flemish connections, the Aumale fiefs in the Beauvaisis must have increased his obligations to Count Philip.[122]

However, Count Philip's attempts to fill the vacuum of Picardy provoked bitter reactions. At a crucial juncture in the ruinous first Franco-Flemish war (1181–2) Count Philip failed to exert his rights of homage

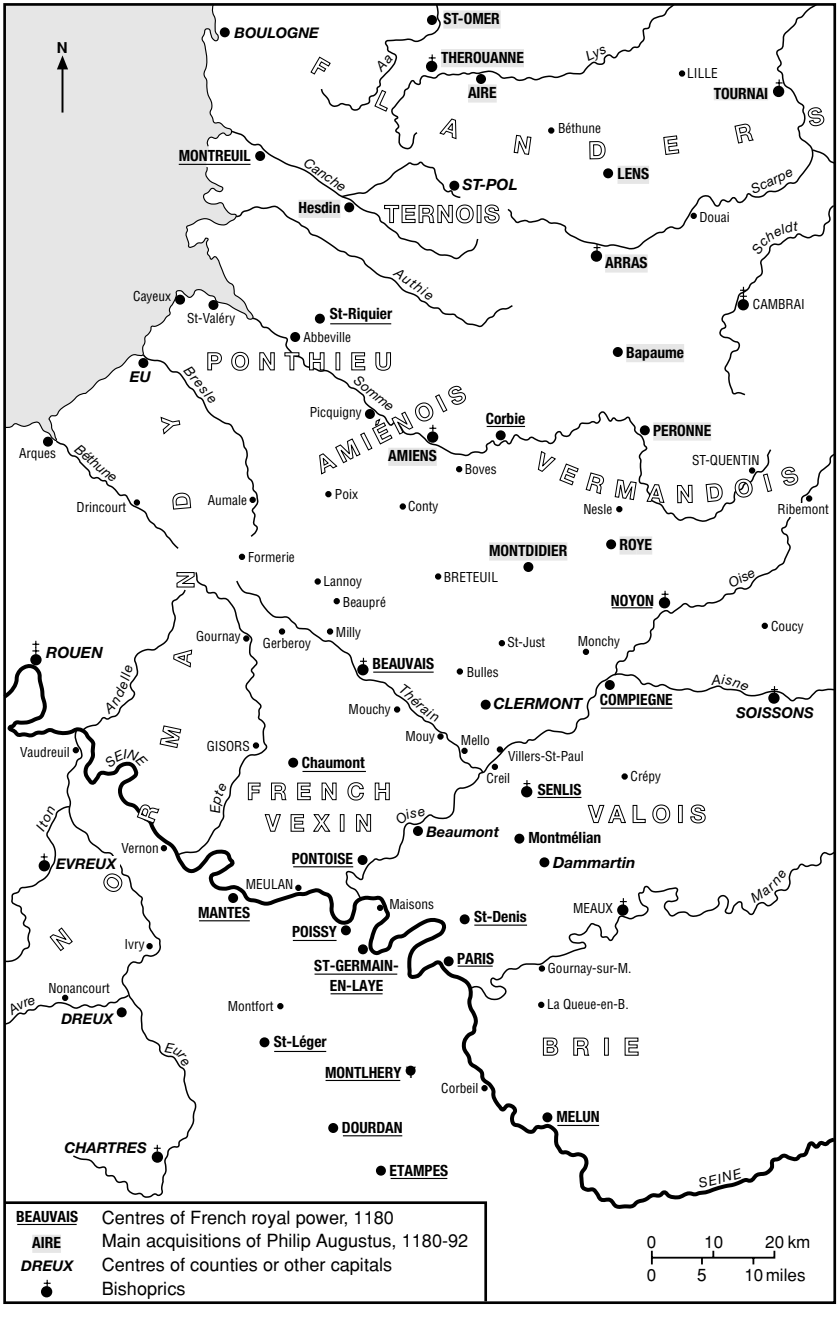
[118] BN, ms. lat. 17759, fols. 146v–147v, no. CCV, act of Count Philip of Flanders concerning Monchy near Compiègne: 'Rorgo [de Roia] Radulfum [de Cosdun] adduxit, qui nullam ei guarandiam tulit, nec iudicium curie et parium suorum Uiromandensium super hoc uolens audire, absque licentia de curia recessit. Rorgo autem, taliter a suo domino derelictus, iudicio baronum Viromandensium qui astabant, quia *guarant* sicut debuerat non habuit, mihi adiudicatus est, et de manu mea, nullo mediante, in feodum supradictam villam Monci recepit.' The witnesses, presumably the 'peers' intended, included Hugh abbot of St-Quentin-du-Mont, Robert de Boves, Bernard de St-Valéry, Alelm d'Amiens, Gerard *vidame* of Picquigny, Bernard de Moreuil, Rorgo de la Tournelle and Wermund de Roye. Count Philip's act drew upon an earlier charter of Ralph I, count of Vermandois (fol. 164r–v, no. CCIV); it was performed with the assent of Louis VII since Corbie held Monchy from him.

[119] *Gesta Henrici*, i, 310; Gilbert of Mons, 181; Guyotjeannin 1987, 159. For Count Philip's appropriation of the inheritance while Ralph II was afflicted with leprosy (1163–7), see Duval-Arnould 1984.

[120] Gilbert of Mons, 136–7.

[121] Gilbert of Mons, 148; Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, viii, 189; Cartellieri 1899–1922, i, 124–5.

[122] Diceto, ii, 32. For William de Mandeville's Flemish connections, see Keefe 1983, 112–15. The connections between Flanders and Aumale antedated the Mandeville–Aumale marriage: in 1119 Count Stephen of Aumale had sustained his rebellion against Henry I of England with support from Count Charles of Flanders (*Hyde Chronicle*, 320).



Map VIII The northward expansion of Capetian power, 1180–92

over the lordship of Breteuil-en-Beauvaisis, which belonged to Count Ralph of Clermont in right of his wife; Count Ralph refused to hand over the castle of Breteuil to the count of Flanders when requested. In response the count's supporters devastated the lordship of Breteuil along with the lands of the bishop of Beauvais.[123] In the Amiénois, Robert, lord of Boves, had been one of those same 'peers of Vermandois' who had previously attended Count Philip's court, but the count had to fight him to impose his suzerainty; Robert de Boves precipitated the disintegration of Flemish power when he deserted to the king of France in 1185, at the height of the second Franco-Flemish war.[124]

By then the death of the countess of Flanders, Isabella of Vermandois, in March 1182 had left the count with a very weak title indeed to the Vermandois, and the chief beneficiary was not Isabella's sister and heir, Countess Eleanor of Beaumont-sur-Oise, but King Philip himself, a development that was to have profound consequences for the Norman frontier lords. Following King Philip's first war against the count of Flanders in 1181–2, the count recognised that he held Vermandois only in pledge, not by right, and abandoned his claims to the city of Amiens as well as to the homage of the count of Clermont for Breteuil-en-Beauvaisis, which henceforth was to be held directly from the king of France.[125] At first the count's unbroken power in his wife's inheritance meant that he avoided fulfilling his promises until after the king had outmanœuvred him in the second Franco-Flemish war (1184–5). As a result of the war Count Philip was compelled to forfeit most of his effective power in his deceased wife's inheritance, retaining only the empty title of count of Vermandois until his death. By the so-called treaty of Boves he quitclaimed the county of Amiens together with lordship over Poix, Boves, the *vidamé* of Picquigny, and several castelries in the Beauvaisis, notably Breteuil, Milly and Bulles.[126] In addition to the city of Amiens, it was said, the count's losses to the king or to Countess Eleanor

[123] Gilbert of Mons, 134–40; *Gesta Henrici*, i, 283–4; Cartellieri 1899–1922, i, 111.

[124] Cartellieri 1899–1922, i, 174–7; for the hostility of Robert de Boves to Count Philip, see Gilbert of Mons, 185 (cf. 181, 183); Anon. Béthune, 754.

[125] Gilbert of Mons, 149. *Gesta Henrici*, i, 286, and a letter of Henry II, of which two corrupt versions survive (Diceto, ii, 11 (*Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. DCXX), and Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, viii, 189–90), depict the count of Flanders abandoning Amiens and his rights over Breteuil in 1182; but Gilbert of Mons, 182–3, places the transfer of homage for Breteuil in 1185, while the events of the second Franco-Flemish war (1184–5) prove that the Amiénois had remained under Flemish control until then. See Cartellieri 1899–1922, i, 127, 178; Duval-Arnould 1981–4, 399 n.15; for King Philip and Amiens, see *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, nos. 138, 139; Anon. Béthune, 754*i*.

[126] Gilbert of Mons, 180–5; Cartellieri 1899–1922, i, 172–80. Guyotjeannin (1987, 159–60) notes that the king's gains were effectively at the expense of the bishop of Beauvais as well as the count of Flanders.

comprised some sixty-five castles.[127] Moreover, the additions to the royal domains ensured that hitherto isolated Capetian possessions in Picardy, such as Montreuil-sur-Mer and Corbie, were no longer hemmed in and overawed by Flemish power.[128] King Philip's gains would be greatly reinforced in 1191 by his annexation of the region later known as Artois, as the dowry of his first wife, Isabella of Hainault;[129] and in 1195 the marriage of his sister Alice to Count William of Ponthieu bolstered Capetian influence in the north of the kingdom still further.

The effects of these changes can hardly have begun to be felt along the Norman borders by 1189, and they were only slowly matched by the extension of French royal justice and finance.[130] Nevertheless, they undoubtedly threatened to strengthen the power of the king of France from Gournay to the county of Eu. The second Franco-Flemish war had been fought mainly in the parts of the Vermandois inheritance closest to Normandy, namely the Amiénois and the northern Beauvaisis, and King Philip's acquisitions in 1185 were concentrated in that region, leaving the eastern regions around Saint-Quentin and in Valois to the childless Countess Eleanor of Beaumont until her death in 1213. The king of France was not the only one to profit from the ebbing of Flemish power. In 1188, the Franco-Norman lord Hugh d'Oyry, one of the chief men in the county of Aumale and the lordship of Poix, married Clemence, a niece of Count Ralph of Clermont; the marriage agreement was witnessed by Count Ralph along with a number of men from the district of Poix, and sealed by the lord of Poix, Walter Tirel. This match may have signalled a resurgence of independence amongst the lords of the Amiénois; yet in the wake of the recent hostility between the counts of Flanders and Clermont, it may also have been designed to draw Poix under French royal influence at one remove through Count Ralph.[131] Milly-sur-Thérain near Beauvais, which the count of Flanders had fortified against the king of France in 1184, had reverted to the full control of its lord Sagalo in 1188;[132] in 1197 it served as a bulwark of the king of

[127] Gilbert of Mons, 184 (cf. 145). [128] Gilbert of Mons, 183.

[129] Baldwin 1981, 324–5; for the emergence of Artois thereafter as a distinct region, see Small 1993. The king also acquired the bishopric of Tournai in 1187.

[130] See chapter 2.

[131] ADSM, 53 HP 32, no. 76; other witnesses included Baldwin de Dargies, Walter d'Oyry, Guy de Cempuis, Milo de Poix, Gerard de Creil, and Manasser, John and Robert de Conty.

[132] ADOI, H 1083: 'Ego Sawalo, dominus Miliacensis . . . notifico quod abbas et monachi Sancti Luciani in nemore suo apud *Oldeur* octo minatas infra constitutas metas pro districto, scilicet ad munitionem castri, ne radicitus euellerent, mihi reservari concesserant.' It is unclear from the text whether the *castrum* lay at Milly or nearby Oudeuil (cant. Marseille-en-Beauvaisis): the same *liasse* also contains an act of Adam *Caius* 'of Oudeuil Castle' (*de Odorio Castro*) (1237). Guyotjeannin (1987, 146) favours Oudeuil.

France and the bishop of Beauvais against the Normans and faced a siege memorably described by the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*.[133]

Yet in the long run it was the king of France who benefited the most from the discomfiture of Count Philip, for he now had the chance to extend his direct influence along a significant and vulnerable stretch of the Norman border, and over a number of border lords. The growth of Capetian influence over the bishop of Beauvais' lordship at the turn of the century was only too apparent.[134] With the extinction of the one of the two lines of *vidames* of Gerberoy in 1195 the bishop of Beauvais secured control of the strategically sited castle of Gerberoy, but by 1203 Philip Augustus was disposing of the lands which had formed part of the *vidamé*, and according to his act the 'land of Gerberoy' lay at his disposal.[135] After his subjugation of Normandy King Philip still needed to tread carefully, building his power upon agreements and the taking of sureties from the Picard castellans, a process that was completed only with the overthrow of Renaud de Dammartin in 1211 and the subsequent vanquishing of the coalition of his enemies at Bouvines.[136] Nevertheless, from 1185 onwards the lords of eastern Normandy faced towards a very different political situation from the heyday of the counts of Vermandois.

Within twenty years of the treaty of Boves, Philip Augustus secured a still more valuable prize than all that he had won from the count of Flanders: the whole duchy of Normandy had come under his rule, along with the counties of Anjou and Maine. Needless to say, the whole of Norman frontier society played a fundamental part in the Capetian annexation of Normandy. As we shall see, the traditional order would be overturned and the borders of Normandy and *Francia* would lose much of their war-torn 'frontier' character.

[133] *HGM*, ii, lines 11,117–264 (iii, 147–9). [134] Guyotjeannin 1987, 134–5; see above, pp. 103–6.

[135] Newman 1971, i, 87; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 763; Guyotjeannin 1987, 141–3, who asserts, wrongly, that both lineages of *vidames* disappeared by 1195; Peter de Gerberoy, son of the *vidame* Peter, appears from 1205 to 1216 (*ibid*., 109; BMRO, Y 13, fols. 110v–111r; BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1801, fol. 18r). For Gerberoy as an episcopal castle in 1271–6, see Carolus-Barré 1978, 75–87.

[136] Above, pp. 255–9; see also chapter 13.

Chapter 12

THE NORMAN FRONTIER AND THE FALL OF ANGEVIN NORMANDY (1193–1204)

The underlying fragility of Angevin rule in Normandy was starkly exposed in the decade following the Third Crusade, and in 1204 the king of France overthrew ducal power in Normandy completely. This total collapse cannot be explained by conditions on the Norman frontier alone, but many of the events which culminated in that upheaval took place there; indeed, it was later asserted that the Normans abandoned John because he allowed his mercenaries to behave in central Normandy as they did in the marches.[1] Although the political situation and the limits of the duchy both altered considerably between 1193 and 1204, all these wars had a grim unity for the frontier baronage because they raised problems of divided loyalty, changing overlords and control of castles. Moreover, the attitude of Philip Augustus remained constant: whether or not he now had greater resources than his rival,[2] the king of France now wished not merely to support Normans in revolt, encourage dissension between Plantagenet princes, or recover the Norman Vexin, but also to impose his direct rule over extensive areas of the duchy. In 1193 he attempted to seize Rouen; in January 1194 he asked Count John of Mortain for almost all of Upper Normandy; and in 1202 Arthur of Brittany effectively promised the entire duchy to him.[3] The expansion of Philip's goals over this period not only indicated his growth in might and confidence; it also signalled how the power and ambitions of the king of France were becoming an ever greater problem for the frontier lords. Their immediate concerns to restore their lost local hegemony, particularly along the southern borders of Normandy, once more took on a wider importance, but in a very different context from the days of Henry I of England or the Young King's revolt.

[1] *Dipl. Docs.*, no. 206; see Power 1999a, 133–4, and 2001b, 447.
[2] For this debate, see Lot and Fawtier 1932, 135–9; Holt 1984; Gillingham 1989, 278–82, and 1999, 338–48; Barratt 1996 and Barratt 1999; Moss 1999 and 2000.
[3] Powicke 1961, 96–7; *Layettes*, i, nos. 412, 647.

MOVING BORDERS AND CONTROL OF CASTLES

One of the main changes to the Norman frontier districts was in the location of the border itself. Far from being a generally recognised division of jurisdictions, the Norman frontier was becoming very fluid by the turn of the century as much of the 'march' was brought under French rule. True, Philip I had held Gisors for a time in the 1090s and the Norman Vexin had lain under Capetian rule in the middle years of the twelfth century, but a far wider area was affected in the time of Richard I. In 1193, the great prize of Gisors came to Philip without a struggle, through the 'treachery' of Gilbert de Vascœuil, and the French king, having failed to take Rouen, set about reducing the frontier castles which had hitherto always hindered any serious French assault upon Normandy. By July 1193 the king of France had gained Arques, Drincourt, Aumale, Gournay and the whole Norman Vexin, with its fortresses of Gisors, Neaufles and Château-sur-Epte.[4] By the spring of 1194 he had taken Pacy and Ivry, and Nonancourt had fallen to the count of Dreux; by July of that year Philip had reduced Vaudreuil, Gaillon and Vernon, as well as a number of smaller fortresses in the Eure and Avre valleys (Illiers-l'Evêque, Marcilly and Louye), giving him control of the whole district from the gates of Verneuil to the Seine at Vaudreuil and Vernon.[5] More important than these castles was the city of Evreux, which fell into French hands without resistance in 1194, despite the citizens' initial preparations for its defence.[6] In 1195 the king of France assigned Eu and Arques to his sister Alice when she married the count of Ponthieu.[7]

The frontier of 1189 was never restored, for Richard I failed to regain several of the castles along the Eure, Avre and Epte valleys. In the south-east, Verneuil defied the king of France repeatedly until 1204, and the Normans had recovered Tillières by late 1195 and Illiers-l'Evêque by August 1198; but Nonancourt, regained in 1196 by the treachery of its commander, Nicholas d'Orphin, fell to the French again soon

[4] Howden, iii, 206–7, 217–20; Rigord, 123; Coggeshall, 61–2, noting the role of treachery in the French king's advance; Newburgh, i, 389, who comments upon the ease of Philip's success.

[5] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 159 ('1193', i.e. 25 Mar. 1193 × 9 Apr. 1194); Howden, iii, 257–8; Rigord, 125–6. Newburgh, i, 389, dates the fall of Pacy and Ivry to 1193, and Coggeshall, 62, says the same for Evreux. For the French siege of Gaillon, see *Layettes*, i, no. 797. Additions to the *Life of St Adjutor* claimed that at Vernon the French used Greek fire: *Acta SS, Aprilis*, iii, 833. Lemoine (1998, 541) suggests that Howden's *Marcilliacum* is Marcilly-la-Campagne, but Marcilly-sur-Eure, home of the chief family of that name, seems more probable.

[6] See below, pp. 422–3.

[7] *Actes de Ph. Aug.*, ii, no. 508 (Aug. 1195); Gillingham 1999, 294–6. Cf. ADSM, D 20, fol. 19v, no. 7: 'Alice, daughter of the king of France, countess of Ponthieu', promises to protect and defend the land of the abbey of Bec, especially the priory of St-Martin-du-Bosc (cant. Eu, cne. Incheville), 'que sub ditione domini mei comitis et mea est posita' (s.d., Aug. × Dec. 1195).

afterwards.[8] Richard's forces also failed to recapture Gaillon in 1196, and were repelled from Pacy in 1198; Vernon and Ivry likewise remained under the control of the king of France and his adherents.[9] In the north-east, Richard and his supporters retook Aumale, Eu, Drincourt and Arques, but they lost Aumale again in July 1196 and it is not known if the town, its defences demolished, ever reverted to Angevin control thereafter.[10] The most contested area of all continued to be the Norman Vexin, but the key fortress of Gisors remained in French hands, along with Neufmarché, Neaufles, Château-sur-Epte and Baudemont. On the other hand the Normans had sufficiently regained their strength by 1197–8 to launch attacks into *Francia*, the Beauvaisis and Ponthieu, taking the fortresses of Courcelles, Boury, Sérifontaine and Milly-sur-Thérain and pillaging Saint-Valéry and Abbeville.[11] Even Paris was threatened,[12] and the king of France suffered a series of humiliating reverses, culminating in the rout of his army outside Gisors in September 1198.[13] The papal legate is said to have suggested to Philip Augustus that he should yield all his Norman gains to Richard in order to secure the peace of Christendom, in January 1199; nevertheless, the French king cannot have entertained this proposal seriously.[14] The *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* depicts the ducal *bailli* of Lyons-la-Forêt penning the French garrisons of the southern Vexin within their castles, so that the fortresses would be deprived of the local revenues required for their upkeep; but such harassment required continuous vigilance, and the crisis following the death of Richard I must have caused the border to retreat simply because it left the Normans in no position to maintain such firm pressure.[15]

[8] Powicke 1961, 107–8, 112. For Illiers, see below, p. 421.

[9] Gaillon: *Philippidos*, 135 (v, lines 258–67). Pacy: Howden, iv, 60.

[10] Powicke 1961, 110. The impact of this renowned siege upon the local knights is reflected in various charters dated by the town's destruction (ADSM, 8 H 100; BMRO, Y 13, fols. 60v, 82v). Coggeshall, 136, describes the French capture of both the county and town of Aumale in 1202. In 1200 the Franco-Norman knight Hugh *de Caigni*, 'seneschal of Aumale', witnessed an act concerning Les Frétils, between Mortemer and Aumale (Y 13, fol. 82v), but he also attested an act of Hawise, countess of Aumale (AN, S 5205[B], 1195 × 1204), suggesting that in 1200 he was her seneschal, not a Capetian constable of the town. Hugh was lord of Campeaux near Gerberoy (ADOI, H 1427; ADSM, 2 H 17; 2 H 64; 53 HP 32, no. 41); for his family, associated with the counts of Aumale throughout the twelfth century as well as with the *vidames* of Gerberoy, see 'Nobiliaire du Beauvaisis', xxi, 143–5; ADSM, 1 H 1, no. 2 (cf. *EYC*, iii, no. 1304); 'Ctl. Lannoy', especially nos. XVII–XVIII, XXII*bis*; Bauduin 2000, 153–5, although he misidentifies *Caigni*, which is in fact now Crillon, ar. Beauvais, cant. Songeons (*Dict. topog. Oise*, no. 1109). For Hugh's adherence to King John in 1202–3, see below, pp. 426–7.

[11] Howden, iv, 16, 19, 55–6, 59–60; Diceto, ii, 164 (Sérifontaine); Gillingham 1999, 307–9, 315–16.

[12] Will. Bret., 202.

[13] Gillingham 1999, 315–17, and the sources cited there.

[14] Howden, iv, 81; cf. Powicke 1961, 124–5.

[15] *HGM*, ii, lines 11,727–44 (iii, 157); Powicke 1961, 199–200.

On several occasions the rulers of France and Normandy attempted to clarify and codify the situation. In 1194, 1196 and 1200, the French king's gains were indicated with boundary-markers (*mete*): these have given historians, most notably Powicke, the impression that the frontier was an exact line separating France from Normandy,[16] but the markers appear to have had specific purposes, as their narrow geographical range implies – all lay along the exceptionally sensitive lower valley of the River Eure. In the truce of 1194, the negotiators found it sufficient to resolve their differences by naming the manors around Vaudreuil which were to be held by the king of France, without stating their boundaries.[17] The treaty of Louviers (1196) was more specific: with Vaudreuil once more in Norman hands, markers were placed on the plateau midway between that fortress and Gaillon, in order to avoid fresh clashes. Neither in 1194 nor in 1196 were detailed provisions made for other stretches of the frontier. Moreover, the new borders were by no means conceived as a linear boundary: in 1193, Hugh de Gournay was to hold all his lands from the king of France, apparently including those in central Normandy as well as on the border; in 1196, his knights did homage to King Richard while he did homage to the king of France, an arrangement which cannot be shown on a map.[18]

More detailed still was the peace of Le Goulet in 1200, which laid down an exact boundary between the lands of John and Philip across the whole district between Evreux and Le Neubourg, to be determined on the ground by a jury of French and Norman *curiales*. Why was such precision required in 1200, and in the Evrecin alone? The important factor on this occasion was that a great fief, the county of Evreux, would have to be divided and deprived of fortifications to make peace viable, for it was too great a prize to be given entirely to the French king, but Philip had no intention of handing back the city of Evreux to John. As a result, it was deemed necessary to fix a basic limit of jurisdiction, and to destroy all castles between Evreux and Le Neubourg.[19] That the markers were not to constitute an absolute frontier was demonstrated by the fate of Quittebeuf. The negotiators gathered at Le Goulet knew, no doubt

[16] Powicke 1961, 169, but cf. Coulson 1984, 30–2; Power 1999c, 117–18.

[17] Howden, iii, 257–8: 'De valle Rodoli in hunc modum erit: rex Franciæ tenens erit de valle Rodoli, sicut erat prius: scilicet, de ipso Rodoleo et de ipsa tota villa cum ecclesiis: et de Lovers, et de Aquigeniaco, et de Laire, et de aliis usque ad Hayam Malherbe, et usque ad pontem Archiæ. De Haya vero Malherbe, et de ultra, et de ponte Archiæ, et de ultra, erit tenens rex Angliæ.' The places mentioned are Vaudreuil, Louviers, Acquigny, Léry, La Haye-Malherbe and Pont-de-l'Arche.

[18] Howden, iii, 218; *Layettes*, i, no. 431; Power 1999c, 117–18.

[19] The fortresses of Portes, a Tosny castle (Orderic, vi, 244), and Les Landes, possibly in the honour of Evreux, were to be razed. For Les Landes, see Powicke 1961, 171 n.261.

from the testimony of the men of the Evrecin themselves, that the valuable manor of Quittebeuf lay closer to Le Neubourg than to Evreux, but it was awarded to King Philip regardless.[20] A still more significant example was Les Andelys, an enclave of Norman territory within the French king's domains, where the land of the archbishop of Rouen was freed of all superior jurisdiction by the treaty of 1196, but was famously fortified by Richard I soon afterwards through the construction of Château-Gaillard; eventually King Philip recognised in 1200 that Les Andelys was a Norman enclave, notwithstanding the cession of the whole Norman Vexin to him otherwise.[21]

Most of the time, indeed, the allocation of castles appears to have been sufficient to define the frontier: normally, the bundle of lands and rights which constituted a castelry followed automatically with the fortress itself.[22] This was, indeed King Philip's prime concern: whatever his grander designs, again and again he demanded border castles as pledges, such as Pacy in 1188, Arques, Drincourt and Loches (in Touraine) in 1193, or Les Andelys, Falaise and Arques and then Tillières and Boutavant in 1202.[23] It was the control of strongpoints that mattered above all, even when King Philip demanded whole territories: although in 1194 he fixed the proposed boundary between his territory and that of Count John of Mortain along the River Iton, their pact stressed that the French king was to hold the castles south of that river.[24]

THE FRONTIER BARONS AND THE WARS OF 1193–1204

Treaties were not primarily concerned with fixing new boundaries; in the minds of the negotiators were the castles, revenues and loyalties of the local barons. In cases where a lord gave his homage to one prince while his men gave theirs to the rival dynasty, as Hugh de Gournay and his men arranged to do in 1196, markers on the ground would have been meaningless. Moreover, the tenurial complexity of the Norman frontier defied a simple division of jurisdictions; if the border was moved then new complications would arise. The treaty of Le Goulet, for instance, while fixing a precise boundary between Evreux and Le Neubourg, did not solve local difficulties of serving two masters but merely shifted them westwards.[25]

[20] *Dipl. Docs.*, no. 9; *Layettes*, i, no. 578. For Quittebeuf, see *MRSN*, ii, 462–3 ('Kitebec'); Le Prévost 1862–9, iii, 10–11.

[21] Powicke 1961, 113–16; Power 1999c, 117–18.

[22] Cf. Coulson 1984, 30–1.

[23] *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 49; Howden, ii, 345; iii, 219–20; Gervase of Canterbury, ii, 93; Will. Bret., 207.

[24] *Layettes*, i, no. 412.

[25] *RHF*, xxiii, 635–6 (*c.*1220), lists the fiefs of the count of Evreux remaining on the 'Norman' side of this division in 1200.

Two general points may be made about the frontier barons during the wars. First, the *guerra regum* brought the frontier magnates to the forefront of political events once more. Not long before the onset of this conflict, King Philip's sureties for the treaty of Messina in 1191 were the counts of Ponthieu, Dreux and Perche, and the lords of Saint-Valéry (who also held Gamaches-sur-Bresle), Boury, Trie, Courcelles-lès-Gisors, Montfort-l'Amaury and Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais. All promised to join Richard against Philip, together with all their fiefs, if Philip broke the treaty. Together, these men held a series of lordships and castles encircling the duchy of Normandy from the Channel to Maine, broken only by the Beauvaisis where the count of Flanders and the bishop of Beauvais were dominant. The king of France named only one other surety, the lord of Issoudun in Berry.[26] A noticeable divide between courtiers and great frontier nobles in the French camp was apparent in the truce of 1194: the terms were negotiated on the French side by two *curiales*, Dreux de Mello and Ursio the chamberlain, and by the dean of Saint-Martin de Tours, but it was Gervase de Châteauneuf who took the chief oath on King Philip's behalf.[27] At Le Goulet in 1200, Philip's sureties included the three greatest lords facing south-eastern Normandy, namely the counts of Dreux and Perche and Gervase de Châteauneuf, all of whom had attempted to acquire Norman fortresses in 1193 in concert with Philip's invasion. The other four French sureties at Le Goulet were all *curiales*, but at least one, William de Garlande, had interests in the contested frontier regions, for he had inherited Marbeuf near Le Neubourg and King Philip had granted him Neufmarché, the chief fortress between Gisors and Gournay.[28] John's *fidejussores* for the peace included three baronial *curiales* who also held lands in *Francia* or Ponthieu, namely William de Cayeux, Hugh de Gournay and Roger de Tosny.[29] Nor was the role of the frontier barons limited to giving pledges for their rulers: horizontal ties across the political divide were the basis for the earl of Leicester's release in 1196, when three of the chief nobles from the western Ile-de-France, the lords of Brezolles (Gervase de Châteauneuf) and Montfort-l'Amaury and Roger de Meulan, pledged their lands for his observance of the terms.[30] The

[26] *Dipl. Docs.*, no. 5. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 376, and Landon (1935, 231) both have William des Barres, not Boury; but the participation in the treaty of his neighbours of Trie and Courcelles makes it very likely that William de Boury was intended, as all three had fortresses along the Epte. For Odo III d'Issoudun, see Devailly 1973, 411, 423–5.

[27] Howden, iii, 260. Saint-Martin de Tours had close and durable ties with the French kings: see Boussard 1958 and Griffiths 1987, qualified by Ottaway 1990.

[28] See above, pp. 243–4; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 501.

[29] Hugh de Gournay had augmented his lands in the French Vexin in the 1190s (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 504).

[30] Above, pp. 259–61; Power 2001a, 129–35.

importance of the great barons to these arrangements was an indication of their latent power.

Secondly, Richard's capture provoked not only a French invasion but also revolts in Normandy, England and Aquitaine. Once again, rebellion found greater support in the frontier regions than elsewhere but was by no means restricted to those areas, and as so often before, the combination of French involvement and a dissident prince – in this case Count John of Mortain – clouded issues of loyalty. In April 1193 Gilbert de Vascœuil was the first to desert King Richard openly, betraying Gisors to Philip Augustus.[31] By July the count of Meulan and Hugh de Gournay were also supporting the king of France.[32] Before the end of 1194 they had been joined by Richard de Vernon and Stephen de Longchamps,[33] as well as much more minor landowners such as Rahier de Muzy,[34] Baldwin d'Acquigny, a knight from the Evrecin, and John de Rouvray, the younger brother of a minor baron from the Pays de Bray. Several of the rebels had close associations with one another.[35] Most of these men returned to King Richard's allegiance within a couple of years after his return from captivity, but John de Rouvray was to have a distinguished career in Philip's service.[36] Meanwhile the men of Count John of Mortain had revolted in the south-west of the duchy, devastating the lands around the ducal fortress of Gavray.[37] Most of the other known adherents of Philip Augustus who had Norman lands held far more outside the duchy, such as William de Cayeux (in Ponthieu), William de Garlande or Count Renaud of Boulogne. In Normandy active supporters of the king of France were few, and the revolt appears to have been much more restricted than in 1173. However, most of our information comes from the truces which named rebels and from confiscations of rebels' property in lands still under Richard's sway, and these sources do not reveal the attitudes of

[31] Powicke 1961, 96 and n.9; Gillingham 1999, 240–1 and n.67.

[32] Howden, iii, 218; Coggeshall, 62.

[33] *Redvers Charters*, 17; Power 2001a, 124–5; Moss 2002, 146–7. Moss also suggests that Gilbert de l'Aigle joined the revolt, but although l'Aigle leaves no trace upon the 1195 exchequer roll (as, indeed, in 1180), Gilbert's lands in England and the Bessin were not confiscated. L'Aigle was clearly under ducal control in 1194–5 when Richard I sent an army to Tubœuf, on the road to Verneuil (*MRSN*, i, 171).

[34] *MRSN*, i, 254; ii, 333.

[35] Power 1997, 373–7 (Gournay, Vascœuil, Rouvray, Longchamps); *Rot. Lib.*, 34 (connections of Gournay, Vascœuil and Rouvray in Warks.).

[36] Howden, iii, 258–9; Power 1997, 361–84 (Rouvray). Acquigny was a Tosny castle (Musset 1977, 65, 70–1), which the truce of 1194 left in French hands. Baldwin appears in Normandy in 1198 (*MSRN*, ii, 486); he may have been the Baldwin, father of Roger d'Acquigny (fl. 1241), who held lands in Garsington (Oxon.) in the early 1200s (*VCH Oxon.*, v, 137–8). See App. 1, no. 31.

[37] Moss 2002, 146, 148. John's supporters from Mortain included Ranulf de Virey, who fought for him in England (*CRR*, xiv, no. 2310; xv, no. 1380) and probably Peter de St-Hilaire (*RN*, 39).

those barons and knights whose lands had now fallen completely under French rule.

The truce of 1194 recognised that the landowners of the contested border areas had the greatest problems of allegiance, for the representatives of the king of France attempted to resolve this difficulty with a temporary expedient: the French king placed in the truce 'all those who were more his men than the men of the king of England'.[38] Paradoxically, although divided loyalties caused great political difficulties for border lords, during the Capetian–Angevin wars each king sought to win over the frontier barons with grants that compounded those problems rather than solving them. Count Geoffrey of Perche and his brother Stephen were by no means the only nobles to benefit in this uncertain way.[39] The obligations of Richard de Vernon were also increased rather than diminished by the wars of the 1190s. The capture of Vernon gave King Philip a vital fortress controlling the gorge where the Seine entered Normandy, and in the peace negotiations of 1196 he was unwilling to return it to Richard de Vernon, its former lord. Consequently it was mooted that the elderly baron and his son should be compensated with Hugh de Gournay's English and Norman lands, but as Hugh afterwards wished to rejoin the Norman camp, King Philip awarded the Vernons extensive lands in *Francia* instead.[40] So Philip did not hesitate to create a double tenure, with the outward consent of the king of England, in order to secure Vernon.

The gift of extensive French lands probably ensured that the king of France maintained some leverage over the Vernon family. In 1202 and early 1203, the lands of the younger Richard de Vernon were due to pay 60 *li. parisis* for the French army; such pressure may have contributed to Richard's desertion to the French side in 1203.[41] More importantly, by providing compensation Philip avoided earning the permanent hostility of both Richard de Vernon and the knights of the honour of Vernon. We cannot know Richard de Vernon's opinion of the loss of his ancestral *caput*, but he was prepared to become a baron of the French royal domain instead, and he continued to take an interest in the affairs of the castelry of Vernon: he asked Philip to guarantee freedom of passage to the goods of the abbey of Fécamp at Vernon, no doubt at the request of the monks, and may also have executed an inquest concerning customs in the Forest of Vernon.[42] The terms which the king of France granted him were

[38] Howden, iii, 258–9: 'omnes illos qui melius erant homines sui ante guerram quam regis Angliæ'.
[39] Above, p. 362.
[40] *Layettes*, i, nos. 431, 441; for Hugh's reversion to Richard's allegiance, see Powicke 1961, 108–9.
[41] Lot and Fawtier 1932, CLII, CLXXVII; cf. CLXXVIII, for Richard's expenses; Powicke 1961, 177.
[42] BMRO, Y 51, fol. 15v, no. 42; *Registres*, 78–9. The inquest was inserted into King Philip's Register *C* (1212 × 20), but could date from before the French seizure of Vernon in 1194.

not particularly favourable: Richard exchanged a compact and desirable castelry, with valuable tolls on the Seine traffic, for lands and rents in *Francia* for which he owed all manner of dues, scattered in a broad arc north of Paris; their chief asset was to be the castle of Montmélian, which Philip I of France had once built as a buttress against the counts of Dammartin.[43] On the other hand the treaty of 1196 allowed Richard de Vernon to recover his chief possession, the honour of Néhou in the Cotentin, and his English lands, all of which had been confiscated by Richard I in 1194–5.[44] Consequently King Philip's attempts to extend his direct lordship permanently over south-eastern Normandy were as likely to increase as to diminish the tenurial complexities of the Norman marches.

Princely bargaining for loyalties may be seen at a humbler level in the contest for Simon d'Anet's Norman lands. The Franco-Norman knight Morhier le Drouais had bought the *domus fortis* at Illiers-l'Evêque from Simon d'Anet, and in 1192, after Simon's death, he secured King Richard's warranty for it against another claimant. However, the French captured Illiers in 1193 or 1194; Morhier's son Gado was receiving money *de dono regis* in 1195 and 1198 from Richard's *bailli* of Verneuil, so the duke was evidently trying to compensate him for the loss of his castle and retain his loyalty. On 13 August 1198 Richard warranted the fortification of Illiers to Gado, an indication that it had fallen to the Normans once more. After Philip Augustus had regained the region in 1200, however, he enfeoffed William du Fresne with Illiers, balancing his interest against that of Gado. According to the hostile testimony of Gado's son in 1247, Philip Augustus also gave William du Fresne the illegitimate *neptis* of Simon d'Anet in marriage, claiming that she was the rightful heir to Illiers.[45] Not far away, Robert d'Ivry received 50 *li. angevins* from King John in June 1200, but at the same time Philip Augustus had restored Robert's patrimony, the famous castle of Ivry which Henry II had seized from Robert's father in 1177, and the king of France augmented Robert's

[43] *Layettes*, i, no. 441: for liege homage and the service of five knights, Richard received whatever King Philip had held at Plailly (Oise, ar. and cant. Senlis), Montmélian (cne. Plailly), Gouvieux (ar. Senlis, cant. Creil), Roberval (ar. Senlis, cant. Pont-Ste-Maxence), Auvers-sur-Oise (Val d'Oise, ar. Pontoise, ch.-l. du cant.); also the French king's *hospites* and oat-rents at Louvres (ar. Pontoise, cant. Luzarches), and 15 *li.* 15 *s.* (*parisis*) at Pontoise. For the foundation of the castle of Montmélian, see *RHF*, xi, 158 (a chronicle of Fleury). The Vernon family held their French lands until at least 1273 (AN, LL 1157, p. 914; cf. *CN*, no. 1234), *pace* Powicke (1961, 108 n.78), who believed that Philip's gift of lands to Richard was later commuted to 800 *li. parisis*. Richard must have been granted the French lands after, not before, the royal treaty made at Louviers (7–13 Jan. 1196).

[44] *MRSN*, i, 148, 153, but see 285; *Redvers Charters*, 17.

[45] ADE, G 6, pp. 184–5, no. 246 (*CDF*, no. 310, which misreads *Gato le Droeis* as *Cato le Diveis*); *QN*, no. 251. For Gado, William du Fresne and Illiers, see above, pp. 279–81.

lands by conferring upon him the castle of Avrilly, which he had just acquired with the honour of Evreux.[46] In 1194 the king of England gave £10 from the English lands of Robert's uncle, William Louvel II, to his cousin Roger de Saint-André, whose lands must also have then been under French control.[47] The marches must have comprised a myriad of similar agreements as the princes sought to win over or appease local interests, concerns that did much to determine loyalties.

Even away from the main war zone, there are signs that the French royal invasion offered discontented lords a fresh opportunity to resolve local grievances. The activities of Peter de Saint-Hilaire, for instance, had sinister implications for ducal rule. At some point in Richard's reign, Peter, a younger brother of that Hasculf de Saint-Hilaire who had been so prominent in the Young King's revolt, 'went into France' and his lands in the county of Mortain were probably confiscated. Perhaps he was aggrieved by the division of the Saint-Hilaire inheritance upon Hasculf's death, when the bulk of the Saint-Hilaire lands had gone to Hasculf's daughter Joanna and her husband Frederick Malesmains, a member of a distinguished family of Norman *curiales*. If so, then his resentment can only have been increased after his return to Normandy, for although he was restored to some of his lands, King Richard punished him by making an 'unjust division' (*partiam irrationabilem*) of the Saint-Hilaire lands between him and his niece. Peter's desertion cannot be dated: he was at Mortain with Count John of Mortain, his lord, at some point between September 1193 and September 1194, and perhaps his initial rebellion was in support of Count John's revolt; it was King John who restored to Peter in 1200 what Richard I had taken.[48] Peter was evidently an opportunist: he remained in Normandy in 1204 and continued to clash with his niece and her husband over the fiefs of Saint-Hilaire until 1219, but in about 1220 he abandoned his Norman lands to one of his sons and went to England, where he recovered his wife's lands in Somerset.[49] Nevertheless, his desertion suggests that even Normans living far from the French royal domain were beginning to see King Philip as a source of redress for their grievances.

The behaviour of some Norman communes is also very revealing. The citizens of Evreux had formed a commune against the French threat in 1193–4, but Philip appears to have come to an understanding with the

[46] *RN*, 25; *Layettes*, i, no. 594, for which Coulson (1984, 32) gives the context.

[47] *P.R. 6 Richard I*, 23 (Docking, Norfolk). It is possible that this payment had been instituted by the Louvels, not the king, but it is not mentioned in other pipe roll entries concerning Docking.

[48] *RN*, 39; AN, L 973, no. 828 (dated 5 Richard I). Peter proffered 200 marks and a horse for this restitution.

[49] App. I, no. 27, supplements and corrects Powicke 1961, 351–2, and Pouëssel 1981, 73.

citizens, for William of Newburgh believed that the city fell to the French without resistance, and King Philip later severely punished the citizens and their city for abandoning him: he is said to have set fire to the abbey of Saint-Taurin with his own hands.[50] This was not the only instance where a Norman commune was receptive to the French king's overtures. The men of Eu had petitioned Philip Augustus for protection over debts as early as 1184–5.[51] In 1198, the commune of Pacy helped the French king's garrison to repel the earl of Leicester, the former lord of Pacy, when he attempted to regain the town.[52] Not only boundaries but also loyalties in the frontier regions were becoming increasingly fluid.

THE FALL OF NORMANDY (1199–1204)

The Capetian advance in the east

The sudden death of Richard the Lionheart in April 1199 and the consequent succession dispute had immediate and lasting effects along almost the entire length of the Norman frontier. The shock that Richard's disappearance delivered to Angevin rule allowed Philip Augustus to renew his offensive in eastern Normandy, and within weeks he had seized Evreux and the surrounding fortresses of Avrilly and Acquigny, followed by Conches in September; he also recovered the losses that he had sustained in the Norman Vexin since 1194.[53] Hence by the time that the the Treaty of Le Goulet resolved the Angevin succession dispute – for the time being – the king of France had added the southern and eastern half of the county of Evreux to his domain and had consolidated his previously wavering control of the Epte, lower Eure and lower Avre valleys. The defences of Normandy were now thrown back upon the valley of the Andelle, the upper Avre and Iton valleys around Tillières and Verneuil, and baronial fortresses such as Le Neubourg and Conches. When war erupted afresh in April 1202, French power was rapidly extended still deeper into the duchy. Although the sequence of events is impossible to unravel satisfactorily, the success of French arms in the late spring and early summer is striking.[54] Drincourt was already in the hands of John's enemies even before the *guerra regum* began.[55] The county of Aumale was

[50] *RHF*, xxiv, i, 276*, preuves, nos. 21–2; Newburgh, ii, 403; Powicke 1961, 97–8, 101. Howden, iii, 255, explains why Philip sacked Evreux: 'Hæc autem fecit eo quod cives Ebroicenses, relicto eo, reversi fuerant ad fidem et servitium domini sui regis Angliæ.' For his destruction of the city and the abbeys of St-Taurin and St-Sauveur, see Newburgh, ii, 418–19; Rigord, 127; *Melrose Chronicle*, 49; Annals of Anchin, *MGH*, *SS*, vi, 431–2.

[51] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, i, no. 127. [52] Howden, iv, 60.

[53] Rigord, 145; Powicke 1961, 132; Power 1999a, 126; Howden, iv, 96.

[54] For the chronology of the campaigns of 1202, see below, App. II.

[55] See below, pp. 424–5.

probably in French hands by 22 May, and Mortemer before 4 June. Eu may have already succumbed by 23 May; certainly it had fallen before the end of June. By the middle of July the whole of eastern Normandy as far as Arques, including Lyons-la-Forêt, Argueil and the castles of Hugh de Gournay, was under King Philip's sway.[56]

The rapid collapse of these defences requires some explanation. John's failure to challenge Philip's army directly must certainly have been significant. The king of France besieged Boutavant near Les Andelys for the first three weeks of May, then probably headed northwards to aid the counts of Eu and Boulogne in capturing a succession of castles in the far north-east of the duchy, in late May and early June. Hence French military activity consisted at first of a single siege in the Norman Vexin; it was only after the fall of Boutavant, according to Gervase of Canterbury, that John was 'assailed from all sides'.[57] Yet John had made no attempt to relieve Boutavant, monitoring events at a safe distance in the Seine and Andelle valleys or the vicinity of Rouen. After the king of France moved northwards from Boutavant John ventured as far as Lyons, La Ferté-en-Bray and Gournay, which together dominated the region between the Norman Vexin and the counties of Aumale and Eu, but in the meantime those last two districts were lost. Despite the alarming successes of his enemies in the north-east the king of England allowed himself to be drawn away from this war zone to Le Mans in mid-June, no doubt in the face of renewed insurrection in Maine. John was finally stirred into action at the end of June, when he dashed back to eastern Normandy, apparently alarmed by King Philip's advance upon Lyons and Radepont. He successfully repulsed the French from Radepont, but was too late to save Lyons and afterwards failed signally to relieve Gournay.[58] Its fall deprived John of his last main garrison in the eastern marches and opened the way for a French advance upon the great ducal castle of Arques.

John's military inadequacies alone do not explain his inability to prevent the renewed collapse of Angevin control in the north-east of the duchy. Equally significant were his deteriorating relations with the Lusignan family since 1200. In order to secure the support of that powerful Poitevin clan King Richard had given Ralph de Lusignan the countess of Eu as a bride, and had augmented his gift with control of Drincourt and its *bailliage*.[59] In the spring of 1201, as hostilities erupted between John and

[56] A possible exception is Le Tréport, a port of the count of Eu, which was still in the hands of John's supporters at an unknown date between April 1202 and July 1203 (*Misc. Exchq. Records*, 69).

[57] Gervase of Canterbury, ii, 94.

[58] See App. II.

[59] Power 1999a, 125; this grant explains the disappearance of the *bailliage* of Drincourt from the Norman exchequer rolls after 1195, noted by Moss 1996, 42, 250.

the Lusignans, the seneschal of Normandy besieged Drincourt, but the king of France intervened before the count of Eu could be crushed.[60] Hence the ducal hold on the district was shaky even before Ralph de Lusignan renounced his homage to John once more in October 1201. On 14 March 1202, before the failed negotiations which led the king of France to renew his war against King John, Hugh de Gournay arranged a safeconduct for burgesses of Drincourt loyal to John to come into John's territory – an indication that Drincourt was in the hands of John's opponents.[61] Drincourt was the nodal point of communications in north-eastern Normandy and from there Ralph de Lusignan's men could disrupt the defence of the entire region; John could not pass north or east of the fortress to relieve Mortemer or Eu. Moreover, with Drincourt in hostile hands the lands of Hugh de Gournay were now effectively surrounded on three sides by the king of France or his allies.

Yet by no means all the cards in this region were stacked against John. He had maintained or augmented his brother's alliances with three of the chief barons of Ponthieu, Thomas de Saint-Valéry, William de Cayeux and Hugh de Bailleul, who also all held lands in England. Their independence is suggested by their virtual absence from comital charters, and the count of Ponthieu probably lacked the wherewithal to compel them to fight for the king of France. Thomas de Saint-Valéry's English property had been in royal hands from his father's death in 1191 until Richard I secured a number of allies beyond the eastern borders of Normandy in 1197–8: the restoration of his valuable English lands may have been the lure that brought Thomas into the Angevin camp in spring 1198.[62] John continued his brother's generosity by pardoning the relief that Thomas still owed for his father's English lands.[63] In 1200–1 John also conferred the revenues of the ducal forest of Eawy near Arques upon William de Cayeux, and granted William 100 marks to fortify his house at Bouillancourt in Ponthieu, not far from the River Bresle and close to the main routes towards the county of Eu. Consequently in 1201–2 the lords of Saint-Valéry, Cayeux and Bailleul all lent their support to John against the count of Eu, although Thomas de Saint-Valéry had veered to the

[60] Howden, iv, 160–1; Diceto, ii, 172; *Philippidos*, 155 (vi, lines 97–9), states that John did take Drincourt. For this obscure episode, see also Power 1999a, 125. John restored the count's property by 15 June 1201 (*Rot. Lib.*, 16).

[61] *Rot. Pat.*, 7: 'Sciatis nos ad peticionem dilecti nostri H. de Gornaco concedimus vobis salvum conductum veniendi in terram nostram cum omnibus catallis vestris.' Another letter, on 11 March, stipulated that this should be done 'ante colloquium' (*ibid.*).

[62] *P.R. 10 Richard I*, 194. Perhaps the sack of Saint-Valéry itself in 1197 convinced him of Richard's strength, although this town was primarily a domain of the counts of Ponthieu: *Actes de Ponthieu*, no. CXLI.

[63] *P.R. 1 John*, 222.

French side by February 1203.[64] At Eu itself Richard I had spent vast sums upon the town defences,[65] and the burgesses now demonstrated that their first loyalty was to their duke rather than to their countess and her Poitevin husband. In 1201 the town of Eu contributed a tallage towards the siege of Drincourt, which John's officials also financed with requisitions (*prise*) from the county of Eu, which they had subjugated.[66] Then in March 1202 the townspeople expelled the count's supporters when they attempted to seize the town.[67] After the fall of Eu to John's enemies, some of the burgesses demonstrated their continuing loyalty to John by taking refuge in Rouen with others who had fled Drincourt and Aumale.[68]

What, meanwhile, of the aristocracy of eastern Normandy? For the barons and knights of the region the resurgence of French royal power in the Norman marches since 1199 had created grave difficulties, confronting them with the same dilemmas of loyalty as in 1193–9. Some of the knights of the county of Eu fought for King John until the fall of Normandy in 1204.[69] Knights from the county of Aumale also continued to resist Capetian rule. When the county fell to the French in May 1202, King Philip gave it to Renaud count of Boulogne, compensating him for Lillebonne and his other Norman lands that King John had seized at the outbreak of war.[70] In turn, John distributed Renaud's confiscated lands to those men of the county who remained loyal to him. They included Hugh *de Caigni*, who hailed from near Beauvais but had been seneschal of Aumale in 1200, Enguerrand, the hereditary viscount of Aumale, and Robert de Morvillers.[71] The lands of the count of Boulogne were also used to compensate Normans who had lost lands elsewhere on the eastern marches: Hugh de Gournay, Enguerrand de Montagny, and Roger de Portes, whose main lands lay in the districts of Conches (then still in Norman hands) and Nonancourt (already under French rule).[72] Next month King John distributed further escheats of the count of Boulogne to the new Earl Warenne, whose castle of Mortemer was probably now in Count Renaud's hands, and to Geoffrey *de Bosco*, one of King John's

[64] *RN*, 23, 26, 35; *Rot. Chart.*, 102; *Rot. Pat.*, 14; Lot and Fawtier 1932, CLXXVII. See also Power 2001a, 123 and n.8. For the complex relations between the count of Eu and lords of Cayeux and St-Valéry in north-east Normandy, see *GC*, x, instr., cols. 329–30.

[65] *MRSN*, ii, 301, 386, 419, 429, 444, 447 (cf. 550); Moss 2002, 157.

[66] *MRSN*, ii, 501–2; Moss 1999, 115–16.

[67] *Rot. Pat.*, 8.

[68] *Layettes*, i, no. 716.

[69] *Ibid.*, i, no. 716.

[70] Coggeshall, 136; *Rot. Pat.*, 9. In 1204 the king granted the county of Aumale in perpetuity to Renaud: *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 862 (*Layettes*, i, no. 734).

[71] *RN*, 45. Robert de Morvillers (d. *c.*1221) took his name from Morvillers-St-Saturnin, a few miles east of Aumale (ADSM, 1 H 72).

[72] *RN*, 45, 50.

chief agents in Upper Normandy and husband of the heiress of Brétizel in the county of Aumale, which Count Renaud had also seized. King John also provided a manor for Geoffrey's wife as a refuge on 29 May.[73] These connections were not the temporary results of war: Robert de Morvillers received further gifts from King John later in the year through the mediation of Geoffrey *de Bosco*, and Hugh *de Caigni* and Enguerrand d'Aumale were still serving King John together in August 1203, even though by then the county of Aumale had been under the sway of the count of Boulogne for over a year.[74] Perhaps this local network was linked to King John's court through the *curialis* Geoffrey *de Bosco*, but it outlasted the end of Angevin Normandy: in 1214, after all the dispossessed had been restored to their property in the county of Aumale, Enguerrand viscount of Aumale and Robert de Morvillers witnessed an act of Geoffrey *de Bosco* and his wife for the abbey of Aumale at that same town.[75] Furthermore, the war did not prevent the knights of Aumale loyal to John from maintaining contact with their lands in the districts under French control: in September 1202 Hugh *de Caigni* gave his consent to an agreement concerning his lands near Aumale and *corvées* in the town itself.[76]

To the south of Aumale, the French king's subjugation of the lands of Hugh de Gournay in 1202 did not immediately bring all the local aristocracy to his side. Hugh himself at first chose to remain with John, at the cost of his broad lands in Bray. Some of his knights and burgesses were also still siding with the king of England in the spring of 1203, which explains why in the previous winter the king of France's men had taken hostages from the land of Gournay and carted them off to Amiens.[77] One of the most powerful of Hugh's knights, Giles de Hodeng, was still in King John's service in April 1203 although this cost him his lands in

[73] *RN*, 47, 50. For Mortemer, see Rigord, 152; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 862. Earl Hamelin de Warenne had died in May (*Rot. Pat.*, 10). For Geoffrey *de Bosco*, one of the leaders of John's garrison in Rouen in 1204, see Power 1999a, 134–5, and *Itin.*, 408; for his wife Agnes Biset, see App. 1, no. 8. John de Préaux was ordered to give Geoffrey the manor of *Rawetot*, probably Routot near Pont-Audemer, to house his wife there (*RN*, 46; cf. *CN*, no. 1143; *Memoranda Roll 1 John*, 98). For the count of Boulogne's occupation of Brétizel until 1204, see *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 813.

[74] *RN*, 64, 73, 102 (where *Ranny* must be a mistake for *Kanny*, i.e. *Caigni*). Cf. 100: Hugh le Portier of Lyons receives confiscated lands in central Normandy (26 Jul. 1203).

[75] ADSM, 1 H 28. Cf. 1 H 29: act of Bernard *Mareschot*, knight, concerning St-Saturnin (cne. Morvillers-St-Saturnin); the knights witnessing include Enguerrand the viscount and Robert de Morvillers, both of whom also witnessed an undated act of Enguerrand de Montagny for Sélincourt (*Ctl. Sélincourt*, no. XCV).

[76] Bauduin 2000, 153, 155: act concerning the customs of Gourchelles (cant. Formerie), in Hugh's fief, including the inhabitants' traditional obligations to repair the ditches of Aumale for the count of Aumale.

[77] Lot and Fawtier 1932, CLXXXV, CCV–CCVI.

the conquered Pays de Bray, and no doubt his lands in *Francia* as well; the William *de Hosdeng*' whom John rewarded with confiscated land in central Normandy in May, on the eve of Hugh de Gournay's revolt, was probably Giles's brother.[78] When Hugh de Gournay deserted King John in May 1203, however, some of his knights did likewise: Helias de Bouelles was in revolt by 10 May, although it cost him his lands in the Pays de Caux,[79] and even Hugh's son-in-law, Amaury count of Evreux and titular earl of Gloucester, briefly joined the rebels. Enguerrand de Montagny, whom King John had endowed with lands confiscated from the count of Boulogne in 1202, now went over to the king of France as well, along with Nicholas de Montagny, to whom King Philip gave some of Hugh de Gournay's lands after the latter lost Philip's grace.[80] By July another of the chief men of Bray, Simon de Beaussault, had handed Beaussault over to the king of France under pressure from his French kin.[81] However, John's confiscations of the lands of Hugh de Gournay and his men prevented the revolt from spreading into the Pays de Caux; as we shall see in other parts of Normandy, the rebellion of a magnate in the marches did not precipitate the instant collapse of ducal authority in the heart of the duchy.[82]

On both sides these confiscations identify only a small number of individuals who chose not to yield to *force majeure*; but what about the rest of the aristocracy? Some knights certainly saw opportunities for gain at Philip's hands. One scion of the Pays de Bray, John de Rouvray, had been at Philip's court since the late 1190s; after the fall of Normandy he would become the castellan of Arques. Once the French king had subdued eastern Normandy in 1202, John de Rouvray returned to his native Pays de Bray to collect the revenues of Hugh de Gournay's lands for his Capetian master, acting as an intermediary between the French king's *bailli*, Renaud de Cornillon, and the local aristocracy.[83] Perhaps it was because of his connections with such men that Hugh de Gournay was believed to have deserted in secret to King Philip some time before he openly rebelled against the king of England.[84] Perhaps, too, it was John de Rouvray who wooed Enguerrand and Nicholas de Montagny into the

[78] *RN*, 90, 92; Lot and Fawtier 1932, CCV. For Giles' French lands, see above, pp. 191, 237. He was probably related to the royal knights John and Peter de Préaux, perhaps through his mother Alice; one of Peter's nephews rewarded by Philip Augustus was a John de Hodeng (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 814).

[79] Powicke 1961, 175 and n. 283. Helias, from Bouelles (cant. Neufchâtel-en-Bray), was brother of William de Bouelles, one of Hugh de Gournay's seneschals in 1200: see ADSM, 51 HP 5 (act of Geoffrey de Bouelles); Gurney 1848–58, i, 159–60; *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, no. CLXII.

[80] Powicke 1961, 176, 251–2.

[81] Above, pp. 256–9.

[82] *RN*, 92 (Etouteville) 94–5 (Gournay lands), and Powicke 1961, 175–7; below, pp. 430–2, 440.

[83] Power 1997, 379.

[84] *Ann. Jumièges*, 87.

French camp.[85] Yet John's elder brother Osbert, despite his connections with Hugh de Gournay, remained in King John's ranks when Hugh revolted in May 1203. Instead, Osbert made good his claim to lands which Hugh de Gournay had held in the fief of Gilbert de Vascœuil in Warwickshire and was with the garrison of Rouen in May 1204.[86] Only then did John's service to the king of France begin to influence his brother's actions, for Osbert acted as intermediary for the surrender of William Marshal's fortresses in the Pays de Caux that same month.[87] Such differing responses show the difficulties of generalising about the responses of the local aristocracy; their society had been thrown into acute disarray by the French advances.

In south-eastern Normandy, similar patterns are visible. With French garrisons installed across the southern Evrecin, barons such as Roger de Tosny, lord of Conches, now found their lands very exposed indeed, and in the summer of 1202 only the disaster of Mirebeau prevented the king of France from launching an assault against them.[88] Although King Philip had annexed the Evrecin as recently as 1199–1200, he quickly won over a body of supporters there: several can be found in the French royal accounts of 1202–3, notably Richard d'Argences, Roger de Caugé and Roger Pescheveron.[89] Richard d'Argences had even been one of the Angevin *curiales* who had represented King John at the division of the Evrecin in 1200, but he was in French royal service at Evreux by 1202.[90] In May 1203 the French royal marshal was at Alençon in support of the count of Alençon, accompanied not only by French knights but also by Richard d'Argences and a band of men from the Evrecin.[91] The readiness of these men to assist in the war against their erstwhile duke is a strong indication of the speed with which King Philip had brought the Evrecin under his control since 1199.

[85] For connections between the Rouvrays and Montagnys, see Power 1997, 369, 371 (following ADSM, 14 H 842, an act of Enguerrand de Montagny witnessed by Osbert, John and William de Rouvray, 1208); ADSM, G 4106 (Nicholas, 1210).

[86] *Rot. Lib.*, 34; AN, S 5049 (for which, see Power 1999a, 134–5). Cf. ADOI, H 4739, in which Osbert witnesses an act of Hugh de Gournay for Beaupré (1198).

[87] *Layettes*, i, no. 715; Power 1997, 374–5, 379–80; Power 2003a, 207–9.

[88] Baldwin 1986, 167–8.

[89] Lot and Fawtier 1932, CLIX, CLX, CLXXIV, CCII, for Roger de Caugé in the lands of Hugh de Gournay and at Evreux; CL, CLXXXVI, and *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 756, for Roger Pescheveron.

[90] Powicke 1961, 172, 174–5, 331, 349; Lot and Fawtier 1932, CXCVI, CCIX, CCX; for Richard, see also Power 2001b, 454–5.

[91] Power 1999a, 131, and 2001b; with the count of Alençon, Henry Clément and Richard d'Argences were the French warrior Albert de Hangest (from the Vermandois), and, from the Evrecin, Roger and Villain de Caugé and Robert du Bois-Gencelin. For Albert de Hangest and Henry Clément, see Baldwin 1986, 112–13.

So even before the king of France launched his second assault upon eastern Normandy in the spring of 1203, he was securing his power around the castles that he had already taken in eastern Normandy by attracting members of the local aristocracy into his service. As Philip Augustus penetrated deeper into Normandy, however, he encountered more difficulties in securing territory through local negotiations of this sort. At the beginning of May 1203 Hugh de Gournay handed over the ducal castle of Montfort-sur-Risle to the French, and Peter, son of Count Robert of Meulan, admitted them to the nearby fortress of Beaumont-le-Roger. The background to this new uprising against John is obscure. In 1202 the count of Meulan had revolted against King Philip and suffered the confiscation of his county of Meulan in consequence.[92] Conversely, the count had incurred King John's *malevolentia* before 2 April 1203, when the abbot of Saint-Taurin d'Evreux acted as an intermediary to reconcile him with the king of England – even though the abbey of Saint-Taurin now lay under French rule.[93] Nevertheless, there may have been contacts between the new rebels and the count of Alençon;[94] more importantly, the bulk of the possessions of Hugh de Gournay and the whole county of Meulan had now fallen under King Philip's sway, and the two nobles presumably expected full restitution as the prize for their defection, although in the event neither received anything at all from the king of France.[95]

Hugh de Gournay was briefly joined in revolt by his son-in-law, Earl Amaury of Gloucester, who was perhaps frustrated at the king of England's continuing retention of most of the Gloucester inheritance and may vainly have hoped to recover Evreux from Philip Augustus, and with Peter de Meulan we may link two other new rebels, William du Homme and Payn de Montreuil, both of whom had been closely associated with Count Robert of Meulan in central Normandy.[96] Yet this insurrection all but fizzled out within a few months. It is true that Beaumont-le-Roger became a bastion of French power that disrupted communications in central Normandy, serving much the same purpose that Drincourt had in the north-east the previous year, while King Philip's seizure of Conches a

[92] *Ctl. Pontoise*, 327 n. 373 (a chronicle of St-Nicaise de Meulan): 'Roberto comite adversus regem Francorum rebellante circa an. MCCIII, Philippus Augustus omnia ejus dominia ac precipue Mellentensem comitatum fisco regali in perpetuum, non sine armorum strepitu, adjunxit.' In fact, Meulan was in royal hands by July 1202 (Lot and Fawtier 1932, CXLIII, CXLIX).

[93] *Rot. Pat.*, 27 (2 Apr. 1203). The count made several grants to the abbey on 13 April (ADE, H 793, fols. 62v–63r, no. 33).

[94] The count's act for St-Taurin (see previous note) on 13 April was witnessed by a certain William d'Alençon (but see pp. 65, 108).

[95] Powicke (1961, 167) also notes that their revolt followed closely upon the most probable date for Arthur's murder.

[96] For their links with the count of Meulan, see above, pp. 251–2.

week or two after the revolt reduced the isolation of the rebels.[97] Montfort, however, was soon retaken by John's forces; Peter de Meulan died; King John pardoned the earl of Gloucester in June and Payn de Montreuil and William du Homme in the early autumn; and Hugh de Gournay fled the kingdom of France altogether.[98] Payn had probably been brought to ground by his lord and cousin William de Saint-Cénery, the head of the Giroies.[99] The count of Meulan himself had avoided the revolt and at the end of May he pledged all his remaining lands to King John;[100] yet despite his political difficulties the count was still active in the affairs of the abbey of Le Valasse, with which his family was closely associated, in January 1204, a sign that his power was by no means spent. The Meulan and Gournay revolts had failed.[101]

Other potential supporters of the king of France in central Normandy were also quickly crushed. Robert de Vieuxpont, lord of Courville, a baron from the Chartrain who was active in the service of Philip Augustus,[102] passed his central Norman lands to his brother William in order to prevent their confiscation, but by 1203 King John had given them to an English cousin, Robert de Vieuxpont, the *bailli* of Caen and Bayeux.[103] Apart from taking Conches, Philip Augustus did not attempt to press home any advantage that the Gournay–Meulan revolt awarded him: his main attack in 1203 concentrated in traditional fashion upon the castles of the Seine–Andelle nexus. There, after the surrender of Vaudreuil in July 1203 and the success of his second assault upon Radepont in September, King Philip secured his position with methods similar to those which he had been using in eastern Normandy since 1193. For instance, he granted the castle of Radepont to the Frenchman Peter de Moret who had married the widowed lady of Radepont, Lucy du Neubourg.[104]

[97] Powicke 1961, 162.

[98] *Ann. Jumièges*, 85–7; Powicke 1961, 161, 175–6, 285–6, 345, and *RN*, 91 (Payn de Montreuil). Earl Amaury, the erstwhile count of Evreux, was restored to favour by 7 June (*Rot. Lib.*, 40). For Peter's death in 1203, see *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 766; *Ann. Jumièges*, 87; *QN*, no. 286; Powicke 1961, 161 n.211, 345. The Peter de Meulan who fined to recover Knowlton (Dorset), a Leicester fief, in 1205 was clearly a different person, since he had an adult son (*P.R. 7 John*, xxj, 140; *Rot. Ob. Fin.*, 267–8; *Bk. Fees*, i, 92); the count's son Peter had been a clerk.

[99] *RN*, 91; Bauduin 1992, 324.

[100] *Rot. Chart.*, 105. On 13 April 1203 an act of Count Robert, granting revenues from King John's zone of control to St-Taurin, then in French hands, was witnessed by a number of leading knights from the Evrecin, from both zones (ADE, H 793, fols. 62v–63r, no. 33).

[101] ADSM, 18 HP 2, act of Richard *de Moiaz*, abbot of Bernay, describing a pact with the abbot of Le Valasse, in the presence of Robert count of Meulan (Hauville, 10 Jan. 1203, o.s.; the usual Norman dating system was by 25 March). For the count's difficulties, see Powicke 1961, 344–5.

[102] Lot and Fawtier 1932, CCIX.

[103] App. 1, no. 33, corrects Powicke 1961, 357–8, since William de Vieuxpont, father of the *bailli* of Caen, was not the same man as William de Vieuxpont, brother of the lord of Courville.

[104] Powicke 1961, 164 and n.228; Coulson 1984, 34–5; App. 1, no. 24.

Such local manipulation worked well when backed up by French forces in eastern Normandy; but further away, as the Meulan and Gournay rebellions proved, logistical difficulties prevented Philip successfully supporting the local aristocracy who revolted in his favour. His weakness away from the Ile-de-France would be most apparent during the revolt at Alençon; for the fate of Normandy was not settled in the eastern marches alone, and conditions were very different on other parts of the Norman frontier.

The revival of conflict on the frontiers of Normandy and Maine (1199–1201)

Whereas the French assault from the south-east owed far more to King Philip's strength than baronial concerns, further west the French were admitted largely on the locals' terms. North of the Loire, the wars of King Richard's reign had largely been confined to the Franco-Norman frontier; the only exception had been the strife between Richard and Constance of Brittany in 1196, which led to devastation on both sides of the borders of Normandy and Brittany.[105] The death of Richard I on 6 April 1199 altered this drastically: whereas Count John of Mortain soon won acceptance in Normandy, the barons of Maine by and large declared for Arthur of Brittany. For the first time since 1151, the frontier between Normandy and Maine was a political, not merely jurisdictional, border; Arthur's claims also revived the likelihood of conflict on the borders of Normandy and Brittany.[106]

The large number of barons who held lands in both Normandy and Maine must now have been faced with a dilemma: who was their rightful lord? The separation of Normandy and Maine had been threatened in 1145, when Helias of Anjou had claimed Maine from his elder brother Count Geoffrey;[107] in 1156, when the younger brother of Henry II had aspired to rule Anjou and Maine; in 1184, when Geoffrey of Brittany had taken custody of Normandy on his father's behalf; and perhaps again in 1187 when, according to Gerald of Wales, Henry II apparently sought to endow John with all the Angevin lands on the Continent except Normandy; it had also been envisaged in the treaty of Messina (1191).[108] Each time, however, the division of the Plantagenet lands had eventually been avoided. In 1199, in contrast, the dissolution of the Angevin

[105] Howden, iv, 6; Newburgh, ii, 491.
[106] For the succession crisis of 1199, see Powicke 1961, 129–39; Holt 1986; Holt 1990, 21–33; Holt 2000, 83–90; Everard 2000, 167–73.
[107] *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 207; Chartrou 1928, 32–3.
[108] Warren 1973, 64–6, 597; Everard 2000, 137–8; Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, viii, 231–3; *Dipl. Docs.*, no. 5.

inheritance was more than a mere threat, for Arthur found support in Anjou, Maine and Touraine while John secured control of Normandy, England and Aquitaine.[109] Philip Augustus profited from the dynastic conflict to interfere in Maine, the first serious presence of Capetian power in this province for a century, but his assault foundered once he had antagonised Arthur's chief supporter, William des Roches, by seizing the fortress of Ballon.[110] The rapid collapse of the French king's influence once he was deprived of the support of the seneschal of Anjou demonstrates how the magnates were the true arbiters of power in this region. There were, moreover, strong associations amongst them despite their being divided by allegiance: the count of Sées and Juhel de Mayenne witnessed an act of William des Roches for Perseigne in 1200, for instance.[111] Others were also watchful of their interests: the count of Perche had extended his power northwards through the acquisition of Moulins and Bonmoulins and was probably attempting to extend his lordship southwards into Maine as well.[112]

Discussion of the succession dispute has concentrated mainly upon the legal principles of the respective rights of John and Arthur; but Richard himself had changed his opinion on this matter between 1190 and 1197–9, and for many of the barons of Maine and Normandy, the principle may have mattered less than practicalities.[113] The three greatest magnates on the borders of Normandy and Maine, apart from John himself as count of Mortain, were all faced with the greatest uncertainty. Juhel de Mayenne stood to lose much if John secured Maine, for by 1199 he was husband of the heiress of Dinan, an alliance which had made him one of the leading barons in Brittany, and it was strongly in his interest to see Maine and Brittany under a single lord. For his cousin Count Robert of Sées, though, extensive lands in northern Maine meant that Arthur's retention of the province would place him in a difficult position in the event of John's success in Normandy. The decisions of the viscounts of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe would also prove to be crucial in the struggle that followed. Double loyalties, so frequent and multifarious, might offer opportunities as well as danger, but the actual creation of divided loyalties must have always been a difficult moment, to be avoided whenever possible.

[109] Cf. Holt 1975, 239–42.

[110] Howden, iv, 96; Gervase of Canterbury, ii, 92 (who confuses Gaillon and Ballon); *HGM*, ii, lines 12444–86 (cf. iii, 168–9 and notes); *Chr. Touraine*, 154–5; Dubois 1869–73, xxx, 414–15; Powicke 1961, 134. The destruction of Ballon is also recorded in an act of its constable, Geoffrey de Brûlon (*Ctl. Trappe*, 326).

[111] ADSA, H 929 (*Ctl. Perseigne*, no. CCCLXVI).

[112] Above, pp. 362, 101; Thompson 2002, 120–2, 136–7; *Ctl. du Mans*, no. XXV. The previous count, Rotrou III, had been interfering in Maine as early as 1186 (no. XXVIII).

[113] Holt 1990, 21–3, 31–3; Holt 2000, 83–8, 91–3.

The events of the summer of 1199 show how these three families responded to the dangers and opportunities of this political crisis. At the end of June, a month after his coronation in England, King John returned to Normandy and within a week felt strong enough to venture from his stronghold of the Seine valley towards central Normandy, penetrating as far as Sées by the middle of July before returning to Rouen.[114] At Sées John confirmed the abbey of Perseigne in its property in Alençon and the Alençonnais; the abbey had sought the ratification of Richard I for its properties the previous year and its anxiety for a fresh confirmation implies that the status of the Alençonnais was in doubt – as it would be if the count of Sées was hoping to recover what his grandfather and father had lost to Henry II in 1166.[115] However, Count Robert of Sées had declared for John by 7 August, when he was with the new king at Sées, and it is tempting to believe that the king's second visit to the region was intended to win the count over to his side.[116] Although John could now draw upon substantial Norman resources against Arthur, raising a tallage to support an expedition to Anjou,[117] the adherence of the count of Sées must have given his cause a significant boost, and a month later John marched into Maine, passing through Count Robert's vill of Saint-Rémy-du-Val on 13 September before repulsing the French king from Lavardin.[118] Almost immediately, on 18 September, Arthur's supporters were forced to come to terms at Le Mans;[119] and four days later Count Robert and his brother William were amongst a group of John's supporters, chiefly Normans, who witnessed an act of the king at Le Mans.[120] The count continued to play a role at John's court, witnessing six other royal acts between 1199 and 1201: the first Talvas to witness ducal charters since the reign of Duke Geoffrey.[121] However, John's grant

[114] *Rot. Chart.*, 1–4.

[115] *Rot. Chart.*, 4 (17 July 1199) (*Ctl. Perseigne*, no. xviii), repeats the terms of Richard's act of 4 May 1198 (ADSA, h 929, vidimus of 1234). Landon 1935, no. 492 (*Ctl. Perseigne*, no. xv) has identical witnesses and place but more comprehensive terms, and is dated 14 May 1198.

[116] *Cartæ Antiquæ XI–XX*, no. 496.

[117] *MRSN*, ii, 524 (*bailliage* of Coutances); Moss 1999, 101.

[118] *Rot. Pat.*, itin.; *Rot. Chart.*, 20; Howden, iv, 96.

[119] *Rot. Chart.*, 30 (18 Sept.): terms between William des Roches and John at Auvers-le-Hamon (ar. Le Mans, cant. Sablé). Howden, iv, 96, dates William's breach with King Philip to October (cf. Powicke 1961, 133–4); but *HGM*, ii, lines 12,437–95 (iii, 168–9), dramatically describes a conference between John and the seneschal of Anjou at Bourg-le-Roi which, if authentic, must surely have taken place before the truce of 18 Sept. John was certainly at Bourg-le-Roi on 12, 16 and 17 Sept. (*Rot. Chart.*, 18, 19, 23).

[120] *Beauchamp Ctl.*, no. 360 (*Rot. Chart.*, 25, without witnesses). At Le Mans were the constable of Normandy, the earls of Salisbury and Leicester, the counts of Meulan, Evreux and Sées and the latter's brother William, Richard viscount of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe and his son Ralph, Gilbert de l'Aigle, Guérin de Glapion, Brice the Chamberlain, future seneschal of Anjou, and probably the charter's beneficiary, Roger de Tosny.

[121] Power 1999a, 128–9.

of a commune to Alençon on 7 September suggests that he was not prepared to rely upon the count alone for allies in the region.[122] If Robert had hoped to regain the castle of Alençon from King John, he appears to have been disappointed, although he may have received the castle of La Roche-Mabile from his new lord.[123]

The political uncertainty along the frontiers of Normandy and Maine remained very keen, for the two greatest magnates in northern Maine, the viscount of Beaumont and the lord of Mayenne, responded very differently to Arthur's claims. As John approached Le Mans he was joined by the viscount of Maine, Richard de Beaumont, the magnate whose lands abutted the Talvas territories to the south and whose castles dominated the road from Alençon to Le Mans. It was at Richard's fortress of Bourg-le-Roi that William des Roches is said to have met King John after King Philip had offended him.[124] Richard's son Ralph de Beaumont then stood surety for John towards William des Roches on 18 September, and both Richard and Ralph de Beaumont witnessed John's act of 22 September at Le Mans. This was hardly surprising since the beneficiary of the act, Roger de Tosny, was married to Richard de Beaumont's daughter Constance; Roger was also a surety for John on 18 September, and the Tosny–Beaumont connection may have been crucial in bringing to the side of the king of England a leading Manceau family which had traditionally sided with the dukes of Normandy.[125] Not all in Maine were so ready to accept John, though. In April 1199 the citizens of Le Mans had resisted John's initial attempts to take over Maine immediately after King Richard's death, while in a letter to the pope in January 1200 King John described Bishop Hamelin of Le Mans as *persone nostre et regni persecutor publicus*.[126] Amongst the magnates, Juhel de Mayenne, although closely related to the count of Sées, had probably actively supported Arthur from the outset, for his mother Isabella de Meulan had been with the count of Brittany at Angers on 18 April 1199, just days after the young prince had set out to win the Angevin lands.[127] Arthur had much to

[122] *Rot. Chart.*, 17. For John's military purposes in creating communes, see Powicke 1961, 211–12, and Deck 1960, 208, 219, 317–29; Packard (1927) stresses the financial advantages of establishing communes, but Moss (1996, 138–43) strikes a balance between the communes' military and fiscal benefits.

[123] John had given him the mill of La Roche-Mabile before 1203 (*RN*, 71). The count's brother William granted 25 *s. mançais* from the mill to Perseigne (*Ctl. Perseigne*, no. CXLIV, s.d.).

[124] For the Beaumont lordship over Bourg-le-Roi, see *Ctl. du Mans*, no. XVI.

[125] *Rot. Chart.*, 30; *Beauchamp Ctl.*, no. 360; Powicke 1961, 134n. For John at Le Mans, see also Dubois 1869–73, XXX, 407–10.

[126] Howden, iv, 87; *Rot. Chart.*, 31.

[127] *Layettes*, i, no. 488 (18 Apr. 1199). Juhel (or his uncle of the same name) had witnessed acts for his great-uncle Count John I of Sées (ADC, H 6510, fols. 5v–6r, no. 14; H 6511, no. 9; *Ctl. Perseigne*, no. VI); in 1208, he held the mill of Blanchelande (cant. Mamers, cne. Saosnes) in the Saosnois, perhaps the dowry of his grandmother, a daughter of William Talvas (*ibid.*, no. CCLIII).

offer him, and Juhel duly received the castles of Gorron, Ambrières and Châteauneuf-sur-Colmont which Juhel's father had surrendered to Henry II in 1162; Arthur augmented this grant with the ducal forest of Fosse-Louvain near Gorron and the fortress of La Chartre in south-eastern Maine.[128]

The full complexities of these power struggles are lost to us, but we can gain some insight into the measures that were needed to secure loyalties along this unstable frontier, where castles had so often changed hands, and the limits of ducal power had to be bargained and strengthened through personal ties. In the summer of 1199 John's forces captured William de Montgiroux, his lord William de Gorron, and Ralph de Vautorte, all of whom came from Juhel's lands. Juhel's acquisition of Gorron and Ambrières, reinforcing his domination of the borders of north-western Maine with Normandy, must have increased the power of the lord of Mayenne over these men, but King John still attempted to win them over, through the mediation of some of his adherents from the region. Under the terms of their release, in August 1199, the three prisoners promised to fight for him and to make no peace with Juhel de Mayenne.[129] Ralph de Vautorte, at least, observed these terms, for in February 1200, after Arthur and King John had come to terms, the latter ordered all his followers to welcome Ralph and all the knights with him if Juhel opposed their accommodation with the king of England.[130] Moreover, this was not an ephemeral change of loyalty, for when Juhel revolted against John again in 1202, Ralph de Vautorte and his son were rewarded with lands seized from Juhel's adherents: both men may have been expelled from the lordship of Mayenne as a result.[131] It is possible that John had lured away others of Juhel's men: Hamelin de l'Ecluse,

[128] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 607 (May 1199). Juhel's ancestor Geoffrey de Mayenne had held La Chartre in the late eleventh century, probably as the second husband of Matilda d'Alluyes: see Latouche 1910, 37, 42, 61; Guillot 1972, i, 458; Barthélemy 1993, 725; Thompson 1997, 302–4. Here as elsewhere I follow Pichot 1995, 137 n.41, in identifying *Castellum Novum desuper Calmont* as Châteauneuf (cant. Mayenne, cne. St-Mars-sur-Colmont), on the north side of the River Colmont, not Châtillon-sur-Colmont (cant. Mayenne), on the south side; this corrects Power 1995, 187–8, and 1999a, 128.

[129] *Rot. Chart.*, 9; Power 1995, 188 n.28. William de Gorron had been the lord of Geoffrey de Montgiroux, probably the father of William de Montgiroux, for Jarzé near Ernée (*c.*1168 × 86), in the heart of Juhel's territory (BN, ms. lat. 9215, nos. 100, 101, 103). John's agents were the Anglo-Breton baron William de Fougères and two of the leading knights of Mortain, Richard de Fontenay and Guy de Husson.

[130] *Rot. Chart.*, 59.

[131] *RN*, 69, 83; *Rot. Pat.*, 26 (Osmund de Vautorte, apparently Ralph's son); for their supposed expulsion, see Pichot 1995, 294. An Osmund de Vautorte appears in England in 1215 (*Rot. Claus.*, i, 192), but there is good reason to believe that Hugh and John de Vautorte who appear in the 1230s were from the same lineage: *Généalogies mayennaises*, 706–8, 711–12; Poulle 1988, 376–8; *Ctl. Fontaine-Daniel*, no. CLVI.

who owed *servitium equi* near Gorron, lost his seal during an unspecified war in about 1199;[132] although we do not know for whom Hamelin was fighting on that occasion, in 1202–3 his son William was still faithful to John, although he had failed to provide the requisite mounted sergeant to the *bailli* of Mortain.[133]

To bring Juhel de Mayenne himself to heel required extra measures. Juhel must have accepted the failure of Arthur's cause by the treaty of Le Goulet in May 1200, for when King John marched south to impose his will upon Anjou soon afterwards, he recognised some of Juhel's rights in England.[134] Nevertheless, the king and the lord of Mayenne did not come to terms over the contested castles until October 1201. By then John had regained Gorron and Ambrières,[135] but he seems to have believed that his best chance of peace lay in restoring all three castles to the lord of Mayenne; his only demand was that Juhel's castellans of Ambrières and Châteauneuf, chosen with John's consent, had to hand over their sons as hostages for Juhel's fidelity, and that Juhel's knights and representatives of all his bourgs and vills in Maine gave charters and oaths for their lord's behaviour. If Juhel broke the pact and refused to be tried by John's court, they would be permitted to adopt John as their liege lord. No such obligations were demanded from the knights and burgesses of Dinan since it lay in Brittany, but Juhel's mother Isabella (de Meulan) was expressly made to swear to abide by this treaty. Juhel's sureties for this pact comprised most of the greatest nobles of the Loire lands: William des Roches, Count Robert of Sées, Ralph, viscount of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe, Stephen du Perche, Guy de Laval, Juhel's half-brother Maurice de Craon, and Hugh, viscount of Châtellerault. The terms show that control of frontier fortresses in the early thirteenth century was no atavistic baronial obsession but a living issue at the heart of northern French

[132] AN, L 974, no. 852 (s.d.): act of Hamelin de l'Ecluse, with the consent of his brother Odo and sons Hamelin and William, granting his *seruitium equi*, *moltura* and *releuagium* in the tenement of Robert Corbin of Le Mortier (cne. Oisseau) to Savigny, sealed with his new seal as he had lost his old seal 'tempore guerre'. This was confirmed by Juhel de Mayenne, lord of Dinan (AN, L 967, no. 139, *c.*1200).

[133] *MRSN*, ii, 541. For Hamelin's son William see *ibid.*, ii, 357; AN, L 974, no. 852; *Généalogies mayennaises*, 645–6, 648–50. Pichot (1995, 152, 305 n.87) notes that the family had long been prominent 'barons' of the lord of Mayenne.

[134] *Rot. Chart.*, 71 (Angers, 21 Jun.); for King John's subjugation of Anjou that month, see *ibid.*, 69–72, 97; *Ann. Jumièges*, 79; *Annales angevines*, 19–20, 124; Dubois 1869–73, xxxii, 97–107. John had entered Anjou three times in 1199, but on the first occasion he rapidly retreated to Normandy, while on the second and third, he was merely passing quickly from Maine to Poitou and back again (Howden, iv, 86–7, and *Life of St Hugh*, ii, 147; *Rot. Chart.*, 20–5, 29–30, 62–3). An insistent letter of the king to William de Cayeux, sent from Argentan on 5 June, shows that the king had issued a general summons or *arrière-ban* for the campaign (*RN*, 36).

[135] *Rot. Pat.*, 2; the statement above corrects Power 1995, 187–8, concerning Gorron and Ambrières.

politics, intricately knotted into regional power structures by pledges and oaths.[136]

Within months of this pact, John and Arthur were at war again, and by the middle of October 1202, if not some months before, Juhel had reneged upon his promises to the king of England;[137] in the ensuing strife Mayenne itself suffered damage.[138] Once more the frontiers of King John's power rested upon bargaining and manipulation of people. But Juhel's *fidejussores* for the pact of 1201 were no constraint upon the lord of Mayenne. Stephen du Perche had departed on crusade, never to return; the viscount of Châtellerault was one of King John's chief opponents in Poitou, and was taken prisoner at Mirebeau; and the story of the defection of William des Roches shortly after that battle needs no retelling here.[139] By December 1202 Guy de Laval had taken refuge with John's Breton enemies.[140] In March 1203 Maurice de Craon did homage to Philip Augustus in Paris, together with William des Roches, Juhel de Mayenne, and several other magnates from the Loire provinces, including the lords of La Ferté-Bernard and Montfort-le-Rotrou.[141] Possibly the only barons who had stood surety for Juhel de Mayenne in 1201 and were still loyal to John by the end of 1202 were the count of Sées and Ralph de Beaumont, and their defection would prove the most dramatic of all.

The Alençon and Beaumont revolts (1203)[142]

The rebellion of Count Robert and the viscount of Beaumont forms part of a larger picture of the collapse of the Angevin régime in Anjou and Maine between late August 1202, when William des Roches deserted John, and May 1203, the most probable date for the fall of Le Mans to the French.[143] Nevertheless, the peculiar significance of Alençon for

[136] *Fœdera*, I.i, 84–5; Powicke 1961, 146; Power 1999a, 128.

[137] *RN*, 63; cf. 61, which implies that his lands were being confiscated by 16 Aug. 1202.

[138] *Ctl. Manceau*, i, 274–7 (Juhel's destruction of houses 'in tempore guerre contra Johannem regem Anglie', probably 1202–3), 285–6 (destruction of a mill 'tempore guerre regum Francie et Anglie'). Pichot (1995, 293) interprets the first act to mean that both the town and castle of Mayenne were captured by John.

[139] Villehardouin, 46–8, §46 (Stephen du Perche); Power 1999a, 128 (Châtellerault). Relations between William des Roches and John broke down between 17 Aug. and *c.* 25 Aug. 1202 (*Rot. Pat.*, 17; *RN*, 61–2); for his defection, see Dubois 1869–73, xxxiv, 511–13; Powicke 1961, 153–4.

[140] *Rot. Pat.*, 21; Powicke 1961, 155n., 177.

[141] *Registres*, 492–3 (*Catalogue*, no. 752, p. 506).

[142] For more extensive discussion of the Alençon rebellion, see Power 1999a, 128–32, and Power 2001b.

[143] Le Mans was still in his hands on 19 April, when the citizens and bishop were warned not to expect help from the king of France, but to retreat to John's castle with their possessions if need be; on 17 May, a letter to the seneschals of Anjou (Brice the Chamberlain) and Maine (Geoffrey Mauchien), remitting debts from the *bailliage* and town of Le Mans, may indicate that the city had fallen by then (*Rot. Pat.*, 28, 29).

the history of the Norman frontier as well as for John's defeats in France means that these events deserve close scrutiny. It has been seen how Ralph de Beaumont had supported John against Arthur in 1199, and the king of England promoted Ralph's brother William to the see of Angers in July 1202;[144] but on 6 November John, then at Saumur after the fall of Angers to the rebels, wrote to the viscount to reassure him of his trust, lest the viscount had been informed that John was speaking ill of him, and promising to restore any property that had been seized from the viscount.[145] After Christmas, John sent the viscount 200 marks through the count of Sées and Guérin de Glapion, a sign that he still retained some trust in all three men;[146] yet within a month, between 18 and 21 January, the count surrendered Alençon to the French, and the viscount joined him in rebellion along with some of the lesser barons from the marches of Normandy and Maine including Richard *de Vilers*, lord of Carrouges.[147]

Why did these lords revolt? It would appear that Count Robert had already regained control of Alençon, if perhaps only as castellan,[148] but he must have felt he had more to gain by joining Philip Augustus in 1203, even though King John had just passed through the town to stem the revolt in Anjou.[149] Yet Count Robert's desertion must have been due to more than one or two castles: he went the way of his southern neighbours rather than having to fight them. It is true that the rebellion did not automatically end Angevin rule in Maine, for John still controlled Le Mans and its environs, La Suze and La Chartre; on 23 January, the day after he heard at Le Mans that Count Robert had admitted the French into Alençon, King John announced that the viscount's mother had fined with his seneschal of Anjou for the men of Le Lude, one of the viscount's castles which guarded the southern approaches to Le Mans. John also forbade the men guarding La Guerche-sur-Creuse in Touraine to allow Count Robert of Sées or his wife any power in the castle, for the countess was from the family of La Guerche.[150] Nevertheless, with William des Roches, Juhel de Mayenne and Guy de Laval in arms against him, John's position in the province must have seemed very doubtful. In fact, the events of 1203 mirrored those of 1135: the lord of Alençon sided

[144] *Rot. Pat.*, 14. [145] *Rot. Pat.*, 20. [146] *RN*, 66 (Caen, 27 Dec. 1202).

[147] Powicke 1961, 157–8; Power 1999a, 129–30 and n. 81.

[148] Powicke 1961, 182n.; Power 1999a, 129.

[149] *HGM*, ii, lines 12,585–91, 12,607–20; Powicke 1961, 157–9, 175–7. Apart from Count Robert, confiscations (*RN*, 68–72) affected his *socius* Guérin de Neuilly, his seneschal Robert du Mesnil, and his knights Herbert de Bernières, William de Merlay, William *de Campens* and William de Feugeray, as well as Geoffrey de Chaumont, a knight of Count Robert's brother William Talvas.

[150] *Rot. Pat.*, 23, 24, 27, 28 (Le Mans, La Suze, La Guerche, Le Lude); *RN*, 68 (La Chartre). For the identification of *Gwirchia* as La Guerche-sur-Creuse, see Power 2001b, 446 n.12.

with the Manceaux and Angevins against the majority of the Normans. Ralph of Coggeshall expressly linked the desertion of Count Robert, the viscount of Beaumont and the Bretons with William de Fougères to the rebellion of William des Roches.[151]

The count's revolt also indicates the much greater importance to the count of his lands in the Norman marches than in central Normandy. He risked losing all his other Norman lands permanently; nobody could know in January 1203 that the duchy would fall within eighteen months, and the count's knights in central Normandy either failed to rise in arms or were quickly crushed.[152] Ralph de Beaumont's men were also losing their lands in central Normandy within a week of Count Robert's defection.[153] In June 1203 King John granted a commune to the citizens of Sées, and as late as October he still had sufficient control of the city to prevent the installation of its new bishop.[154] As in 1118 or 1173, the heart of the duchy proved no place to stage a rebellion. Indeed, the rebellion concentrated John's mind upon defending his duchy: his 'army of Alençon' took the town in August 1203, besieging Count Robert and Juhel de Mayenne in the castle.[155] Later opinion saw John's failure to crush these two lords as decisive in his failure in Normandy: it was said that John was on the point of taking Alençon when his Norman barons deceived him into believing that King Philip was close by, and retreated; but for this trickery, John would have captured Count Robert and Juhel de Mayenne and ended the war.[156] What the rebellion did achieve was to hamstring John's attempts to recover what he had lost in the Loire valley, and bring the war to the southern frontiers of Normandy.

The war on the Breton frontier (1203–4)

In 1199 Arthur's bid for the Angevin inheritance had been fought out in Anjou and Maine; the marches of Normandy and Brittany do not appear to have been affected. John even secured the active support of some of the Breton barons, notably Alan fitzCount, lord of Goëllo, and

[151] Coggeshall, 139. For the connection between Arthur's adherents and Robert's defection, see Powicke 1961, 157n.

[152] Power 1999a, 131.

[153] *RN*, 73; Powicke 1961, 175–6 (Philip de Doucelles). For Philip, see *LCSV*, nos. 53, 321.

[154] *Rot. Pat.*, 31; *Rot. Lib.*, 72, and Powicke 1961, 168. Count Robert was in control of Sées before the end of '1203', i.e. by 24 Mar. or 24 Apr. 1204 (*RHF*, xxiv, 1, *preuves de la préface*, no. 13).

[155] *MRSN*, ii, cclii–cclxiv, 570; *RN*, 102, 115 ('army of Alençon').

[156] *Dipl. Docs.*, no. 206, a letter of a burgess of Caen to Henry III, reporting a discussion between the son of the castellan of Caen and a clerk of the bishop of Senlis, chancellor of France (*c.*1227). Cf. Will. Bret., 211–12; Cartellieri 1899–1922, iv, 1, 163–4 (who believed that William le Gras, not John, was the object of hatred); Holt 1975, 264–5; Power 1999a, 132, and 2001b, 447.

William de Fougères.[157] In 1202, however, the revival of Arthur's cause threatened to engulf the Breton borders of Normandy. Magnates from the houses of Goëllo, Vitré, Châteaubriant, Rohan and Fougères joined the Breton bishops to negotiate with King John in the weeks following Arthur's capture at Mirebeau, presumably with the aim of securing their prince's release.[158] When this was not forthcoming, William de Fougères led a revolt in Brittany,[159] even though he had benefited from John while he was count of Mortain; indeed, his retention of many of the Fougères lands in Brittany, Normandy and England, when his great-nephew Geoffrey, lord of Fougères, had come of age, must have required King John's compliance.[160]

As the Breton war unfolded the Norman exchequer accounts of Michaelmas 1203 bore witness to destruction of villages in the Vale of Mortain.[161] Yet as long as Guy de Thouars, Arthur's stepfather and John's appointee as count of Brittany, remained loyal to John, the Breton–Norman frontier itself remained largely untouched. John appears to have feared that the Breton revolt would spread into Normandy in much the same way as the insurrections in Maine and Anjou were troubling the Alençonnais: on 11 April 1203 he marched to Vire to take pledges from the earl of Chester and Fulk Paynel who had gathered there, for it was rumoured that they planned to leave John's service. No doubt the earl's marriage to Clemence de Fougères (who was also Fulk's stepdaughter) made him suspect in John's eyes.[162] He also ordered the knights and burgesses of Coutances and Cérences to aid the strengthening of the defences of Mortain on 26 April, and took well-documented measures to fortify the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel that summer.[163] However, Guy de Thouars was still on friendly terms with the king of England in April and probably remained at least outwardly loyal until September 1203, when his desertion provoked John into a destructive raid upon

[157] *Rot. Chart.*, 4, 9; *P.R. 2 John*, 64 (Alan fitzCount); Everard 2000, 168–9. Vincent (1997, 86 and n.29) notes that William de Fougères lost some of his English custodies in 1199, recovering them in 1201. However, *P.R. 1 John*, 173, and *P.R. 3 John*, 2, show that some restitution was made in 1199 and 1200.

[158] *Rot. Pat.*, 16–17 (safe-conducts); Everard 2000, 174–5. The lord of Châteaubriant had entered John's service shortly before the siege of Mirebeau (*RN*, 55).

[159] Coggeshall, 139. Everard (2000, 174) dates the Fougères rebellion to before Mirebeau, but *P.R. 5 John*, 28, implies that William's lands were confiscated between Michaelmas 1202 and Easter 1203, and possibly even later.

[160] *Rot. Chart.*, 34; Planché 1850, 135–6; *Ctl. Fougères*, nos. xli–xlii; *Chester Charters*, no. 318; Vincent 1997, 86–93, 96–7.

[161] *MRSN*, ii, 539–40.

[162] *RN*, 96; Painter 1949, 26–7. However, Alexander (1983, 14–17) points to Clemence's close kinship to William du Hommet, constable of Normandy, then still one of John's chief supporters in Normandy; she was in fact the constable's granddaughter.

[163] *Rot. Pat.*, 28; *RN*, 120–1; Powicke 1961, 250, 252–3, 257–8.

Brittany, during the course of which he sacked Dol and ravaged the lordship of Fougères.[164] Thereafter the knights of Mortain remained bastions of ducal authority in the west of the duchy, notably Richard de Fontenay and the lord of Saint-Hilaire, Frederick Malesmains; ties established between John and the local élite in his time as count of Mortain were serving him well.[165] The earl of Chester meanwhile rallied to John's cause as he and the earl of Salisbury prepared to defend the Avranchin against any Breton assault in the winter of 1203–4. With Domfront well defended until May 1204 and the most powerful lord of the Passais, William de la Ferté-Macé, remaining loyal to John – in 1204 he abandoned his Norman lands on account of his English possessions – the consternation along the Breton borders remained largely separate from the rebellion in the Alençonnais until the spring of 1204.[166]

The frontier baronage and the Capetian subjugation of Normandy

Local concerns, particularly rivalry for the control of castles and castelries, dominated political events in the Norman frontier regions between 1106 and 1204. This pattern did much to shape the Capetian annexation of Normandy: although in the south-eastern marches the French king's annexation of Pacy, Vernon and Evreux ignored the traditional interests of the local aristocracy, on the southern frontier many of the castles seized by Henry II came back to baronial families during the wars of 1193–1204. Between 1197 and 1204 Henry II's confiscations were reversed at Ivry, at Moulins and Bonsmoulins, at the three castles of the southern Passais, and at Mortain, which Renaud de Dammartin received on behalf of his wife, the granddaughter of King Stephen. In or around 1204 the castle of Tillières reverted to the Tillières family, to judge by their resumption of the seigneurial title there.[167] Whether or not Count Robert had been given control of Alençon before January 1203, the success of his revolt confirmed him in his ancestral inheritance. He recovered all the castles and lands confiscated by Henry II and was perhaps the leading

[164] *Rot. Pat.*, 27 (letter in Guy's favour, 2 Apr. 1203); Will. Bret., 212; *RHF*, xviii, 330; Powicke 1961, 165–6. For the sack of Dol, see also *ibid.*, 166 n.235, referring to ADIV, G 380g, fol. 221r (ed. Morice, *Preuves*, col. 849), a copy of a charter of 1224 (n.s.), kindly drawn to my attention by Nicholas Vincent.

[165] *RN*, 120–1; *Rot. Pat.*, 10, 26; *MRSN*, ii, 538–48.

[166] *RN*, 50, 79, 88, and Rigord, 160 (Domfront); for William de la Ferté-Macé and his lands, see *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 902; *HKF*, iii, 414; *EYC*, vi, 53–5; *RHF*, xxiii, 619; *QN*, nos. 436, 442–3, 461; *Registres*, 166.

[167] *Ctl. St-Jean*, no. 183 (1214), and *Jugements*, no. 196 (1217), both mention the 'lord of Tillières'; ADE, H 319, fols. 44v–45r, no. 100, for Juliana, lady of Tillières, *c.*1224 × 28 (cf. *Ctl. Pontoise*, 268).

Norman baron until his death.[168] Several other frontier dynasties substantially augmented their holdings. Renaud de Dammartin received the county of Aumale, the 'county of Warenne' (the honour of Bellencombre) and the Mortemer lands at Saint-Riquier-en-Rivière, as well as Domfront and lordship over the whole Passais;[169] Count Ralph of Eu acquired some of the lands of William de Roumare;[170] Robert d'Ivry received the count of Evreux's castle of Avrilly;[171] Ralph de Beaumont became lord of La Flèche on the borders of Maine and Anjou, a comital castle since the end of the eleventh century;[172] and Juhel de Mayenne kept all that Arthur of Brittany had given him and acquired Pontorson in 1205.[173] It is true that in 1205, the count of Alençon married his son to the daughter of Bartholomew de Roye, the French king's chief advisor, but this was not as disparaging a marriage as might at first appear: the bride's mother was a sister of Simon V de Montfort, and moreover, the alliance would guarantee the count of Alençon access to the king.[174]

Paradoxically, the frontier barons who received little benefit from the fall of Normandy were the chief French magnates along the old frontier. Although Robert II of Dreux held Nonancourt for two periods in the 1190s, Philip Augustus soon first granted the fortress to Peter Mauvoisin, a cadet of the lords of Rosny, but then conferred it upon another cousin, Robert de Courtenay, who unlike Count Robert and Peter Mauvoisin had no previous connection with the region.[175] Gervase de Châteauneuf lost the castle of Tillières to the Normans in about 1195, and it probably came back to the Tillières family in 1204, when Gervase was in the Levant. Simon V de Montfort, also absent on crusade, lost out even more: he not only received poor compensation for the Leicester inheritance, but any

[168] See below, p. 451. Alençon was not included in the list of royal castles in 1206–10: *Registres*, 338–42 (*RHF*, xxiii, 681–2).

[169] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 770, 862; iii, no. 925; *Layettes*, i, no. 733; for the 'county of Warenne', see Will. Bret., 292. The count initially received Mortemer, another Warenne castle, but exchanged it with the French king for Domfront.

[170] *Layettes*, i, nos. 1353, 1360, which also suggest that Count Ralph may have held Arques for a time, and possibly also Mortemer (which had belonged to Countess Alice's uncle William de Warenne).

[171] *Layettes*, i, no. 594.

[172] ADSA, H 439, fol. 2r–v: copy of act of Ralph, 'viscount of Beaumont and lord of La Flèche', for the abbey of Mélinais (1217). *Ibid.*, fol. 1r–v (copy of vidimus), and H 449 (orig.): Ralph, 'eiusdem uille habens dominium', confirms gifts of Richard the Lionheart to Mélinais at La Flèche (1209, 1223); *Généalogies mayennaises*, 90, 93, 95.

[173] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 915.

[174] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 905. Bartholomew married another daughter to William Crispin, a leading baron of the Norman Vexin (*ibid.*, iii, no. 1376). For Bartholomew's position as the king's closest adviser, see Baldwin 1986, 110–11, 123–5; *Dipl. Docs.*, no. 206.

[175] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 548, 875; *Layettes*, i, no. 747; Coulson 1984, 32 n.30. In 1228 Peter's widow claimed dower in the fief of Robert de Courtenay, presumably because of her husband's tenure of Nonancourt in the late 1190s and early 1200s (*Jugements*, no. 411).

claims he might have had to the huge honours of Evreux were ignored by Philip Augustus.[176] Roger de Meulan served Philip Augustus and survived where his brother, Count Robert of Meulan, had not, but the Meulan lands almost all fell into royal hands. Roger's nephew Guy, lord of La Roche-Guyon, initially received Beaumont-le-Roger, but soon afterwards the king took it from him and banished him from Normandy for associating with the traitor Walter de Mondreville.[177] Philip's rewards were chiefly for Normans who had aided him or for his French agents who owed all or most of their fortune to him, such as Henry Clément, Bartholomew de Roye, William Poucin and Albert de Hangest.[178] The annals of Jumièges claimed that the 'French' despoiled Normandy; but in many regions the local élites remained largely intact.[179] Although the county of Mortain fell to Renaud de Dammartin, count of Boulogne, whose wife had the best claim to the county after King John himself, the knightly community of Mortain after 1204 remained as active and visible as before, and despite its previous loyalty to John it profited from the king of France as well. Richard de Fontenay, for instance, was endowed in the Cotentin.[180]

Yet the fall of Normandy was not merely the sum of demands by Norman frontier barons. Such desires would not in themselves have destroyed Plantagenet rule in Normandy. By mid-1203, the families of Perche, Mayenne and Ivry had fulfilled their traditional aspirations, and a truce in 1203 might have restored to the count of Alençon the lands he had lost in central Normandy. Embattled as the king of England was by the spring of 1203, his 'loss of Normandy' was by no means inevitable. If Angevin resources were overstretched, so, too, were French forces, particularly in supporting rebels west of Perche. The war continued, however, until Philip Augustus subdued all Normandy. Perhaps a sturdy defence of eastern Normandy would have faltered eventually in the face of French pressure upon the garrisons of the region. In the event, Norman resistance collapsed much more rapidly. One of the war's most significant aspects was discontent in central Normandy at the transposition of marcher conditions to central Normandy, badly undermining the hitherto robust support there for the Angevin dynasty.[181] Also important, however, were the French king's steel nerves. Philip's pursuit of opportunities to their

[176] *Layettes*, i, nos. 738, 815; Power 2001a, 129–31.

[177] *QN*, no. 286; *Layettes*, i, nos. 736, 799. For the Norman lands of Roger and his family after 1204, see *ibid*., i, no. 736; Power 2001a, 129–30 and nn. 45–7; *GC*, viii, instr., col. 353 (xi, instr., col. 143).

[178] Above, pp. 210–11. [179] *Ann. Jumièges*, 87. [180] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 881.

[181] For Norman discontent at mercenaries in central Normandy, see *HGM*, ii, lines 12,598–606 (iii, 171); *Dipl. Docs*., no. 206; Powicke 1961, 230; Power 1999a, 132–4. Many Norman and English sources stress treachery as the reason for John's failure.

most radical conclusion, not the limited desires of recalcitrant frontier barons, led to the fall of Normandy.[182] Nevertheless, the hopes and concerns of those barons did much to shape the form in which he achieved the conquest of Normandy, and in the marches between Normandy and Maine, at least, they were probably decisive in assuring the French king's success.

[182] See the comments of the Marshal's biographer concerning the remorselessness of Philip's campaign: *HGM*, ii, lines 12,664–74 (iii, 172).

Chapter 13

THE NORMAN FRONTIER AFTER 1204

With the overthrow of the ducal régime, the Norman frontier defences lost their *raison d'être*. No longer did the ruler of Normandy require a heavily fortified frontier from Eu to Moulins-la-Marche. Yet just as the fall of the princes of Gwynedd in 1283 would not automatically spell the end of the Welsh marcher lordships,[1] the end of Angevin Normandy did not mean that the whole frontier region lost its marcher character. New jurisdictions did emerge later in the thirteenth century, superseding some of the seigneurial structures of the ducal period, as the counties of Maine, Evreux and Alençon (the latter held in conjunction with a truncated county of Perche) were reconstituted as Capetian apanages.[2] Nevertheless, even in Froissart's day the 'march of Normandy' was a well-known feature of the political landscape.[3]

The surrender of Rouen, Verneuil and Arques on 24 June 1204 signalled an end to the chronic frontier warfare that had characterised the Norman marches. It is true that until 1215 there was a serious danger that King John might return to Normandy to revive ducal rule there. In 1205 and 1206 King Philip and his French garrisons in Normandy expected an invasion from England.[4] In 1205, Roger de Mortemer actually made an attempt to revive King John's cause at Dieppe, a port which, along with Fécamp and the ports at the mouth of the Seine, suffered from further hostilities in 1213.[5] The frontiers' inhabitants therefore initially found themselves in a situation comparable to their predecessors along the border of Maine and Normandy after 1144, when centrifugal forces had threatened to separate the two provinces on numerous occasions. Neither of the major Plantagenet expeditions to France in 1206 and 1214 reached Normandy from either north or south, however, and by the late 1220s Henry III and his counsellors appear to have had little genuine interest in the duchy except as a land route to the Plantagenet

[1] See especially Otway-Ruthven 1958 and R. R. Davies 1978.
[2] Vallez 1972; C. T. Wood 1966, 12, 23–4, 29–30; A. W. Lewis 1981, 161–5, 169, 188.
[3] Froissart, e.g. iii, 234. [4] Coggeshall, 152, 154; *Annales angevines*, 22–3.
[5] *Ann. Mon.*, iii, 35 (1213); for Roger de Mortemer's activities, see Power 1997, 364, 381.

lands further south.[6] In 1230 the king of England decided not to invade Normandy when the opportunity presented itself, in spite of the invitation of some of the Norman baronage, including the Cotentin magnate Fulk Paynel.[7]

Although they did not immediately abandon traditions that had been forged in an environment of perennial warfare,[8] the inhabitants of the Norman frontier adjusted to the new conditions. Freed from an almost annual cycle of border conflict with their neighbours, some marcher lords may have given vent to lesser quarrels. In 1230, the count of Dreux profited from the death of his brother-in-law Hugh de Châteauneuf to claim the *domus* of Sorel, which had been held by Hugh's family for over a century, and demolished its tower.[9] There was also occasional tension between newcomers and the old aristocracy of Normandy: in 1243 Louis IX and Blanche of Castile had to intervene in a damaging quarrel between Ralph Mauvoisin, lord of Saint-André, son of Peter Mauvoisin whom Philip Augustus had installed in Normandy, and the young lord of Ivry.[10] The English Channel, meanwhile, became the new militarised 'Norman frontier', rapidly acquiring many of the same attributes that the land frontier had enjoyed before 1204: the communities on either side were divided by intermittent conflict but the sea served to unite as well as divide them, just as the valleys of the Epte, Eure and Avre had done before 1193.[11] By 1206 the king of England's supporters had secured his position in the Channel Islands, which henceforth were to serve virtually as an Angevin enclave within the duchy.[12]

The victories of Philip Augustus established Capetian hegemony throughout northern France. Within these regions, however, the pattern of lordship and administration remained very varied. In some provinces the power and authority of the Capetian *baillis* vied with the persisting power of the princes and barons of the realm; in others, including most of Normandy itself, the king's officials had no such rival and could

[6] *Dipl. Docs.*, no. 215, a memorandum for Anglo-French negotiations advocating restoration of all the Plantagenet lands in France except Normandy, states that the dioceses of Avranches and Coutances were also to be demanded 'ad transitum habendum ad terras predictas', i.e. to the other former Angevin lands in France.

[7] *Chron. Maj.*, iii, 197–8.

[8] Cf. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1359 (1215), an act concerning Coudres, includes terms for the provision of wood and cereals for Nonancourt 'during time of war'.

[9] *Layettes*, ii, no. 2084; for its earlier history, see Orderic, vi, 176.

[10] *CN*, no. 1165: two of the combatants on their behalf were ordered to go to Rome and forbidden to come any closer than Lyon (-sur-Rhône) for a year. St-André had traditionally been held from the lords of Ivry.

[11] Power 1999c, 121–2.

[12] Stevenson 1976, 569–73. For the Channel Isles between 1206 and 1259, see Le Patourel 1938, 36–45; Stevenson 1974, 238–319, and Stevenson 1978.

exercise royal power much more effectively. Consequently a strong contrast emerged along the Norman frontier between regions such as the two Vexins, which now lay entirely under the king of France's direct control and where the sense of a strong political division gradually weakened, and those where the province neighbouring Normandy continued to be under the rule of an autonomous prince, especially Brittany and Ponthieu.

Certain administrative forms survived along the Norman frontier long after 1204: some of the regions enjoying *fouage* exemptions retained their privileges for centuries.[13] One of the last developments along the Norman frontier before 1204 was remarkably enduring. King Philip's officials had separately administered the Norman castelries which had fallen under French rule between 1193 and 1202 as 'Marches'.[14] These districts could have been reintegrated into the administration of the duchy immediately after the fall of Rouen. Instead, the county of Evreux, the Norman Vexin, Pacy and the land of Hugh de Gournay, and sometimes also Vernon and the Seine above Pont-de-l'Arche, were treated as a royal franchise, where many urban customs exemptions no longer applied.[15] These districts were also now grouped with the neighbouring parts of the French royal domain, including the French Vexin, Mantes, Anet and Bréval, to form the *bailliage* of Gisors, which, as we have seen, was already in the process of forming before 1204.[16]

THE NEW ORDER

The end of Angevin Normandy inevitably reduced the significance of the old Norman frontiers. The two chief sources of turbulence in the Norman marches had now dried up. No longer would the eastern and south-eastern fringes of the duchy serve as the chief battleground for Angevin–Capetian rivalry along the eastern and south-eastern borders of the duchy. Nor did the king of France attempt to revive Angevin claims to any of the long-contested castles of the southern frontier except when a peaceful opportunity presented itself. The lords of Ivry, Tillières and Mayenne were all left in uncontested possession of the castles which they

[13] See above, pp. 35–40. [14] Lot and Fawtier 1932, e.g. CCIV–CCX.

[15] Powicke 1961, 251n., 273. Rouen: *Layettes*, i, no. 716, and *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 803 (confirmation of privileges, 1204). Poitiers: *ibid.*, no. 1553, on the model of Rouen (1222), *ibid.*, ii, nos. 857–8 (Nov. 1204), do not mention these exceptions. Verneuil: *CN*, no. 771, although *Ordonnances*, iv, 636–42, 643–4, does not mention any places where the privileges of the burgesses of Verneuil did not apply. Breteuil and Nonancourt, both *ad modum Vernolii*: *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 876–7 (1204–5).

[16] Above, p. 108.

had acquired during the death struggles of Angevin Normandy. King Philip was aware of his claims as lord of Normandy to a number of baronial castles, however, for he exploited the genealogical misfortunes of his great subjects whenever he could. The death of Count Thomas of Perche without children in 1217 presented the king with the opportunity to extort the castles of Moulins-la-Marche and Bonsmoulins from the count's uncle and successor, the bishop of Châlons; he similarly used the extinction of the counts of Alençon to gain Alençon and the Alençonnais in 1219–20.[17] The rebellion of the count of Boulogne had already delivered Mortain into his hands.[18] In 1204 it was by no means a foregone conclusion that the rivalry between the rulers of Normandy and the lords of the southern marches would not resurface, and on at least one occasion Philip appears to have believed that the viscount of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe was about to revolt.[19] Nevertheless, by the death of Philip Augustus in 1223 the Norman marches were apparently more stable than at any time in the previous three hundred years; east of Domfront and south of Aumale, only rumours of sedition at Verneuil in 1214 are known to have threatened the new Capetian order.[20]

Not only had the marches ceased to be battlegrounds between the dukes and their neighbours, but the subjection of Normandy to Capetian rule also diminished the contrasts between the centre and peripheries of the duchy (and in the eyes of the annalist of Jumièges the whole province suffered from French oppression).[21] The reorganisation of Norman administration helped to blur the traditional limits of the duchy since the *baillis* of Gisors and Verneuil acted in districts of the French Vexin, Chartrain and Perche as well as the fringes of Normandy.[22] The cases that came to the Norman Exchequer, which was based at Falaise rather than Caen after its revival in 1207, were more evenly distributed across the duchy than before 1204.[23] New franchises continued to be created, however: in 1211, the king of France granted the abbot of Fécamp the pleas of the sword in all the abbey's lands, according to the customs of Normandy, but appeals against the abbot's justice would be heard in the French king's court.[24]

[17] Romanet 1890–1902, ii, 8, no. 5; below, p. 451. [18] Below, pp. 458–9.

[19] *Layettes*, i, no. 932 (Jul. 1210); *Registres*, 396. Ralph abandoned *Damfrontem* to the king: since Domfront-en-Passais was then still held by Renaud of Boulogne, was this Domfront-en-Champagne (ar. Le Mans, cant. Conlie)?

[20] *QN*, no. 253.

[21] *Ann. Jumièges*, 87: 'expoliata est terra honoribus et diuitiis, quia munera multa data sunt Francis'.

[22] Strayer 1932, 8–9; Baldwin 1986, esp. 220–5; above, pp. 101–1, 107–8.

[23] This is based upon *Jugements*, although the majority of cases still apparently came from central Normandy.

[24] *Layettes*, i, no. 977: 'ad judicium curie Gallicane'.

Although the whole of Normandy came under the rule of King Philip's officials in 1203–4, Capetian rule appears more intense in the regions closest to *Francia*. There royal power radiated westwards from a series of royal domain centres that now became favoured residences of the Capetian kings, especially Anet, Pont-de-l'Arche, Vernon and Pacy. In strong contrast to the decades before 1204, most of Normandy now rarely saw its ruler. Philip Augustus and Louis VIII almost never ventured further into Normandy than the *bailliage* of Gisors. Philip is known to have gone as far west as Bonneville in 1206, to Rouen and Verneuil in 1207 and to Domfront and Mortain in 1211; but in the last two instances the king was accompanied by an army, and in 1211 his letter announcing his approach towards Mortain acknowledged that he would have to enter the count of Boulogne's Norman lands, as if it were an exceptional and far-reaching event.[25] For his part Louis VIII visited central Normandy as rarely as his father;[26] only under Louis IX did royal visits to the region become frequent again. The kings' indifference to the duchy mirrored their fortifying policies after 1204: with the exception of towers which he added to the ducal fortresses at Caen and Falaise, Philip's fortifications in his newly conquered province were all in Upper Normandy.[27]

Consequently, the first Capetian rulers of Normandy exercised power across the duchy from afar through *baillis* and a coterie of trusted magnates and royal knights.[28] In addition, they established a series of loyal French lords at a number of fortresses: some had been ducal domains, others were former seigneurial possessions. Many secured their position by marrying into the families of Norman magnates, presumably in order to reinforce the new régime.[29] We have seen that not all the beneficiaries were from *Francia*. Many were local magnates who had assisted the Capetian takeover.[30] Throughout Normandy, however, the disappearance of many of the magnate families in 1204 left a vacuum, which increased when the counts of Eu and Boulogne fell from grace during the Bouvines war. The new order therefore heightened the prominence of those families, mostly of secondary rank before 1204, who had opted to remain in the duchy, such as the Tancarvilles, Hommets, Courcys and

[25] *Ann. Jumieges*, 89; Will. Bret., 242–3; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 927; iii, nos. 1177, 1202, 1203 ('nos vadimus versus Moritolium et non possumus transire nisi per terram vestram, et in itinere nostro requiremus feoda vestra et fortericias').

[26] For his sporadic visits, see Petit-Dutaillis 1894, e.g. 451 (Alençon), 457 (Rouen, Lillebonne).

[27] Châtelain 1991, 128, 149 (map).

[28] For the Capetian *baillis* in Normandy, see *RHF*, xxiv, 1, préface, 97*–157*; Strayer 1932, 91–104; Baldwin 1986, 220–30, 431–3.

[29] Above, pp. 283, 443 (Roye, Walter the Young); pp. 172–3 (Cadoc).

[30] Above, pp. 442–3.

Paynels.[31] In the early days of his regime Philip Augustus felt obliged to take pledges from several men of this rank, which suggests that he respected or mistrusted their power and influence.[32]

Not all the great magnates had vanished from Normandy: the connections of Count Robert of Alençon with his more southerly neighbours, kinsmen and companions-in-arms in the Loire provinces formed the chief foundation of Capetian control from the Alençonnais to Poitou until his death in 1217.[33] Shortly before his death, he was the most senior Norman noble present at a meeting of the Norman Exchequer: the court entrusted him with the symbolic task of destroying an invalid charter before the assembly.[34] Meanwhile, the count's associates dominated assizes in central and southern Normandy.[35] Yet even Count Robert had to make compromises with the new order, granting a fief near Argentan to the town's new French lord, Henry Clément.[36] With his death, though, his lands were divided between his collateral heirs and the king, and outside the Capetian dynasty itself no noble of comparable power held significant lands in Normandy thereafter.[37] While the Norman magnates repeatedly emphasised the distinctiveness of the Norman 'nation', in practice they intermarried freely with their neighbours, in strong contrast to the period of Angevin rule.[38]

The impact of the expulsion of many leading magnates is clearly visible in the Evrecin. Here the disappearance of the counts of Evreux brought to the fore such families as the lords of Le Neubourg; the surviving, junior branch of the Meulan family, now lords of Quittebeuf and La

[31] See, for instance, the inquest into the rights of the Norman clergy in 1205, and the appeal of Louis IX's regency council to the Norman nobles in 1226 (*Layettes*, i, no. 785; ii, no. 1826).

[32] E.g. *Registres*, 386, 401: William du Hommet, constable of Normandy (1206 × 07, probably when he succeeded his grandfather of the same name), and John Paynel, son of Lescelina (de Subligny) and brother of Fulk Paynel, lord of Hambye (1213 × 14). For John, who may have married the Breton heiress Matilda (*Mahet*) de Montsorel, see also *EYC*, vi, 24, 28 n.6; *Complete Peerage*, iv, 94, note *b*; BN, ms. fr. 22325, p. 529.

[33] E.g. *Layettes*, i, nos. 932, 936–7, 988, 1082, 1272; *Catalogue*, nos. 1222–3, 1228–9, 1339–47, 1633 (*Registres*, 396, 398, 417–18). For this system, see Baldwin 1986, 267–8, 535 n.39; Pichot 1995, 295–6.

[34] *Holy Trinity Charters*, 132–3, no. 22 (*Jugements*, no. 205n.).

[35] E.g. Robert du Mesnil, the count's seneschal in 1203 (*RN*, 70; cf. *Jugements*, nos. 79, 205n., 729); Robert le Gras, a witness for Count Robert, probably before 1203 (ADOR, H 3720, act for Almenêches concerning Camembert, cant. Vimoutiers), and called *assessor justiciariorum* in 1213 (*Jugements*, no. 113n.; Baldwin 1986, 523 n.31; cf. *RHF*, xxiv, 1, *preuves de la préface*, no. 10, and *Jugements*, nos. 7, 137n.). They appear in many charters after 1204, sometimes together: e.g. ADC, H 7855, act of Robert du Mesnil for Troarn, witnessed by Robert le Gras, Richard d'Argences and Ralph l'Abbé (1208).

[36] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 986. The count also married his son to the daughter of the French courtier Bartholomew de Roye (*ibid.*, ii, no. 905). For his retention of royal favour, see Power 1999a, 130.

[37] App. i, no. 29. [38] For the Norman 'nation', see Contamine 1994.

Croix-Saint-Leufroy; and the branch of the Poissys that had established itself in Normandy in the shadow of the Montfort counts of Evreux. When Henry du Neubourg clashed with the monks of Bec over the forest of Le Neubourg in 1226, the judgment was heard by Bishop Richard of Evreux, Robert de Poissy, and William de l'Aigle, master of the Temple in Normandy.[39] Not surprisingly, the new élite tended to seal its position through intermarriage: hence the Meulan lords of La Croix-Saint-Leufroy married into the families of Le Neubourg and Tancarville.[40] Meanwhile, many of the knights of the counts of Evreux continued to form the backbone of the local political community, much as they had before the removal of their hereditary lord.[41] Some of them, indeed, enjoyed far greater prominence than in the days of the counts of Evreux, notably Roger Pescheveron.[42]

An agreement of 1227 reveals both the changes and the continuities to the Norman frontier in the two decades following the end of Angevin Normandy. In that year, one of the French newcomers to the duchy's aristocracy required sureties for his release from prison. Lambert Cadoc, the mercenary captain of Philip Augustus, had been rewarded with the castle of Gaillon, seized from the count of Evreux, together with properties scattered across southern Normandy, and he had become a *bailli* based at Pont-Audemer. He had also found a wife from the ranks of the lesser Norman nobility, but had lost his outwardly secure position through his avarice and had been imprisoned by his former royal benefactor around 1220. It might be thought that a mercenary, parvenu and acknowledged plunderer would find few friends amongst the nobility of the regions where he had been active. In fact, the list of sureties for Cadoc's good behaviour reads like a roll call of the magnate dynasties of southern Normandy and western *Francia* since the time of William the Conqueror: men such as Gilbert de l'Aigle, William de Saint-Cénery and Amaury de Gacé on the 'Norman' side of the border; Hervey de Châteauneuf, lord of Brezolles, and Gasco de Poissy on the 'French' side; and Robert

[39] BN, ms lat. 13905, p. 55 (ms. lat. 12884, fol. 308r–v). William de l'Aigle, preceptor or master of the Temple in Normandy by 1219 (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iv, no. 1601; *Dipl. Docs.*, no. 42 n.9), appears to have been too old to be the son of Gilbert de l'Aigle of that name, although, like Gilbert, his seal bore the canting charge of an eagle (AN, s 4995[A], original act of William de l'Aigle with his seal (1227); for Gilbert's seal, see *Sceaux de la Noë*, no. 74). Gilbert's son William cannot have been born before 1195.

[40] App. i, nos. 22, 23; *CN*, no. 501 n.1 (Le Prévost, ii, 451–4, contains many errors); *Ctl. Fontenay-le-Marmion*, 173–6.

[41] Above, pp. 292–4.

[42] For Roger, see ADE, H 31 (Criquebeuf-la-Campagne; cf. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 756); H 793, fols. 78v–79r, no. 80 (Miserey); BN, ms. fr. nouv. acq. 7384, fol. 40v (Heudreville); *Registres*, 298–9 (*RHF*, xxiii, 711–12). He appears in many important gatherings after 1204, especially in the Evrecin: *CN*, no. 73n.; *RHF*, xxiv, i, preuves, nos. 21, 22; *Jugements*, nos. 137n., 205n.

d'Ivry, Amaury de Meulan and William Mauvoisin who had lands in both Normandy and France. The other sureties, men of lesser status, included William d'Aubevoye, who was probably one of the honorial knights of Gaillon, and Roger Pescheveron.[43]

The choice of Cadoc's sureties reflected both the new and the old aspects of frontier life. The Capetian conquest of Normandy in 1204 had created the political context: the French mercenary represented the new order, and so many landowners from both sides of the Eure and Avre would rarely have assembled to give surety in the more highly charged atmosphere before 1204. The sureties inhabited a far more peaceful world than their grandfathers had done. The similarity of the list of noble families to their predecessors was also deceptive, for the balance of aristocratic interests had altered substantially since 1200. Many of the greatest families, such as the counts of Evreux, Meulan, Alençon and Perche and the lords of Anet, had vanished from the region, while several of the sureties, though of 'old' families, had benefited from the advent of the Capetians: Philip Augustus had given the castle of Avrilly to Robert d'Ivry and the manors of Quittebeuf to Amaury de Meulan's father and Serquigny to William Mauvoisin.[44] Nevertheless, the process of giving sureties was a very traditional one and had transcended political divisions before 1204. The common action of landowners across this marcher region would have been familiar to their predecessors: bound to each other by ties of neighbourhood and in many cases of kinship as well, they needed each other's support on such occasions in order to preserve their place within the social order. Indeed, that was precisely what they had managed to do when greater men had fallen. The Angevin rulers of Normandy had come and gone; the waters of royal conflict had swallowed them up, but the power and influence of the local nobility survived to prosper under the Capetian kings of France.

THE FRONTIER WITH PONTHIEU

At the two extremities of Normandy, the border retained many of the qualities of fluidity and conflict that had characterised the old ducal marches. Count William of Ponthieu (d. 1221) remained a staunch supporter of his brother-in-law Philip Augustus. Further south, however, a

[43] *Registres*, 437 (*CN*, no. 366). For the context, see *Layettes*, ii, nos. 1937–8; *CN*, nos. 363–6 and notes. Cadoc's wife, Lucy de Montreuil, was probably from a junior branch of the St-Cénery family: see above, p. 173.

[44] *Layettes*, i, nos. 594, 736; *QN*, no. 342 (cf. *CN*, no. 385). Serquigny had been a ducal escheat in 1194 (*MRSN*, i, 254), but there is no firm evidence that any of the Mauvoisins held Norman lands before 1199.

rather different situation developed around Aumale. In 1202 King Philip had granted the fortress and county of Aumale to the count of Boulogne, Renaud de Dammartin, then one of the French king's chief supporters. Aumale consequently became part of Renaud's scattered but important interests, which also included Lillebonne and Harfleur in the Pays de Caux and Alizay near Pont-de-l'Arche, although King Philip prudently reclaimed Bellencombre and Mortemer from him in 1204.[45] The grant of Aumale gave Renaud important access to the Beauvaisis where his cousins, the countess of Clermont and her kin, were dominant; it also tied this corner of Normandy and the Beauvaisis to Renaud's fluctuating fortunes.[46] The third power in this region was the count of Eu, who since the 1190s had been Ralph de Lusignan; King Philip seems to have allowed him to retain Drincourt and also conceded some of the Roumare lands to him.[47] Since the count's lands in Poitou lay in the heart of the regions contested between the king of France and England after 1204, Eu and Drincourt remained as much a potential source of instability as they had been in the time of King John. After his capture of Poitiers King Philip took over the administration of the count's Norman lands, in return for giving Ralph free rein and subsidies in the war of Poitou;[48] but King John's expedition in 1206 left the Lusignans exposed in Poitou and their loyalty to King Philip thereafter depended upon their promises alone.[49]

In addition, the lords of Cayeux, Saint-Valéry and Bailleul-en-Vimeu continued to tread a delicate path, exploiting their position in Ponthieu to retain lands on both sides of the Channel as almost no one else managed to do before the Bouvines war. In 1204 Thomas de Saint-Valéry probably retreated to his lands in Ponthieu, but his brother Henry remained in England and took over Thomas' English lands in the summer of 1205.[50] Nevertheless, Thomas continued to be allowed to plead in English courts (including against his own brother) and was in King John's service

[45] *Layettes*, i, no. 733; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 862 (Mortemer). Bellencombre, granted to the count in 1203, was a royal castle in *c.*1210 (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 770; *Registres*, 339). For the rights of the Dammartin dynasty at Alizay, which Philip Hurepel granted to the count of Dreux, see ADSM, G 1458; *Layettes*, i, no. 925; ii, nos. 1629, 2449, 2473–4; *CN*, nos. 426, 497.

[46] See above, pp. 256–9.

[47] Drincourt was not a royal castle in *c.*1210, and was renounced by Countess Alice in 1219, when she recovered her husband's share of the Roumare inheritance (*Registres*, 338–40, 602 (map); *Layettes*, i, no. 1360).

[48] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 926 (drawn up in or before 1205).

[49] *Ibid.*, 515 (*Registres*, 387); for the terms of the truce of 1206, see *Fœdera*, i, 1, 95 (*Registres*, 497–9).

[50] *Rot. Pat.*, 46, 52; *Rot. Claus.*, i, 8, 43. These letters suggest that Thomas' English lands had been entrusted to Archbishop Hubert Walter, possibly by Thomas himself, and that Henry took control of them only after the archbishop's death in July 1205.

overseas in 1206, perhaps even as part of the Poitevin expedition of that year.[51] Hence over the next few years the count of Ponthieu, whose sister Edela had married Thomas years before, bound the lord of Saint-Valéry with contract after contract of homage in his attempt to ensure the loyalty of this powerful noble.[52] From 1211 onwards, as the desultory Anglo-French conflict degenerated into open war, Thomas was forced to decide between his English and Ponthevin lands, eventually opting for the latter; his brother Henry was imprisoned in England for a time.[53] In January 1214, shortly before King John's departure for Poitou, Thomas returned to the grace of the king of England; yet in July he was fighting for Philip Augustus at the battle of Bouvines. Thomas appears soon afterwards as a go-between between the two monarchs seeking to secure the release of the earl of Salisbury, who had been captured in the battle.[54] As England descended into civil war after the failure of Magna Carta, Thomas was soon restored to his lands, and even received manors confiscated from rebels, suggesting that he was fighting for the king of England.[55] Fortunately for the king of France, the independence of the lords of Saint-Valéry was not to last, for Thomas had no sons: Philip Augustus should probably be seen as the prime motivator in the marriage of Thomas's daughter and heiress Aanor to his cousin, the eldest son of the count of Dreux. Aanor and her husband, who became count as Robert III in 1218, vigorously pursued the Saint-Valéry interests in England from 1219 until 1226, when their renewed confiscation prompted Louis IX to compensate his powerful kinsman with lands in the Pays de Caux.[56]

[51] *Rot. Pat.*, 63; *Rot. Claus.*, i, 70, 82. For the St-Valéry lands in England after 1204, see also *Bk. Fees*, i, 20, 102 (Thomas, 1212); *VCH Oxon.*, v, 60–1; Painter 1949, 149; Stevenson 1974, ii, 464–8.

[52] *Ctl. Ponthieu*, nos. xxii, xxxv–xxxvii (*Layettes*, i, nos. 779, 888, 909; cf. 291 for the St-Valéry-Ponthieu marriage agreement (1178), which originally concerned Thomas' eldest brother Renaud).

[53] *Rot. Claus.*, i, 118, 135–8, 144. Stevenson (1974, ii, 465) sees Thomas' pledge for the *vidame* of Picquigny against King John in 1211 as the turning-point for Thomas (*Layettes*, i, no. 972; cf. *CRR*, vi, 137). His understanding with King John must surely also have been deeply damaged by the king's murder of his sister Matilda, the wife of William de Briouze, in 1210 (*Ann. Mon.*, i, 30, but cf. *Rot. Curiæ Regis*, ii, 177). In Jan. 1214, after his return to King John's grace, Thomas secured the release of his brother Henry from Corfe Castle but not of his great-nephews John and Giles de Briouze (*Rot. Pat.*, 108).

[54] *Rot. Claus.*, i, 161; Will. Bret., 285, 289–90; *Philippidos*, 302, 332, 339 (x, lines 490–4; xi, lines 337, 344, 508); *Rot. Pat.*, 128 (10 Feb. 1215).

[55] *Rot. Claus.*, i, 232, 234, 237, 243, 253, 256. His brother Henry, on the other hand, joined the rebels (*ibid.*, i, 300, 305), although he later recovered his lands (e.g. *ibid.*, ii, 61; *Bk. Fees*, i, 418, 420, 458).

[56] *Rot. Claus.*, i, 387 (cf. 385); ii, 22, 26, 28; *Exc. e Rot. Fin.* i, 147; *CN*, no. 361; *Bk. Fees*, i, 613. *Philippidos*, 332–3 (xi, lines 344–7), had placed Robert II of Dreux and Thomas de St-Valéry side by side in the French army at Bouvines.

Nearby, the lords of Cayeux periodically held their English lands until the late 1230s;[57] they nevertheless took a full part in the affairs of Ponthieu.[58] In 1209, significantly, William de Cayeux stood surety for his lord Thomas de Saint-Valéry towards the count of Ponthieu.[59] For his part, Hugh de Bailleul continued to enjoy remarkably broad freedom of action. His position in Ponthieu was recognised by the French king's allies: in or before 1208, for instance, Renaud de Dammartin, then still in King Philip's grace, stood surety for Hugh de Bailleul.[60] Yet at the same time Hugh remained in uninterrupted possession of his northern English estates, from where a judicious marriage would eventually place the Scottish crown upon the head of Hugh's grandson John Balliol.[61]

The north-eastern Norman frontier consequently remained complex and highly charged until the supreme crisis of King Philip's reign (1211–14). The events of 1202–4 had certainly left the king of France dominant in the area, but they had by no means resolved all the tension there, and the general instability of the relations between the monarchy and the nobles of Flanders and Picardy until Bouvines influenced the areas immediately bordering Normandy as well.[62] The great lords of Ponthieu by no means lost the possibility of independent action in 1204: at the battle of Bouvines in 1214, the count of Ponthieu and Thomas de Saint-Valéry fought conspicuously for the king of France, but Hugh de Bailleul joined the allied army and was captured with the count of Boulogne, while William de Cayeux had to give pledges although he denied opposing the king of France.[63] Count Ralph of Eu reverted to the Angevin cause with the other Lusignans (little advantage that kings of England would derive from it!), endangering French control of the county of Eu; in return for his defection the count regained Hastings, which he had lost in 1201 and which was dangerously close to Eu.[64]

In the event, the Bouvines War resolved most of the difficulties affecting this part of the Norman frontier. The revolt of Count Renaud of

[57] *Bk. Fees*, i, 124, 130, 239, 388, 402, 616, 619; cf. 591. William's English lands were confiscated for a time at the beginning of the Bouvines war (*Rot. Claus.*, i, 135, 144).

[58] E.g. *Layettes*, ii, no. 2099. On 7 June 1202, at the height of the Franco-Norman war, William de Cayeux had attended the court of Count William of Ponthieu, despite remaining faithful to King John (*Actes de Ponthieu*, no. CLV).

[59] *Layettes*, i, nos. 888–9. [60] *Layettes*, i, no. 854. [61] Stell 1985, 153–5.

[62] See Spiegel 1993, 4–6, 11–54: she notes the repercussions of this instability for noble literary patronage.

[63] Will. Bret., 285, 289–90; *Philippidos*, 332–3 (X, lines 344–7; XI, lines 344–7); *Registres*, 564 (Hugh de Bailleul); *RHF*, xvii, 105 (William de Cayeux). Paul Meyer (in Ambroise, 543) alleged that William fought at Bouvines with the count of Flanders and was imprisoned until 1224, although his sources do not bear this out. In 1223 William de Cayeux the younger, lord of Bouillancourt and Senarpont at least since 1203 (BN, Coll. Picardie CCCV, no. 5), promised not to fortify his castle of Senarpont without royal permission (*Layettes*, i, no. 1578, in assizes at Neufchâtel-en-Bray, 1223).

[64] Sanders 1960, 120.

Boulogne in 1211 and his capture and imprisonment from 1214 allowed King Philip to take over Aumale, which subsequently passed to his younger son Philip who had previously married Count Renaud's daughter Matilda.[65] The failure of John's cause in France also removed any threat at Eu, which was taken into royal hands. When King Philip allowed its countess to recover her inheritance in 1219 after her husband's death, he could impose harsh terms with impunity.[66] Tensions threatened to return to the region at the death of Count William of Ponthieu in 1221, for his heir was Simon de Dammartin, Count Renaud's brother and an exile since Bouvines; but King Philip took the county into his own hands, so that the anonymous annalist of Saint-Denis even numbered Ponthieu amongst the king's acquisitions.[67] By the time his successors restored the county to the heiress and her errant husband in 1225 and 1231 respectively, the independent power of the counts had been broken.[68] By then some more mundane rivalries had also been resolved. When King Philip ousted Count Renaud, he inherited a dispute between Renaud as lord of Aumale and Count William over the Forest of Mouflières. The quarrel appears to have resulted from a grant that the king himself had made to the count of Ponthieu in 1202–3: the gift in question, the fief of Arguel, had once been a residence of the counts of Aumale, even though it lay several miles east of the River Bresle. The marriage agreement of Count William's daughter to Simon de Dammartin sought to resolve the quarrel, but it continued to simmer even after the expulsion of the Dammartins, for in 1213 the king of France was obliged to draw up a fresh agreement with his brother-in-law, dividing the Forest of Mouflières between them.[69]

The political and administrative uncertainties that had characterised the Norman frontier for so long persisted along the north-eastern borders of

[65] Will. Bret., 243; *Layettes*, i, nos. 613, 925, which implies that Renaud had surrendered Aumale to the king in 1210; A. W. Lewis 1981, 158–61, 294–5. Although Aumale was disputed between Matilda and her daughter Joanna after Philip Hurepel's death, it remained in this family, except when it was in royal hands for a time in the 1250s (*Layettes*, iii, no. 4350).

[66] *Layettes*, i, nos. 1353, 1360.

[67] 'Annales de St-Denis', 289. The king confirmed the comital acts for the communes of Ponthieu in 1221–2 (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iv, nos. 1743–53).

[68] *Actes de Ponthieu*, nos. CCLXXVIII, CCLXXXVII; see also *Layettes*, ii, nos. 1713, 1733 (Countess Mary, 1225); nos. 2090–2126 (Count Simon, 1231).

[69] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 735; iii, nos. 1043–4 (cf. no. 1285); *Layettes*, i, nos. 734, 853–4; *Actes de Ponthieu*, nos. CLXXXVIII, CCXXXII. For Arguel as a residence of the counts of Aumale, see ADOI, H 7657, a writ of Count William of Aumale (d. 1179) to his steward and barons, given at Arguel (s.d.). The act of partition in 1213 and a charter of 1267 (ADSM, 1 H 12, act of John *de Bosco*, lord of Brétizel) show that the Forest of Mouflières extended south of Arguel, several miles from the village of Mouflières, thereby including the modern Forêt d'Arguel. The agreements show that the counts of Ponthieu and Boulogne had also been in dispute over lands between the rivers Canche and Authie; the king sided with the count of Ponthieu (see also *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1045).

Normandy for several years after the end of Angevin rule in Normandy, thanks to the power and pro-Angevin sympathies of several leading magnates of Ponthieu and the growing instability of northern Picardy on the eve of the Bouvines war. With the defeat of the counts of Boulogne and Flanders, followed by the Capetian annexation of the counties of Ponthieu, Clermont and Beaumont-sur-Oise before the death of Philip Augustus, the region's instability diminished, and although there are hints that the kings of France remained wary in this region,[70] the Norman frontier became as insignificant around Aumale and Eu as it was further south.

THE SOUTH-WESTERN FRONTIERS OF NORMANDY

The county of Mortain

Far more enduring than the duchy's north-eastern border was its south-western frontier. The first problem to arise here was as shortlived as it was dramatic: the revolt of Renaud de Dammartin, count of Boulogne, at Mortain. The count had been granted the county of Mortain as the inheritance of his wife, the elder of King Stephen's granddaughters, in reward for his leading part in King Philip's subjugation of Normandy; and this restoration had been augmented by the grant of the Passais, to which he had no prior claim, and of the nearby fortress of Saint-James de Beuvron to his younger brother.[71] Yet from the outset the arrangements that awarded the count two great lordships on the frontiers of Normandy were unstable. The king of France required the count to promise not to implead or make war against his new neighbour, the lord of Mayenne, presumably because of the uncertainties surrounding their respective jurisdictions in the Passais, and by 1210 he was also at loggerheads with Ralph Taisson over the latter's lands in the Passais.[72] The count's seneschal in Normandy, Peter *Leschans*, also actively defied the *curia regis* in an unsuccessful attempt to bring a case concerning a fief of Mortain in central Normandy into his lord's court.[73] Yet the very

[70] E.g. *Layettes*, i, no. 1578 (William de Cayeux the younger promises not to fortify the castle of Senarpont without royal permission, 1223); ii, no. 2363, and Duchesne 1631, 271–2 (agreements between Louis IX and Aanor, countess of Dreux and lady of St-Valéry, concerning her castle of Gamaches, 1235 (n.s.) and 1237).

[71] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, nos. 862, 939. Renaud appears as 'lord of Domfront and the Passais' in 1205 (Poulle 1987, 18–20).

[72] *Layettes*, i, no. 733; *Jugements*, no. 67.

[73] Arnoux and Maneuvrier 2000, 54–5 (notice of dispute between the canons of Merton and the sons of Ralph de Grainville concerning the advowson of Cahagnes, cant. Aunay-sur-Odon): 'comes Bononie . . . misit seneschallum suum Petrum *Leschaut*, qui tunc fuit senescallus eius de honore de Moretonio ad curiam domini regis, ut exigeret ibi curiam domini sui comitis Bononie,

instability of the count's position in south-west Normandy soon led to his expulsion: at the first hint of revolt the king of France ordered Renaud to surrender Mortain, and when the count procrastinated, Philip marched in person to Mortain, seized the county and took the homage of the knights of the honour. Domfront suffered the same fate. The ultimate beneficiary was the king's younger son Philip Hurepel, the husband of Count Renaud's daughter and heir Matilda, who received her inheritance in the early 1220s.[74]

Following Count Renaud's revolt the French *bailli* based at Caen, Peter du Thillay, rapidly brought the county of Mortain under his effective control: in 1212 he held assizes there with his son-in-law Odo du Tremblay, the new royal castellan of Mortain.[75] Odo had already appeared as one of two royal justices at Mortain the previous winter.[76] Peter du Thillay continued to oversee the county's affairs for several years,[77] but in 1222–3 Count Renaud's son-in-law, the Capetian prince Philip Hurepel, received the county from his father Philip Augustus, and from this date a comital administration functioned again.[78] The county was now overseen by a *bailli* but he had essentially similar functions to the earlier seneschals, holding assizes and inquests.[79] In 1224 the seneschal holding the count's assizes at Mortain was William de Heussé, perhaps a descendant of a Roger de Heussé who had been sergeant for Robert Boquerel sixty years earlier.[80] Count Philip also retained extensive privileges of high justice, granted to him by his brother Louis VIII, and maintained by the count's 'sergeant of the pleas of the sword in the Vale of Mortain'.[81]

quam exegit et habuit, et summonit predictos fratres ut uenirent ad curiam domini sui comitis Bononie et ibi placitarent predictum placitum. Sed nullus eorum uenit'. Cf. 20–2, and Arnoux 2000, 99–101. For assizes held by Peter at Mortain, see *RHF*, xxiv, i, 156 n.13*; he also witnessed Renaud's general confirmation of ducal gifts to Savigny (AN, l 967, no. 141, ed. in Poulle 1988, 19–20, which furnishes the form *Leschans*).

74 A. W. Lewis 1981, 158–61. Count Philip's obituary at St-Denis, where he was buried, describes him as 'count of Boulogne, Clermont, Aumale, Dammartin, Mortain and Domfront-en-Passais' ('Annales de St-Denis', 290).

75 AN, l 971, no. 583 (act of William de Heussé): 'Actum anno gracie m°cc° duodecimo in assisa apud Moretonium, presentibus Petro de Telleio senescallo et Odone de Trembleio catellano (*sic*).' Cf. *RHF*, xxiv, i, 156*–157*; Baldwin 1986, 222, and for Peter, see 132, 223, 429–30, 521 n.11; Delisle 1859.

76 *RHF*, xxiv, i, 156*. The other justice was the Norman clerk Robert de Vassy.

77 E.g. *Jugements*, no. 167 (1216).

78 *Registres*, 533–4 (*CN*, no. 1121).

79 AN, l 974, no. 906*bis*: letter of Philip count of Boulogne to the bishop of Avranches, claiming half the patronage of Parigny and referring to an inquest by his *bailli* of Mortain (1226, o.s.).

80 Roger de Heussé (1162): BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 4. William de Heussé (1224): AN, l 969, no. 421.

81 *Layettes*, ii, no. 1629; AN, l 969, no. 393, notice of an agreement between Philip count of Boulogne and Abbot Stephen of Savigny, performed at Savigny, 'presentibus bailliuo Moreton', forestariis de Passeio, et Radulfo de Heuchon jurato Domini Comitis et seruiente de Lespee in valle Moreton'' (1229 × 33). Louis VIII's grant conferred the pleas of the swords throughout Count Philip's Norman lands.

Only in 1233 did the death of Philip Hurepel admit royal officials into the county on a more permanent basis: the following year Andrew Junior was holding assizes at Mortain as *bailli*.[82] Yet despite the absorption of the county into the mainstream of Norman administration, the overlapping jurisdictions that had characterised the borders around Mortain before 1204 persisted long after Count Renaud's revolt. The jurisdiction of the lord of Fougères continued to overlap with that of the ruler of Normandy: in 1220 the seneschals of Fougères stated that the Breton–Norman knight Geoffrey de Saint-Brice had made promises concerning his alms for Savigny in the court of the lord of Fougères (then a minor).[83]

The Norman–Breton frontier

Although Count Philip and Countess Matilda were sources of occasional difficulty for the rulers of France until their deaths in 1233–4 and 1258 respectively, the county of Mortain was no longer a source of disturbance as in the time of Renaud de Dammartin. Further west, however, the castles of Pontorson and Saint-James de Beuvron retained great political significance until the defeat of Duke Peter Mauclerc of Brittany in 1234, even though the Breton frontier comprised only a short stretch of the Norman march. Whereas the significance of the tensions in the north-east or around Mortain largely disappeared after 1214, the fate of the Avranchin and the neighbouring districts of Brittany formed part of the far greater question of Capetian hegemony in western France, particularly in Maine and Anjou, as well as the limits of Breton ducal power, until the middle of the thirteenth century.

The significance of the Breton frontier is all the more remarkable since it had rarely been of much importance to ducal Normandy. Its brief moments of prominence in 1064 and 1142 largely originated in the rivalries of William the Conqueror and King Stephen as dukes of Normandy with successive counts of Anjou, and the chronic divisions within Brittany mostly meant that a 'pro-Norman' party could be relied upon to keep the Bretons from the Norman border.[84] The fortification of *Caruscas* by Robert the Magnificent, Saint-James by William the Conqueror, and Pontorson by Henry I and Henry II, had seemed more

[82] AN, L 967, no. 175: Mary, widow of Stephen *Hasle*, confirms alms of Savigny at Brécey, at the assizes of Mortain before the *bailli* Andrew Junior of Gisors. For Andrew, see *RHF*, xxiv, i, 67*–68*, 78*, 157*; *Layettes*, iii, no. 3767.

[83] AN, L 971, no. 616: act of R. de la Roche and G. *Leuesel*, 'seneschalli terre Filgeriensis'. In 1238 Oliver de la Roche was *senescallus feodatus* of Fougères (L 973, no. 770).

[84] Keats-Rohan 1991, 157–72.

than sufficient to keep the Bretons at bay.[85] Henry II's advance into Brittany had been as much in response to his brother Geoffrey's death at Nantes and the threat of revolt in Maine, supported by the Bretons, as to a conscious aim to annex Brittany. Only with the minority of Arthur of Brittany, particularly in 1196 and again in 1199 and 1202–4, did the barons of Brittany become a serious threat to the Norman border.[86] The Breton assault upon Mont-Saint-Michel and subjugation of western Normandy in 1204 was without parallel in the history of the Norman frontier.[87]

After 1204, however, the situation changed radically, largely on account of the enhanced position in which the dukes of Brittany now found themselves. At first, the inherent instabilities of this frontier remained hidden from view thanks to Juhel, lord of Mayenne and Dinan. In 1204 Juhel was the key to King Philip's control of north-eastern Brittany and western Maine: it is arguable that no man in western France except perhaps William des Roches had greater power, or indeed importance for and loyalty to King Philip. His inheritance had made him the most powerful baron in western Maine and an inveterate enemy of the Angevins (and his mother, despite being sister of the weathercock Count Robert of Meulan, supported him in this); his marriage to Gervaise de Dinan had given him his wife's share of the great lordship of Dinan in Brittany, consisting of part of that town and castles at Léhon and Bécherel. In 1199 Juhel's support for Arthur of Brittany had secured him the castles of Gorron, Ambrières and Châteauneuf-sur-Colmont together with the nearby forest of Fosse-Louvain and the fortress of La Chartre in eastern Maine, all of which he retained after 1204. In about 1205 his alliance with Philip Augustus won him the strategic border fortress of Pontorson,[88] and in 1210 he was awarded custody of Gaiclip or Guarplic (Le Guesclin) on the Breton coast after driving out an English force that had garrisoned the fortress there.[89] By the end of his life Juhel even had custody of the great barony of Fougères, despite having previously renounced his rights of homage over that territory in an agreement with Geoffrey de Fougères.[90]

[85] *GND*, i, 56 (*Caruscas*); ii, 208 (St-James), 250 (Pontorson); Torigni, i, 196–7, 313 (Pontorson). For the Breton role in Geoffrey of Anjou's campaign in 1142, including their desire to hold Pontorson, see *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 226–8; for *Caruscas*, see above, p. 13.

[86] Everard 2000, 34–44, 159–75.

[87] Powicke 1961, 258–9.

[88] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 915; *CN*, no. 130 n.1, which shows that Juhel received the whole *castrum* of Pontorson in hereditary right.

[89] Will. Bret., 227–8; *Layettes*, i, no. 936; Pichot 1995, 295.

[90] BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 38: act of Juhel de Mayenne, lord of Dinan, arranging for certain customary rents to be paid to Savigny at Fougères 'quamdiu ego terram de Fulger' tenebo in manu mea' (1219).

The witnesses to Juhel's act of renunciation, performed at Savigny before its abbot and monks in 1209, demonstrate that the lords of Mayennes and Fougères together remained the fulcrum of power on the borders of Normandy, Maine and Brittany: they included Amaury de Craon, William des Roches and Andrew de Vitré, all close kinsmen of Juhel de Mayenne by blood or marriage;[91] Geoffrey's uncles Jordan du Hommet, bishop of Lisieux, and Thomas du Hommet, his great-uncle William de Fougères and his stepfather Fulk Paynel; and the Breton magnate Alan fitzCount. Many of these ties of kinship must have been reinforced by common cause in the recent war against King John. William, seneschal of Rennes, represented the interests of the duke of Brittany, Guy de Thouars; nobody present stood primarily for the king of France.[92] As long as Juhel lived, the marches of the provinces would remain stable.

Juhel's death in 1220 therefore posed serious problems. His eldest daughter, Isabella, was already established as lady of Mayenne with her husband Dreux de Mello, the French *curialis* whom King Philip had made lord of the great fortress of Loches in Touraine; the Capetian position in Maine was therefore secure.[93] In Brittany, however, Juhel's death left a vacuum; in particular, a crisis immediately erupted at Guarplic, for it was feared that Peter de Guarplic, who had been ousted from there by Juhel in 1210 for admitting the English, would attempt to retake the castle; he was known to be refortifying an old site in the vicinity. The king of France quickly ordered his *baillis* of the Avranchin and Cotentin to muster all the knights and sergeants of their *bailliages* at Pontorson – now devolved upon Juhel's heirs – in preparation for an invasion of Brittany. Despite the lateness of the season the *baillis* marched to Guarplic, where they were joined by two leading barons of Anjou, Amaury de Craon and Theobald de Blazon, and by William de Mello, brother of the new lord of Mayenne. The king's men installed a garrison drawn mainly from Mayenne itself, and warned Gervaise de Dinan not to

[91] Amaury de Craon was Juhel's half-brother; William des Roches was married to Juhel's niece, and their daughter to Amaury; Andrew de Vitré was the paternal uncle of Juhel's wife Gervaise de Dinan.

[92] *Ctl. Fougères*, no. x. Geoffrey's mother Agatha (wife of Fulk Paynel) and Jordan and Thomas du Hommet were the offspring of William du Hommet, constable of Normandy: *EYC*, vi, 27; *GC*, xi, instr., cols. 90–1 (act of William with his sons, including Jordan and Thomas); ADC, H 667 (acts of William and his sons Thomas and Jordan, bishop of Lisieux); Le Hardy 1897, 271 (act of Thomas, son of William du Hommet).

[93] For Dreux de Mello, younger son of King Philip's constable of the same name, see *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 885; *Généalogies mayennaises*, ii, 533–4, 600–17. He was sharing control of Mayenne by 1218; *ibid*., 601; *Anciens évêchés de Bretagne*, iv, 365, nos. xiv (Morice, *Preuves* i, col. 833), xv–xvi.

harbour the fugitive Peter de Guarplic.[94] The action of the *baillis* was at once an unprecedented intrusion into Brittany of Capetian power and a testimony to the precariousness of Capetian control of the region, depending as it had upon the resources of Normandy, Maine and Anjou, and especially the good will of the lord of Mayenne; no reference had been made to the duke of Brittany, Philip's cousin Peter de Dreux. The difficulties that Philip Augustus was now experiencing in exercising authority to the west of the Norman border would have been all too familiar to William the Conqueror and Henry II.

The Norman–Breton frontier remained tense for more than a decade after the death of Juhel de Mayenne. His widow Gervaise had resumed control of Dinan itself at his death, and within a few months she had married another Breton magnate, Geoffrey, viscount of Rohan (d. 1221).[95] Her third marriage in *c.*1222 to Richard Marshal, lord of Longueville and Orbec in Normandy, intruded another outsider from the Capetian domains into north-eastern Brittany, and the marriage of Gervaise's second daughter Margaret to the young Breton lord Henry d'Avaugour at about the same date shows how Juhel's successors continued to play a pivotal part in the affairs of this region: Margaret's dowry included Pontorson. If the Capetian kings believed that they could control this corner of the duchy through Richard Marshal, they were proved wrong in 1230: when Henry III landed in Brittany at the invitation of its duke, he soon entered Dinan and came to terms with Richard Marshal and Henry d'Avaugour.[96] By now, however, the peace of Normandy's south-western frontier had been disturbed by a much graver conflict, as the duke of Brittany rose in revolt against Louis IX, while another Capetian prince, Philip Hurepel, was caught uneasily between the two parties by virtue of his county of Mortain.

The conditions for this conflict, which ignited the whole Norman–Breton frontier in 1230–1, had arisen from the annexation of Normandy itself. In 1204 Guy de Thouars, duke of Brittany as the widowed husband of Constance of Brittany, had been rewarded for his invasion of western Normandy that year with the castle of Saint-James, which had been held by Constance's previous husband, Earl Ranulf of Chester.[97]

[94] *Catalogue*, no. 2017, ed. pp. 521–2, where Delisle argued cogently for a date of Dec. 1220. The *baillis* were Renaud de Ville-Thierry and Milo de Lévis. For Dreux's brother William de Mello, see *Registres*, 412, 420–1; *Généalogies mayennaises*, 578 (no. CCXXXIX); 'Ch. Echarlis', 149, no. VIII.

[95] *Complete Peerage*, X, 370.

[96] For discussion, see Power 2003a, 214–16, 220–1.

[97] For Guy's possession of St-James, see *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 939; he also received Brissac and Chemillé in Anjou (*ibid.*, ii, no. 764). For the earl of Chester and St-James, see Howden, iv, 7; *Chester Charters*, no. 279.

It was at Saint-James that Guy de Thouars had overseen the division of the Fougères inheritance between Geoffrey, lord of Fougères, and his indomitable great-uncle William.[98] In 1206, however, Guy fell out of favour with the king, whose first expedition to Anjou that year was intended to reassert his control over his own recalcitrant barons in that region before the advent of King John; the French king awarded Saint-James to Simon de Dammartin, brother of the count of Boulogne.[99] The expulsion of the Dammartins from Normandy five years later opened up the opportunity for the Breton rulers to recover the Norman fortress, but it was not until 1227 that Peter de Dreux achieved this aim through a grant of Louis IX.[100] The duke's aspirations extended far beyond one Norman border fortress, for he also acquired the city of Angers and other fortresses in Anjou, a sizeable chunk of the county of Perche, and the reversion of Le Mans, which Queen Berengaria was holding for life.[101] Hence the ensuing war affected a large buffer zone skirting the duchy of Brittany, extending from the Avranchin and Cotentin in the north, through Perche, Maine and Anjou.

The chief contest erupted at Bellême, which endured a memorable winter siege in 1229 or 1230.[102] By then the dowager queen and regent, Blanche of Castile, had also occupied Duke Peter's possessions in Anjou. When Henry III of England arrived with an army to support his Breton ally, however, war flared up along the Norman frontier. Saint-James was restored to the earl of Chester in compensation for the honour of Richmond, which had been the price of Duke Peter's adherence to the English cause; the castle above the Beuvron became a principal focus of the new struggle.[103] Pontorson was raided by Henry III's forces, even though Henry d'Avaugour had recently done homage to the king of England, while the duke of Brittany raided the Avranchin and Anjou as far as Château-Gontier and Châteauneuf-sur-Sarthe and Louis IX based himself at Ancenis on the lower course of the Loire, at once signalling his power within his realm at large and his weakness in the western reaches of

[98] *Ctl. Fougères*, no. XLII (cf. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 845).

[99] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 939. For Philip's Angevin expeditions in 1206, see Rigord, 164; Will. Bret., 223–4; *Annales angevines*, 22, 31, reporting that the king of France besieged Guy at Brissac (in Anjou) and destroyed the castle; Lyons 1976, 71–5.

[100] *Layettes*, ii, no. 1922. Painter (1937, 37) followed Guillaume de Nangis in attributing the grant to Louis VIII, but the minority of Louis IX seems a more probable context, as argued by Petit-Dutaillis 1894, 360 n.1.

[101] *Layettes*, ii, no. 1922; Painter 1937, 45–6.

[102] *QN*, nos. 111–202, *passim*; Painter (1937, 63, 131–7), who prefers to date the siege to Jan. 1230.

[103] Berger 1893; Painter 1937, 65–77. *QN*, no. 439, refers to dissensions at Falaise 'tempore guerræ quæ fuit apud Sanctum Jacobum de Bevrun'.

his realm.[104] The following year the conflict zone expanded into Brittany itself, as leading Breton magnates, including Henry d'Avaugour, Ralph de Fougères, and most probably Richard Marshal, abandoned their duke in favour of Louis IX. The confused situation may be gauged from the installation of a Norman garrison at the Marshal's castle of Léhon by the *bailli* of Rouen and Caen even as Henry d'Avaugour regarded the nearby fortress of Guarplic, which was then in the hands of Dreux de Mello, as a potential refuge for his family from the duke of Brittany's wrath.[105] At the same time the king of France extended the fortifications of Avranches, which would prevent further Breton raids into Normandy.[106]

In the summer of 1231, therefore, the conflict between Louis IX and the duke of Brittany set the Norman–Breton marches aflame, and although a Capetian campaign and a truce brought some respite to the district's population, confusion reigned from Saint-James de Beuvron to Dinan and Penthièvre. The duke himself had agreed not to pass further east into Normandy than the 'county of Mortain and Domfront'.[107] The winter of 1233–4 saw a brutal conflict between the duke and those of his barons who had adhered to Louis IX, including Henry d'Avaugour and, in the Breton marches, John de Dol.[108] Yet within a few years, this part of the Norman–Breton frontier had also been successfully pacified. War returned to the region in 1234 when Louis IX launched a new attack upon Brittany, but his rapid success essentially ended the duke's threat to the Norman march, although the duke continued to wage war in the Pays de Dol.[109] Royal authority was restored in the Avranchin: Louis IX had already bought Henry d'Avaugour out of Pontorson in 1233, while Saint-James, which had reverted to Peter Mauclerc at the death of the earl of Chester in 1232, was now restored to the Capetian domain.[110] The deaths of Richard Marshal that same spring and Gervaise de Dinan

[104] *Pat. Rolls 1225–1232*, 408; *Close Rolls 1227–1231*, 443–4, 452, 525, 532, 536; *Chron. Maj.*, iii, 200; for the duke's *chevauchée* into the Avranchin, see Painter 1937, 136–7.

[105] *QN*, no. 335; *Layettes*, ii, no. 2135; Power 2003a, 214 n.84, 221–2.

[106] *Thes. Anec.*, i, col. 1254 (*CN*, no. 386).

[107] *Layettes*, ii, no. 2144. Similar restrictions were placed upon his movements in the Vendômois, Anjou, Touraine, Poitou and Berry.

[108] Painter 1937, 83. 'Actes inédits des ducs de Bretagne', 110, 115, 122–34, alleges numerous assaults by the duke's officers against the barons and clergy of north-east Brittany during the truces of 1231–4.

[109] Painter 1937, 83–8. 'Actes inédits des ducs de Bretagne', 133, states that John de Dol recovered Combour from the duke in 1234 ('in guerra que fuit inter duas treugas').

[110] *Layettes*, ii, nos. 2253–5, 2320; *Close Rolls*, *1231–1234*, 181–2, 214, 234, 284, 556; *Cal. Lib. Rolls 1224–1240*, 201, 210, 223, 232; Painter 1937, 83–4, 87–8. At the earl's death St-James had initially come to his heirs but was held in custody by the Anglo-Breton knight Philip d'Aubigny (*Close Rolls*, *1231–1234*, 182).

a few years later brought the lordship of Dinan to her two elder sons-in-law, Dreux de Mello and Henry d'Avaugour, effectively extending Capetian influence deep into the duchy.[111] The peace of 1234 and its immediate aftermath effectively concluded the desultory border conflicts that had scarred the Norman–Breton frontier since the time of Arthur of Brittany. More importantly, it also signalled the end of over two centuries of conflict along the frontiers of Normandy.

[111] *Anciens évêchés de Bretagne*, iii, nos. CXVII, CCCXIII–CXXXIX; BN, ms. fr. 22325, p. 528 (act of Dreux and Henry concerning a gift of the late Gervaise de Dinan for the abbey of Pitié-Dieu near Le Mans, 1245). These acts show that both sons-in-law had rights in Dinan even before the death of Isabella de Mayenne without offspring in 1256 (Meazey 1997, 118–20), when Margaret de Mayenne and Henry d'Avaugour reunited the whole Dinan and Mayenne inheritance. The third daughter of Gervaise and Juhel de Mayenne, Joanna countess of Vendôme, does not appear to have had any rights in Dinan.

CONCLUSION

The frontier of ducal Normandy has generally been depicted as unique. For its two greatest historians, Lemarignier and Musset, it was an 'exceptionally clear-cut' or 'neatly separating' division that contrasted with the more fluid or ill-defined borders of most contemporary principalities.[1] Yet in most respects the marches of Normandy differed little in character from other borderlands of the central Middle Ages. Like the fringes of other principalities, they were characterised by competing aristocratic and princely interests and ill-defined or fragmented jurisdictions. The history of the Norman frontier reveals not its uniqueness, but its broad similarity to other frontier regions of Europe.

The Norman frontier did have some unusual aspects. For most of the twelfth century those boundaries of the duchy that were designated by rivers functioned quite effectively as the limits of ordinary ducal jurisdiction. This precision was especially notable in the north-east and south-east along stretches of the Bresle, Epte, Eure and Avre, in the south along the upper valley of the Sarthe, and in the south-west along the Couesnon. Where watercourses were deemed insufficient or had to be abandoned through political necessity, the dukes and their subjects fixed boundary-markers and dug extensive earthworks as alternative solutions.[2] In addition, whereas many frontier regions of Europe were remote from the centres of power and rarely saw their rulers, the dukes visited the borderlands of their duchy relatively frequently, except for the far north-east of the duchy around Eu and Aumale and the sparsely populated

[1] Lemarignier 1945, 70: 'la frontière est nettement séparante'. Musset 1989, 318: 'La frontière normande . . . eut vite une certaine uniformité et une exceptionnelle netteté, celle d'une frontière d'Etat.'

[2] Above, pp. 397, 416–17, for the treaties of Louviers and Le Goulet and for the *Fossés Royaux*. Another *fossatum regis* is recorded in the district of Mortemer in 1148 (BMRO, Y 13, fols. 28v, 79r, 81r, 81v; cf. *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CLXXVI, pp. 309–10), apparently near Plaisance (cne. Auvilliers; cf. *Dict. topog. Seine-Maritime*, ii, 780) and Frétils (cant. Neufchâtel-en-Bray, cne. Flamets-Frétils). Perhaps it was intended to demarcate a boundary between ducal domains and the county of Aumale.

wooded hills that separated the Passais from the Alençonnais. Nevertheless, nowhere did the Norman border function as an all-excluding, linear 'state' frontier.

In this respect the Norman frontier conformed to those of other medieval principalities.[3] The relations between the dukes and their neighbours or great subjects gave rise to a complex variety of arrangements at the fringes of the territory that lay under the sway of the dukes. Lemarignier believed that the Norman frontier had no enclaves, but in fact there were numerous islands of ducal rights in the midst of the territories of neighbouring princes or lords.[4] The character of medieval warfare also meant that a broad zone functioned as the limits of ducal territory. War relied heavily upon mounted raids or *chevauchées*, which affected a broad area around notional boundaries, and upon castles, which functioned as scattered strongpoints with both defensive and offensive capabilities rather than as linear defences. Invading French or Flemish armies penetrated as far as Arques in 1054, 1118, 1152, 1173, 1193, when the fortress was handed over to the French for a time, and 1202; Norman armies sometimes raided in the opposite direction as far as Mantes and Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais. Henry II's *Fossés Royaux* were 'intended to keep out raiders', but the restrictions of contemporary warfare mean that they cannot have been intended to function as a linear defence, a sort of twelfth-century Maginot Line. Rather, they were an obstacle which might hinder a *chevauchée* from the Chartrain or Perche and provided a physical reminder to raiders of the ducal authority which they were infringing.

Even where a linear boundary was usually respected as the rightful limit of ducal jurisdiction, the region that it bisected was united by economic and seigneurial interests. As historians of many other supposedly linear frontiers have found, linear boundaries cannot be understood in isolation from the surrounding region.[5] What mattered were the centres of power: the fortified towns and aristocratic residences which gave control over the surrounding countryside.[6] Moreover, the use of linear boundaries was convenient only at a time when Norman power and French power were roughly balanced. In an age of Capetian weakness, William the

[3] Cf. Ellenblum 2002, 108–11, for a forceful summary of the differences between medieval and modern practices of territorial organisation.

[4] Lemarignier 1945, 70. Examples include the ducal garrison at Bellême between 1113 and 1158, the fortified complex of Les Andelys after 1196, the manor of Quittebeuf after 1200 and possibly the castles of the southern Passais between 1120 and 1135 and again between 1162 and 1199; in some respects Dol was a Norman enclave in Brittany between 1162 and *c.*1183.

[5] E.g. Miller 1996 (the northern Roman frontiers); Sahlins 1989, 4–5 (early modern Pyrenees); Waldron 1990 (northern China).

[6] Cf. Ellenblum 2002, 111–12; A. W. Lewis 1992, 152.

Conqueror had been prepared to push south of the Avre into the Chartrain and Perche, besieging Thimert in 1058 and Rémalard in 1077, and he and his son William Rufus had laid claim to the whole French Vexin. In the twelfth century, as Capetian aspirations grew, it was the kings of France who increasingly regarded the rivers demarcating Norman and French authority with disfavour, and after 1193 Philip Augustus rejected the Bresle, Epte, Eure and Avre completely as the notional boundaries between his *regnum* and the Angevin lands.

In any case, the unusual precision of some better-known stretches of the Norman border should not obscure the absence of territorial definition in certain other districts. There is little or no sign that the limits of ducal authority were defined in territorial terms around Aumale and Gournay; it was primarily the duke's relationship with the lords of those towns that determined the extent of ducal authority in the district, and both dynasties had lands extending into the Beauvaisis.[7] Indeed, one of the striking features of the Norman frontier was the variety of territorial organisation at a local level.[8] Small castle-based lordships flanking the lower courses of the Eure and Avre contrasted with the large lordships of the Talvas in the Alençonnais (until 1166) and the Saosnois or the counties of Mortain and Eu, which gave their holders the potential to exert effective local hegemony. In the east and south-east the dukes relied upon an extensive system of fortifications and roads to defend their territory; along the borders of north-west Maine, Perche and Brittany, in contrast, one or two castles became the key to symbolic and military control of the region. The discordance between the ducal territory and the ecclesiastical province of Rouen gave a special character to the Passais and western Perche, influencing the development of ecclesiastical subdivisions in the dioceses of Le Mans and Sées, and to the French Vexin, where archidiaconal rights fell into lay hands to a much greater extent than in the remainder of the province of Rouen. Even within a particular district, important variations can be seen: despite their proximity the priory of Notre-Dame du Désert and the abbey of Estrée enjoyed very different patterns of patronage.[9] In some regions, the Norman March appears to be a distinct region, where special arrangements for taxes and services prevailed;[10] in others, the *fines Normannie* had much less of an impact upon social, political or fiscal organisation. One of the most telling testimonies to the distinctive

[7] Cf. above, pp. 43–4, 188–94, 223, 357–9.

[8] *Pace* Musset (1989, 318), who emphasises the uniformity of the frontier's function despite its heterogenous origins.

[9] Above, pp. 306–7, 309–11.

[10] See above, pp. 34–40, for *fouage* (mainly on the southern frontier); p. 448, for the areas where some urban privileges did not apply; and pp. 27–9 for castle-service in the Eure and Seine valleys.

character of the borders of south-eastern Normandy and western *Francia* is the baronial arrangements made for passing on the inheritance: more than one magnate conferred his lands there upon his adult eldest son and retired to other lands away from the marches. Successful lordship in this war-torn region required an active warrior in his prime.[11]

As important for the history of Normandy as variations between different districts were changes over time. The arrival of the Angevin dynasty signalled one important change. Orderic Vitalis characterised the *finitimi* on the Normandy–Maine border around Saint-Cénery as beset by conflict,[12] but the union of Normandy and Maine under a single ruler from 1144 appears to have removed most open conflict from the region, even if there were major disturbances in 1173–4, 1199 and 1202–4. On the other hand, it did not completely lose its 'frontier' character, as ducal control remained more contested here than in central Normandy, as it had long before 1144. Conversely, although the Vexin and the south-eastern marches had always been particularly turbulent, Angevin control over these regions became much more threatened from 1144 onwards as the Capetian kings set their hearts upon winning the Norman Vexin and, later, the Evrecin. The spread of references to war damage from the Avre valley into the heart of the duchy demonstrates how the contested zone was growing at the turn of the twelfth century.[13] The rapid collapse of the duchy's defences in 1202–4 prevents us knowing whether such conditions could have become more permanent, as they did in late medieval Ireland; but by 1202 the Norman marches had already come to embrace a much larger area than a decade or so earlier, and Capetian encroachments upon ducal territory had lasting consequences for urban privileges.[14]

The character of the Norman frontier also altered as the rulers of Normandy attempted to tighten control over their dominions. Its history testifies to both the potential and the severe limitations of medieval rulership. The castle-building policies of Henry I, Henry II and Richard the Lionheart concentrated power in the border regions in a series of great fortresses. The more the dukes lavished resources upon them, the more desirable these fortifications became. The loss of Gisors to Philip Augustus in 1193 was therefore far more damaging than Robert Curthose's cession of the same site to Philip I a century earlier. The dukes matched their construction and renewal of fortifications by attempts to influence

[11] E.g. Richard I de Vernon at Vernon, while his father retained the larger lordship of Néhou; Gervase II de Châteauneuf at Brezolles, while his father Hugh III remained lord of Châteauneuf; and Robert II of Dreux at Dreux, while his father retired to Braine-le-Comte near Soissons. See below, App. 1, nos. 9, 32, and A. W. Lewis 1981, 205 (no. 19). For parallels in the Welsh Marches, see R. R. Davies 1991, 85.

[12] Orderic, iv, 156. [13] Above, pp. 323–7. [14] Above, p. 448.

the aristocratic strategies of the local magnates: Henry II's interference in their marriages appears to be reflected in the scarcity of marriages between 'Norman' and 'French' families as well as in the divisions of several great Franco-Norman inheritances during his reign. The same king also pursued a calculated policy to bring many of the key marcher fortresses into his domain, using whatever claim he could find; and the magnates who had benefited most from his father's subjugation of Normandy were replaced either by ambitious local knights or by outsiders. Such measures tended to be undone in time of difficulty, however, when local magnates came to the fore, especially in the succession crises of 1135 and 1199; the trickle of concessions which Richard I was forced to make to landowners in the frontier zones became a flood in the wake of his death, as John and Arthur struggled to master his inheritance.

Only in the less politically charged atmosphere of the Capetian régime after 1204 did the border of Normandy come to be defined primarily as a boundary of a particular legal jurisdiction, as Philip Augustus appealed to the 'uses and customs of Normandy' to legitimise his appropriation of ducal authority. Even then there remained a gap between precise definitions of Norman territory and pragmatic notions of its approximate boundaries. In 1206, one of the chief magnates of the French Vexin, Guy de la Roche, whom the king of France suspected of treasonable dealings, promised not to cross the rivers Epte or Eure 'in order to go into Normandy'.[15] It implies that the two rivers neatly formed the frontier of Normandy; in reality, however, several important, traditionally Norman fortresses lay on the 'French' side of the Eure, and moreover, the king of France had often encroached upon the lands on the 'Norman' side of the Epte. The designation of these rivers as the bounds of Guy's movements was therefore a rough-and-ready solution rather than a statement of a precise border. That was how linear boundaries functioned in a mapless society built upon seigneurial rights rather than state territories.

The microhistory of the Norman frontier highlights how even small shifts in the range or intensity of territorial control could have a much broader impact upon the surrounding region. When Stephen of Blois

[15] *Layettes*, i, no. 799: 'ego de cetero non transibo Ettham nec Authuram, causa eundi in Normanniam'. Guy had admitted conversing with 'the king's traitor and thief' Walter de Mondreville. He could be the 'Walter the Norman' who was executed in Paris in 1205 for plotting to assassinate King Philip (*RHF*, xvii, 426). A Walter de Mondreville had witnessed an undated act for Bec of a certain William *Capra* in the Evrecin (ADE, H 31, *vidimus* by Simon Pescheveron, lord of Criquebeuf, 1246). There is a Mondreville near Bréval, about 15 miles south of Guy's chief fortress of La Roche-Guyon. Guy also had to surrender the castle of Beaumont-le-Roger, which the king had granted to him (without most of its castelry) in 1203 as a royal *aquestum*, sidestepping Guy's hereditary claim as nephew of Peter de Meulan and grandson of the last count of Meulan (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 766; cf. *QN*, no. 286).

in 1137 and Richard the Lionheart in *c.*1197 conferred Moulins upon the counts of Perche, they did not alter the notional boundary of Normandy and Perche, since the counts were to hold the castle and its castelry from the ruler of Normandy. Nevertheless, these concessions instituted a radical shift in the balance of power in the district; they affected local political communities, both lay and clerical, across a much broader area from the Alençonnais and Lieuvin to Perche and the Chartrain. In territorial terms the firm gains of Philip Augustus in eastern Normandy between 1193 and 1200 were modest, but by shifting the zone of dispute westwards across the county of Evreux and towards the honours of Le Neubourg, Conches and Breteuil, they disturbed a much greater area. Philip Augustus was sensitive to the strains which his conquest of the south-eastern border castles placed upon the aristocracy of the immediate Norman hinterland; with the sudden death of Richard the Lionheart in 1199, what better way for the king of France to exploit the demise of his greatest enemy than by recapturing Evreux?[16]

In territorial terms, then, the frontier of twelfth-century Normandy was a confused hotchpotch of rival claims and overlapping aristocratic interests, even though in many districts a notional boundary ordinarily served to demarcate the outermost limits of ducal authority. Was there also a 'mental' frontier dividing the Normans from their neighbours? In the twelfth century we certainly find a rhetoric of difference between the Normans and their neighbours, one that emphasised the military superiority of the duchy's warriors over its enemies above all.[17] An 'ancestral war' had long been waged between France and Normandy, said the Norman crusader poet Ambroise: it was 'fierce, cruel and proud, destructive and perilous'.[18] The motif of 'French and Norman' certainly became extremely widespread, occurring in sources as diverse as the charters of the counts of Evreux and the poetry of William IX of Aquitaine; it provided the inhabitants of Normandy with a means of retaining their autonomy after 1204; but its significance was largely restricted to contrasts between opposing armies or conflicting jurisdictions.[19] More generally, vernacular literature from the *Chanson de Roland* onwards delighted in giving long lists of the provincial groups in the kingdom of the Franks and continued to do so even after the disintegration of the Plantagenet

[16] Above, pp. 416–17, 423. [17] Davis 1976; Loud 1982.

[18] Ambroise, lines 87–90: 'Une guerre de ancesserie / Ot entre France e Normendie / Forte e cruele e orgoilluse/ E felenesse e perillose.' Orderic, iv, 74, refers to the revival of the 'ancient rancour between the Normans and French' in the Conqueror's last war (1087).

[19] Power 1995, 199–200; Lawner 1970, 223–7. For the limitations of such contrastive motifs, see Short 1996, 166, discussing the evolution of the term *Anglus* after 1066 which was, of course, closely connected to developments in Norman identity.

inheritance in 1202–5;[20] this motif suggests that the aristocratic audiences of these works were used to identifying themselves as Normans, Angevins, Bretons, *Franceis* and so on. The narrative sources of the period also conventionally visualised each of these peoples as occupying a particular territory, bounded by natural features such as rivers and by human features such as fortresses and earthworks. Just as ecclesiastical boundaries were protected by the authority of the Church, lay borders were to be defended by right and by force of arms. 'Fiercely did the Normans keep hold of their land from then on, and they defended it against all comers', Wace observed, repeating the myth that the integrity of Norman territory had originated with Rollo.[21]

Such rhetoric did not necessarily reflect deep divisions in reality. In Ireland, chroniclers still spoke in terms of the Gail and the Gall ('foreigners') centuries after the English invasion of 1169, despite the emergence of a third 'middle nation' of mixed descent.[22] In twelfth-century northern France, where Normandy and its neighbours shared a common language and culture, the rhetoric of difference was even more contrived. We have seen how many of the activities of the borderlands' inhabitants paid little heed to the political divide in their midst, including their attendance at court, endowment of religious houses, standing surety, and the protection of monastic revenues in times of war. In general, most of the frontier dynasties, already well established by 1100, were deeply rooted to their localities, by holding land and fortresses, marriages and kinship, the enfeoffment of loyal followers, ties to monasteries, and the taking of tolls and services. Many such activities often bound them to their neighbours beyond the border rivers.

Some of the connections across the frontier were very ancient: the links between lands in south-east Normandy and the religious houses of Chartres could be traced back to the first century after the Viking settlement.[23] Yet aristocratic interests did not fossilise: they continued to evolve to suit the exigencies of the day. Even the most ancient of frontier dynasties continued to forge new ties in the course of the twelfth century. To the inhabitants of the Norman marches under Henry Plantagenet,

[20] *Chanson de Roland*, e.g. lines 3700–3, 3793–6, 3960–2; cf. 2322–5 (list of provinces). Charlemagne's army was organised by such provincial groupings (lines 3014–95): the Normans (lines 3045–51) were led by 'Richard li velz'. *Roman de Rou*, ii, 73, 208 (iii, lines 5013–14, 8661–5); Ambroise, lines 743–6, 6451–6533, 9482–4; *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, ii, 492 (line 39243); *HGM*, e.g. i, lines 2780–7, 4981–4, 6019–28; *Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, i, 116 (laisse 49, lines 7–9); iii, 292 (laisse 213, lines 6–8). For this common motif, see Bennett 1987, 29.

[21] *Roman de Rou*, ii, 313 (Appendix, lines 139–44): 'mais puis que Rou fu otroié / et des Normanz fu herbergié,/Neüstrie, cest non osterent et Normendie l'apelerent;/ fierement l'ont puiz maintenue / et de touz autres deffendue'.

[22] Duffy 1982–3, 31–2.

[23] Above, pp. 314–15.

Richard the Lionheart and John Lackland it probably mattered little that their ancestors had received their posts on the borders as agents of the duke or neighbouring princes. The Crispins, for example, had first secured lands around Neaufles and Tillières as commanders of ducal fortresses, and in the early thirteenth century William Crispin and Gilbert de Tillières bore the names of their distinguished ancestors; no doubt they were nurtured on tales of ancient deeds of daring against the French across the Epte and Eure.[24] Nevertheless, the appointment of their distant ancestors to these commands cannot have played a significant part in their strategies of lordship. The maintenance of aristocratic power required the periodic renewal of ties of kinship, lordship and association; such connections drew many families dwelling along the border towards neighbouring regions but also towards central Normandy and the duchy's rulers. As the kings of England sought to keep control over their frontiers, they drew readily upon existing ties amongst the local nobility as far apart as the Passais and the Norman Vexin.[25] Conversely, the king of France exploited these ties wherever he could in order to undermine the power of his Angevin rivals; after 1204, they formed one of the mainstays of his power in western France, especially at the fringes of his newly established hegemony in western Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Poitou and eastern Brittany. The sureties for the release of Cadoc in 1227 show that such ties remained important for Capetian rule in south-eastern Normandy as well.[26]

Describing another famous border region, the Welsh Marches, Rees Davies has commented, 'To refer to a "Marcher aristocracy" is in fact . . . to use a convenient but misleading label.'[27] Like their Anglo-Welsh cousins, the magnates of the Norman marches often had important interests elsewhere which prevented them coalescing into a single group; and as in Wales it is to the lesser landowners that we should probably turn to find a distinct 'marcher identity'. The twelfth century was possibly the first time in the history of the northern French aristocracy for which the sources reveal the part played by the lesser aristocracy. Whether this is a trick of the sources, or an indication of a genuine 'rise of the gentry', the *milites* were a power to be reckoned with across the kingdom. With their lands concentrated in one or two localities, most had little to gain from their masters' more far-flung interests. The knights of Evreux might accompany their count to his castles of Montfort and Rochefort or the priory of Hautes-Bruyères, but few of them appear to have developed

[24] Cf. *PL*, cl, cols. 735–41, for tales of the early Crispins written down in the mid-twelfth century.
[25] E.g. the guarantors for Juhel II de Mayenne's agreement with King John (above, pp. 437–8); *MRSN*, ii, 420, 550 (Hugh de Gournay, Stephen de Longchamps and Osbert de Rouvray stand surety for Roger Torel, lord of La Bucaille near Les Andelys).
[26] Above, pp. 452–3. [27] R. R. Davies 1991, 84.

strong ties to their lord's French lands. The dynastic union of Evreux and Montfort remained just that: a personal connection which the counts eventually saw fit to break by a division between two sons. The primacy of local considerations seems evident in other scattered magnate inheritances, such as the Talvas links between the Alençonnais or Saosnois and the districts of Falaise and Caen; or Vernon and Néhou, Tosny and Nogent-le-Roi. In an age of castle-based lordships, when power went with dominance of a particular locality, it is hardly surprising that most of the minor landowners should have such narrowly defined concerns. It is ironic that these knights and their ladies may well have found it easier than the magnates to regard themselves as 'Norman', 'French' and so on, precisely because their interests were often confined to a single province, yet in practice their perspectives were limited to a much smaller area still. Provincial terms of identity could mask much more localised identities defined by *pagus* or lordship, as the acute observations of Orderic Vitalis periodically reveal.[28]

We should avoid too many generalisations about understandings of the frontier, however. Contemporaries did not share a single view of the frontier of ducal Normandy. Nothing better illustrates the plurality of opinions than the history of the lords of Mayenne. We have seen how five successive generations of this great marcher dynasty were locked in rivalry with the dukes of Normandy over a group of fortresses on the borders of south-west Normandy and north-west Maine. At least three different notions of power and authority can be discerned in the region. First, it is clear that the contested castles formed a crucial part of the defences of Normandy: Robert of Torigni named Châteauneuf-sur-Colmont amongst the castles that Henry I had built 'in the march of his duchy'.[29] Secondly, they also served as a cornerstone of the inheritance of the local magnate. In 1135 Juhel I claimed the castles of Ambrières, Gorron and Châteauneuf-sur-Colmont from Geoffrey of Anjou, simply because, in the words of Robert of Torigni, 'he said they were in his land'; his grandson's hereditary claims were implicitly acknowledged by Philip Augustus and Arthur of Brittany in 1199.[30] A third, more unusual view emerges from a charter of Bishop Guy of Le Mans, issued in 1128. The bishop depicted Juhel I, 'prince of Mayenne', his wife and eldest son as 'acting in the king's stead and wielding his powers out of necessity'.[31]

[28] E.g. the men of the Hiémois, Bray or l'Aigle: Orderic, vi, 34, 194, 214–16, 460–2.

[29] *GND*, ii, 250 ('Colmie Mons'); Torigni, i, 196–7.

[30] *GND*, ii, 274–6; Torigni, i, 199–200, 335. *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 607: Philip 'confirmed' (*precipimus confirmari*) to Juhel the three castles which Arthur of Brittany 'restored and conceded' (*reddidit et concessit*) to the lord of Mayenne.

[31] *Ctl. Abbayette*, no. 10: 'Preterea autem, quia decet in omnibus bonis auctoritatem esse utrinque reverentie persone, videlicet sacerdotis et regis, vel alicujus eorum locum obtinentis et vices agentis,

The bishop's words accorded with conventional Gelasian theory that Christ had instituted two powers, the spiritual and the temporal; it did not matter that the kings of France had had no real power in western Maine for over a century. Remarkably, the bishop depicted Juhel, a mere castellan, as wielding the sword of secular authority, and not only Juhel but his wife and heir as well. The bishop's act cast the lord of Mayenne as the legitimate secular power in that part of the diocese of Le Mans.

Amongst historians, Torigni's view of border castles as pieces of a ducal defensive system has generally prevailed; but the opinions of Juhel de Mayenne and the bishop of Le Mans cited above, which maintained that seigneurial power was based upon inherited rights and formed part of the divine order, also deserve recognition. Plural interpretations of frontiers in concept and reality are not an invention of modern historians: they existed at the time. For our 'statist' world the monarchical viewpoint is the most familiar and easiest to accept; but the history of the Norman frontier is explicable only if we recognise the views, concerns and aspirations of the noble and knightly lineages who inhabited the bourgs, villages and castles of the marcher regions.

In fact, whatever the different political theories underpinning their actions, rulers, subjects and neighbours all nurtured similar ambitions: they sought lordship over people and lands, and argued their case with the language of inheritance and rights. Even Robert of Torigni, usually so favourable in his comments concerning the rulers of Normandy, could not hide his disapproval of the treatment which two of the greatest of them meted out to border lords. After the death of Henry I, the future abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel remarked upon the hostility which the late king had provoked in Normandy by treating the fortresses of his barons and neighbours as his own property: in Robert's eyes this was the late king's only fault as a ruler.[32] Many years later, the same author noted Henry II's eagerness to take a border fortress from one of his own barons,

necessario jure, corroborata est supradicta donatio a Juhelli, principe Meduane, et uxore ejus, Clementia, et filio eorum Gaufrido primogenito.' The act concerned St-Berthevin-la-Tannière (ar. Mayenne, cant. Landivy), 'in pago Erneie'; its phrase is all the more interesting because the act dates the events which it describes by the reigns of Pope Honorius II, Archbishop Hildebert of Tours, Louis VI, Fulk V, 'count of the Angevins', and Geoffrey, 'count of the Angevins and Manceaux'. It concerns the grants of a lesser lord, William de Gorron, who had built a 'new castle' at La Tannière. For comparable scribal attempts to legitimise the power of a lord, see Reuter 1997, 184.

[32] *GND*, ii, 252: 'Vnum in ipso quidem non immerito, ut pluribus uidetur, reprehendendum ducebant. Cum enim haberet in manu sua nonnullorum baronum suorum et etiam uicinorum aliquorum collimitantium suo ducatui munitiones, ne illi confidentes in eis aliquid contra pacem sui imperii agerent, illas uelut proprias ambitu murorum et turribus nonnunquam muniebat. Qua autem intentione illud faceret, a multis nesciebatur, unde id ipsum reprehendebant.'

showing that avarice was still the guiding principle of ducal policy in the marches:

> At the death of Waleran, son of William Louvel, the tower of Ivry came into the lord king's hands: for the king had much desired this tower, which neither his father nor grandfather had ever had.[33]

At Ivry, Henry II's actions came home to roost in the time of his sons: after the castle had fallen to the French in 1193, Philip Augustus found a willing new lord for the fortress in Waleran's son Robert in 1200.[34] The hostility of marcher lords alone did not cause the fall of Normandy in 1204, but their grievances certainly aided the French king's ultimate triumph.

If the rulers of Normandy sometimes appeared to their subjects as too overbearing, the frontier lords all too frequently seemed treacherous to their masters. Roger of Howden named numerous frontier lords amongst the 'traitors' whose 'wicked madness burst into flame' during the Young King's revolt in 1173.[35] To the annalist of Jumièges, Hugh de Gournay was 'a manifest traitor'; for King John, he was simply 'our traitor'. 'He committed much treachery in that war', the *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie* said of the same baron.[36] Yet rebellion, as we have seen, was far from simple; to the kings of France the Angevins themselves were seditious subjects. In the eyes of the dukes of Normandy and their apologists, the border lords proved themselves all too often to be stiff-necked and untrustworthy. For their part, however much they or their ancestors had benefited from princely beneficence, the magnates could never quite forget that they held their lands on the Norman frontier by divine grace. As a papal letter of 1144 reminded the lords of Mayenne and Fougères, 'Dominion over your lands has been committed to you by God.'[37]

[33] Torigni, ii, 68: 'Mortuo Waleranno, filio Guillermi Lupelli, turris Ibreii venit in manum domini regis, quam multum cupierat; quam nec pater ejus avus habuerunt.' *Gesta Henrici*, i, 191, states that Waleran surrendered the fortress along with his son as a hostage, but does not mention his death.

[34] Above, pp. 254–5, 421–2.

[35] *Gesta Henrici*, i, 45, 47: 'exarsit nefanda proditorum rabies'. See above, pp. 347–8, 399–401.

[36] *Ann. Jumièges*, 87; *Hist. des ducs*, 92; *Rot. Chart.*, 113, 116.

[37] *RHF*, xv, 416 (letter of Lucius II to Juhel de Mayenne and Henry de Fougères): 'Gratum nobis est quod religiosos fratres Savigniensis monasterii . . . in terra potestatis a Deo vobis commissæ juvatis et manutenetis.' For *in terra potestatis* see 1 Kings 9:19; 2 Chronicles 8:6; Jeremiah 51:28; for the use of *Dei gratia* in the titles accorded to frontier lords, see above, pp. 217, 219–20.

Appendix 1

GENEALOGIES

The present work has repeatedly discussed a number of dynasties that derived much or all of their power from the Norman marches. The following genealogies are intended to clarify a number of details relating to these dynasties (which varied widely in power and status). Constraints of space have prevented the inclusion of a comprehensive survey of frontier families, even for those who may be regarded as great barons. The sheer scope of the inquiry has meant that a number of families have had to be omitted, including the counts of Ponthieu (after William Talvas, d. 1171) and the *vidames* of Gerberoy and Picquigny, and the families of Avenel, Cayeux, Bailleul, Poix, Chaumont, Fontenay, La Ferté-Macé, Leicester, Longchamps (except for the Baudemont branch), Nonant, Rémalard, Saint-Valéry and Vautorte.[1] The genealogies of several families discussed below have already been addressed by other historians but are reconsidered here for corrections or additions (e.g. Baudemont, Crispin, l'Aigle, Fougères, Mayenne and Talvas). The chronological scope of the reconstructions necessarily varies from family to family. The evidence often precludes reconstruction of any sort in the early and middle decades of the twelfth century but some are continued here into the mid-thirteenth century where appropriate (for instance, until the failure of male heirs leading to division or substitution of a new agnatic line).[2]

The historian wishing to reconstruct central medieval lineages faces several problems. One is the substantial shift in aristocratic naming practice, characterised by the increasing use of quasi-hereditary cognomina (both toponyms and epithets) and by a diminishing stock of Christian names. The latter is exemplified by the well-known story of a banquet at the court of Henry the Young King which was attended by over a

[1] Ponthieu: see *Actes de Ponthieu*. Gerberoy: Guyotjeannin 1987, 109–13, 136–43. Picquigny: Darsy 1860. Cayeux: Vismes 1932–5. Bailleul: Stell 1985. The various families of Chaumont and Trie: *ibid*., 349–84, and Green 1984. Leicester: *Complete Peerage*, vii, 521–40. Longchamps: Balfour 1997, correcting Conway 1923. Poix (Tirel): *Ctl. Pontoise*, 451–60. Rémalard: Thompson 1995, 77, 85. Vautorte: *Généalogies mayennaises*, 703–12 (but cf. above, pp. 266, 436).

[2] E.g. Le Neubourg and the viscounts of Aumale (traced here to the 1240s), and Poissy of Noyon (extended until the 1260s).

hundred knights called William.[3] Naming patterns, such as the practice of naming the eldest son after his paternal grandfather, can help the historian to distinguish various people of the same name but frequently prove treacherous; the principles behind female naming patterns in particular remain obscure.[4] In addition, few twelfth-century charters are dated, and witness-lists and palaeography are rarely sufficient to compensate for this deficiency. When dating clauses do become more common in the opening decades of the thirteenth century, there is a simultaneous decline in the use of witness-lists, one of the richest sources for identifying family members. The charter clause known as the *laudatio parentum*, by which named relatives gave their consent to transactions, is also a hazardous source for kin relationships, since it varied in formulation and use from region to region and even from scriptorium to scriptorium.[5]

The nature of the evidence precludes comprehensive, objective reconstructions. Whereas modern genealogical tables usually seek to depict biological descent, contemporaries acknowledged ties of kinship in a far more subjective manner. The recording of collective genealogical memories was itself a creative process, conditioned by the landed ambitions of families and religious communities. Records produced in religious houses such as chronicles and obituary notices reflected the concerns of the beneficiary.[6] For Normandy and its neighbours, the problems of the tantalisingly detailed genealogies recorded by Robert of Torigni and Orderic Vitalis are well known and have been extensively investigated.[7] Court records also pose problems: the genealogies recorded in the *curia regis* rolls in thirteenth-century England, for instance, often contradict one another.[8]

Historical reconstruction of kinship does not necessarily mean that the family members or contemporaries were aware of a particular connection. Conversely, sources frequently mention ties of kinship, real or imagined, which cannot now be explained. The abbey of Ile-Dieu was founded on the land of Gilbert de Vascœuil by his *consanguinea* Philippa and her husband Renaud de Pavilly. Although this blood-link cannot be pinpointed, it was crucial to the narrative of the abbey's foundation.[9] There are also some well-documented examples of errors in the recorded genealogies, a fault in the collective memory. In the early twelfth century

[3] Torigni, ii, 31. [4] For a somewhat different view, see Bouchard 2001, 120–34.
[5] For the problems of the *laudatio parentum* as a source for families, see White 1988.
[6] The history of memory is now a vast subject and cannot be considered here. See especially Geary 1994.
[7] See Van Houts 1989, and the sources cited there; Keats-Rohan 1993a.
[8] E.g. the descendants of Richard de Lucy, justiciar of Henry II: see Power 2003b, 195 n.35.
[9] Arnoux 2000, 151–2, 303.

Bishop Ivo of Chartres and Robert of Torigni both conflated Roger I and Roger II de Montgomery into a single person within twenty years of the death of the younger Roger.[10] The lords of Montfort-l'Amaury had confused their ancestry by the fourteenth century.[11] The historian can also be hindered by antiquarian reconstructions between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries which often make anachronistic assumptions about people with the same surname, as if each toponym was confined to a single biological line (whether legitimate or illegitimate); these studies can rarely be dismissed out of hand, however, since their authors often used sources which have since disappeared. Modern prosopography, for its part, can sometimes be self-fulfilling, since a search for 'biological continuity' amongst élites combined with the study of their naming patterns runs the risk of giving prominence to kinship at the expense of other social ties.[12]

The term 'family', although used throughout this book, is problematic. Medieval commentators frequently mentioned ties of kinship but referred far more rarely to 'families' as we would understand them. Nevertheless, words such as *genus*, *prosapia*, *stirps*, *parentela* and *progenies* all suggest a concept of a group bound by blood, as do the much more common terms representing individual blood ties such as *consanguineus*, *cognatus*, *avunculus*, *neptis* and *nepos*. The following tables inevitably stress agnatic links, but cognatic links could be vital as well.[13] Hence the tables are not intended to show the most important links but to disentangle people with identical cognomina wherever possible. This is a particular problem for Anglo-Norman genealogies, since many families which divided into an 'English' and a 'Norman' branch continued to use the same stock of forenames (and the 'Norman' branch may appear in England or vice versa).[14] Some families, however, did use different Christian names in their French and English branches; examples here include Vautorte (Reginald and Roger

[10] *GND*, ii, 264–6; *PL*, clxii, 265–6. See Southern 1953, 78–9; Thompson 1987; Van Houts 1989, 225–7.

[11] *Obituaires de Sens*, ii, 224–5, reveals the uncertainty of the convent of Hautes-Bruyères about the Montfort tombs in their midst. Confusion about the various Simons de Montfort survived until very recently (*Complete Peerage*, vii, 716, note *e*).

[12] Bouchard 2001 contains many useful summaries of the historiography of these problems. Tabuteau 1992 offers a searching analysis of the difficulties and pitfalls which the historian faces when reconstructing families, using two families, Moulins (-la-Marche) and Taisson, as examples, and the impact of these problems upon historical interpretation of politics, social practices and customary law in ducal Normandy.

[13] See chapter 6.

[14] The Courcys, whose genealogy continues to bring tears to the eyes of Anglo-Norman historians, are a splendid example (Power 2002, 75–6; cf. Haskins 1918, 147 n.86). It is argued below (no. 33) that the Vieuxponts are another, and that the failure to recognise that they comprised two distinct lines long before 1200 led first Stapleton and then Powicke to misinterpret the activities of members of both branches in the war of 1202–4.

in England only,[15] Osmund in Maine) and *Oyry* (Hugh and Walter in the Norman branch only, according to the reconstruction given here).

NOTES TO THE TABLES

Conventional genealogical tables can explain connections at a glance but do not permit easy depiction of hypothesis and probability. Such a study is self-defeating if inferences are presented as fact. In the tables below a firm line has been used only if the kinship connection can be established 'beyond reasonable doubt'. Nevertheless, it should be recognised that the tables will sometimes necessarily show a solid line of descent where the historian will be making an inference. If one charter refers to William son of Geoffrey and another to Robert son of William, and the chronology and context makes it very likely that the same William is indicated (but no text states that Robert is Geoffrey's grandson), a family tree will show a solid line of descent even if this cannot be proved beyond doubt.

The following symbols are all used in different ways to symbolise that two names may refer to the same person but that the evidence is far from conclusive: \\ // ≈.

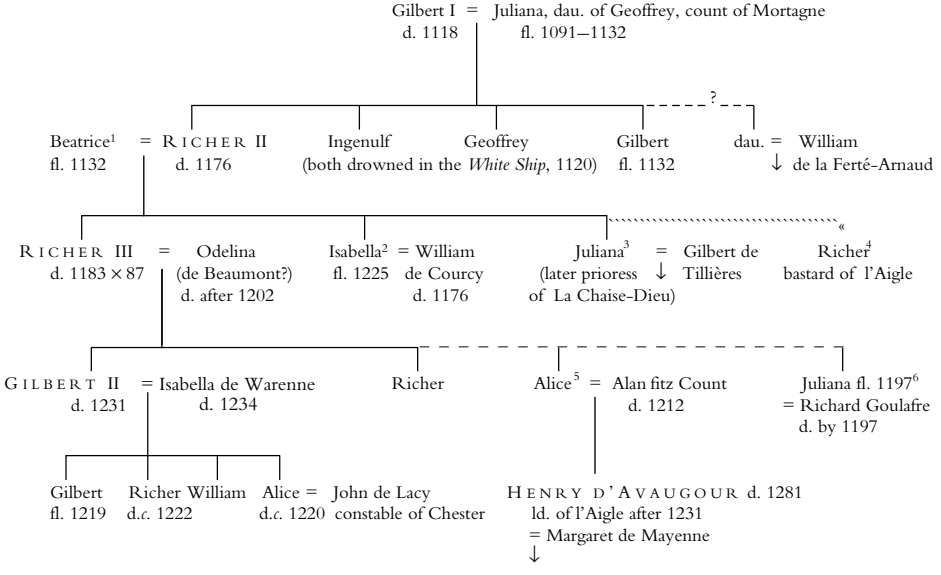
Some junior members of families have had to be omitted for reasons of space, but it is also true that the sources record far more sons than daughters. While it is usually possible to know the order of sons' birth, the order of daughters is often harder to establish. Hence the pedigrees do not always provide an exact guide to order of birth. In general only heads of families are numbered, although cadets who founded a significant junior branch are an exception to this rule (e.g. the lords of Brezolles after 1212).

Where someone is almost certainly of the same family (e.g. with the same Christian name and surname) but his or her affiliation has not been established, he or she is indicated at the side of the table.

Since most twelfth-century charters are undated it is often impossible to be at all precise about the period when a particular person was active. For a person whose date of death is unknown, the dates given for when he or she was living (as 'fl.') are not necessarily the extreme dates when the person in question can be shown to have been alive. They are intended either to indicate when he or she was most active or appears most frequently in the sources, or else the latest date of occurrence where this is a more useful means of distinguishing generations.

[15] Sanders 1960, 90–1.

1. L'AIGLE


Gilbert I = Juliana, dau. of Geoffrey, count of Mortagne
d. 1118 fl. 1091–1132
?
Beatrice[1] = RICHER II Ingenulf Geoffrey Gilbert dau. = William
fl. 1132 d. 1176 (both drowned in the *White Ship*, 1120) fl. 1132 ↓ de la Ferté-Arnaud
RICHER III = Odelina Isabella[2] = William Juliana[3] = Gilbert de Richer[4]
d. 1183 × 87 (de Beaumont?) fl. 1225 de Courcy (later prioress ↓ Tillières bastard of l'Aigle
d. after 1202 d. 1176 of La Chaise-Dieu)
GILBERT II = Isabella de Warenne Richer Alice[5] = Alan fitz Count Juliana fl. 1197[6]
d. 1231 d. 1234 d. 1212 = Richard Goulafre
d. by 1197
Gilbert Richer William Alice = John de Lacy
fl. 1219 d.*c.* 1222 d.*c.* 1220 constable of Chester
HENRY D'AVAUGOUR d. 1281
ld. of l'Aigle after 1231
= Margaret de Mayenne
↓

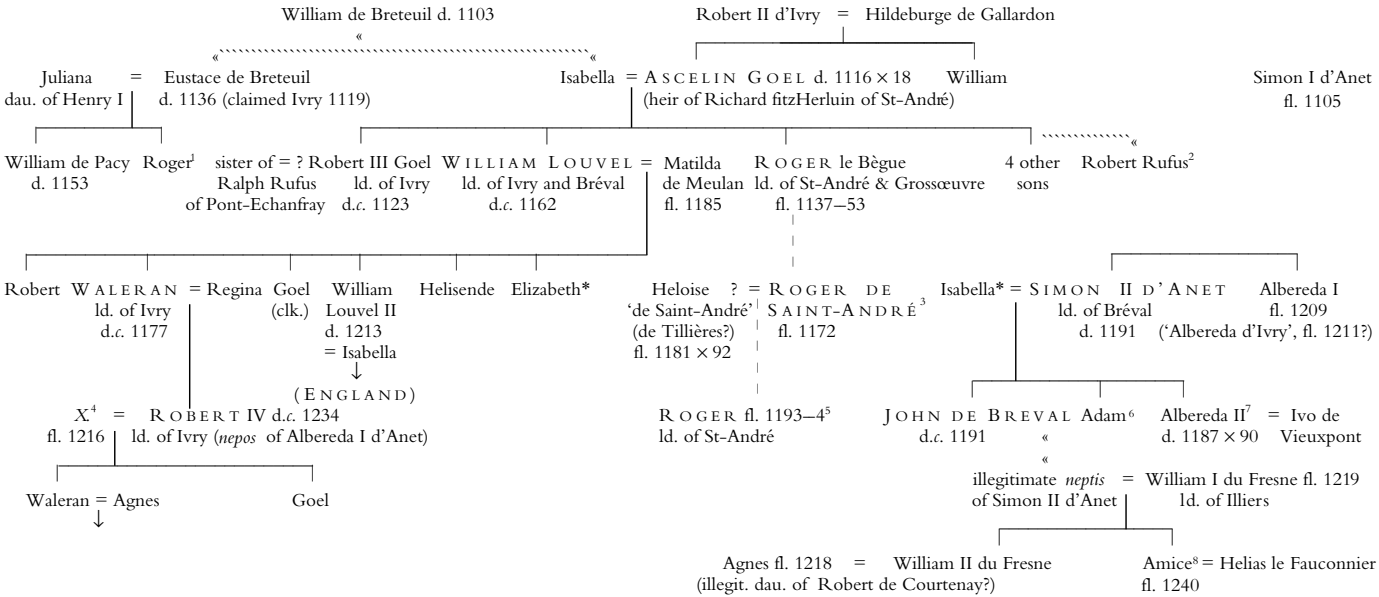
In general, see Thompson (1996a). Margaret, sister of Richer II, married Garcia Ramirez, king of Navarre (not shown).

Odelina, wife of Richer III: *Généalogies mayennaises*, 82, mentions the tomb of 'Odelina, lady of l'Aigle, daughter of the viscount of Sainte-Suzanne' who held Crépon *in dote sua*. The editor, Angot, incorrectly states that she held Crépon as her dowry, and followed earlier authors in presuming that she was daughter of Roscelin de Beaumont (for whom see below, no. 6) by an otherwise unknown lady of Crépon. The inscription, however, describes Crépon as her dower, making Angot's theory implausible. For Odelina see also BN, ms. lat. 11056, fol. 34r–v, no. 702; Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 401; *RN*, 90; *CRR*, i, 455–6.

After the death of Henry d'Avaugour his younger son Geoffrey claimed l'Aigle (Morice, *Preuves*, cols. 1063–4).

[1] ADE, H 1437, pp. 1–2; cf. Thompson 1996a, 196 n.110.
[2] Torigni, ii, 63; BN, ms. lat. 11059, fols. 110v–111r.
[3] ADE, H 1437, p. 6.
[4] *MRSN*, i, 218; BN, ms. lat. 5464, no. 3 (act of Richer II witnessed by *duo Richerii filii Richerii de Aquila*).
[5] *Complete Peerage*, x, 780; Thompson 1996a, 195 n.104.
[6] *Feet of Fines 9 Richard I*, nos. 98–9; cf. *Rot. Dom.*, 28 n.3.

2. ANET, IVRY, SAINT-ANDRÉ, BRETEUIL-PACY, FRESNE


William de Breteuil d. 1103
Robert II d'Ivry = Hildeburge de Gallardon
Juliana dau. of Henry I = Eustace de Breteuil d. 1136 (claimed Ivry 1119)
Isabella = ASCELIN GOEL d. 1116 × 18 (heir of Richard fitzHerluin of St-André)
William
Simon I d'Anet fl. 1105
William de Pacy d. 1153
Roger[1]
sister of = ? Ralph Rufus of Pont-Echanfray
Robert III Goel ld. of Ivry d.c. 1123
WILLIAM LOUVEL ld. of Ivry and Bréval d.c. 1162 = Matilda de Meulan fl. 1185
ROGER le Bègue ld. of St-André & Grossœuvre fl. 1137–53
4 other sons
Robert Rufus[2]
Robert WALERAN ld. of Ivry d.c. 1177 = Regina
Goel (clk.)
William Louvel II d. 1213 = Isabella
(ENGLAND)
Helisende
Elizabeth*
Heloise ? = 'de Saint-André' (de Tillières?) fl. 1181 × 92
ROGER DE SAINT-ANDRÉ[3] fl. 1172
Isabella* = SIMON II D'ANET ld. of Bréval d. 1191
Albereda I fl. 1209 ('Albereda d'Ivry', fl. 1211?)
X.[4] fl. 1216 = ROBERT IV d.c. 1234 ld. of Ivry (nepos of Albereda I d'Anet)
ROGER fl. 1193–4[5] ld. of St-André
JOHN DE BREVAL d.c. 1191
Adam[6]
Albereda II[7] d. 1187 × 90 = Ivo de Vieuxpont
illegitimate neptis of Simon II d'Anet = William I du Fresne fl. 1219 ld. of Illiers
Waleran = Agnes
Goel
Agnes fl. 1218 (illegit. dau. of Robert de Courtenay?) = William II du Fresne
Amice[8] = Helias le Fauconnier fl. 1240

∗ For Elizabeth, daughter of William Louvel, and Isabella, wife of Simon d'Anet, see text.

General: *Complete Peerage*, viii, 208–13 (including the English branch, for which see *CRR*, iv, 260–1), correcting Mauduit 1899 and *Ctl. Pontoise*, 470–6; Orderic, especially iii, 208–10; iv, 198–202, 286–90; vi, 228–30; *GND*, ii, 226–30; above, pp. 98–9, 207–8, 237–8, 254–5, 280–1, 378, 380, 396. William de Breteuil was certainly, and Ascelin Goel probably, a descendant of Count Ralph (of Ivry), half-brother of Duke Richard I, and his wife Albereda (Orderic, iv, 114, 199n.; Bates 1973, 7–15; Green 2000, 96).

St-André was bequeathed to Ascelin Goel by his *cognatus* Robert, son of Richard fitzHerluin (a *nepos* of Count Waleran I of Meulan), with the consent of Eustace de Breteuil (*Ctl. Pontoise*, 343–5).

If Elizabeth, daughter of William Louvel, and Isabella, wife of Simon II d'Anet, were the same woman, this would explain Robert's identification as *nepos* of Albereda, sister of Simon d'Anet, and of Albereda d'Ivry (see above, p. 207), and could account for the descent of Bréval to the Anet family. On the other hand, if the naming of Simon's sister Albereda implies descent from the eleventh-century lords of Ivry, it may indicate that the Anets inherited Bréval through an earlier marriage.

[1] ADE, III F 393, p. 460. [2] *Ctl. Pontoise*, no. LVII.

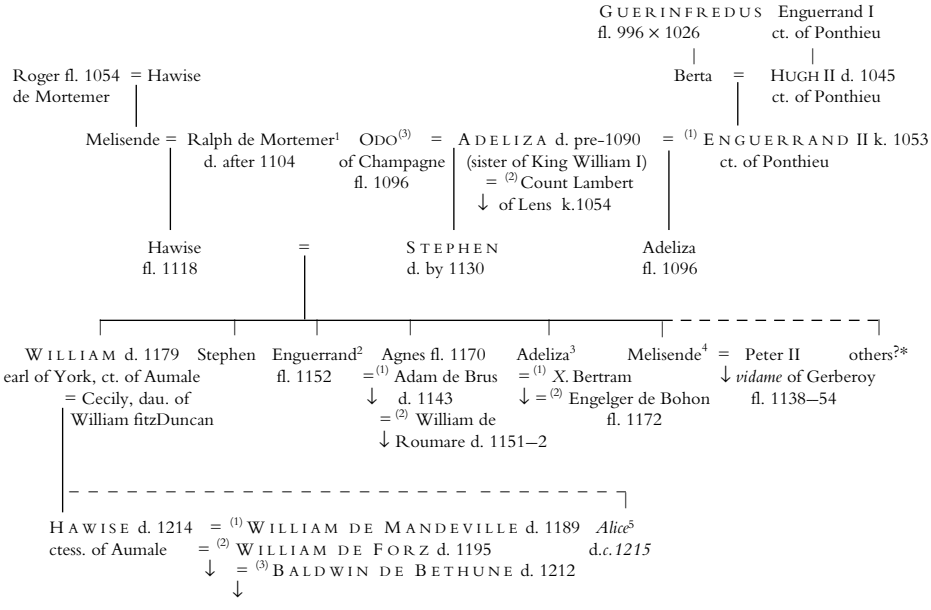
[3] *RB*, ii, 631; *Registres*, 270. For Heloise 'de St-André', whose *maritagium* lay at the Tillières castle of Damville, see ADE, G 122, fol. 21r, nos. 82–3. [4] ADE, H 321, cote 11.

[5] BN, ms. lat. 5464, no. 34 (*c.*1200); *P.R. 6 Richard I*, 23. [6] ADE, H 320, cote 3. [7] BN, ms. lat. 5480, I, p. 248; ADML, 101 H 225*bis*, p. 376, and 110 H 1.

[8] ADE, G 6, p. 193, no. 257; most probably a daughter of William I du Fresne rather than William II.

3. AUMALE (COUNTS)

(lords and ladies of Aumale in capitals)


GUERINFREDUS fl. 996 × 1026
Enguerrand I ct. of Ponthieu
Berta = HUGH II d. 1045 ct. of Ponthieu
Roger fl. 1054 = Hawise de Mortemer
Melisende = Ralph de Mortemer[1] d. after 1104
ODO[3] of Champagne fl. 1096 = ADELIZA d. pre-1090 (sister of King William I) = [2] Count Lambert of Lens k.1054 = [1] ENGUERRAND II k. 1053 ct. of Ponthieu
Hawise fl. 1118 = STEPHEN d. by 1130
Adeliza fl. 1096
WILLIAM d. 1179 earl of York, ct. of Aumale = Cecily, dau. of William fitzDuncan
Stephen
Enguerrand[2] fl. 1152
Agnes fl. 1170 = [1] Adam de Brus d. 1143 = [2] William de Roumare d. 1151–2
Adeliza[3] = [1] X. Bertram = [2] Engelger de Bohon fl. 1172
Melisende[4] = Peter II ↓ *vidame* of Gerberoy fl. 1138–54
others?*
HAWISE d. 1214 ctess. of Aumale = [1] WILLIAM DE MANDEVILLE d. 1189 = [2] WILLIAM DE FORZ d. 1195 = [3] BALDWIN DE BETHUNE d. 1212
Alice[5] d.*c.1215*

∗ These may include Beatrice, wife of Gerard, *vidame* of Picquigny.

NB The names Adeliza and Alice were effectively interchangeable in the twelfth century. The descendants of the Conqueror's sister Adeliza by her second husband, Lambert of Lens, do not appear to have had any rights at Aumale.

Sources: *Complete Peerage*, i, 350–5 (correcting *EYC*, iii, 26–7, 87); vii, 670; Sanders 1960, 77, 24–5, 142; English 1979, 9–37; Dalton 1994. For the early counts, see also Semichon 1862, i, 391–3; Bates 1982, 72, 77, 90 n.74, corrected by Bauduin 1998, 404–9.

Agnes, wife of Adam de Brus and William de Roumare: Torigni, i, 264–5; *Regesta*, iii, no. 583 (*EYC*, iii, no. 1385); *P.R. 2–3–4 Henry II*, 27; Blakely 2001. Euphemia, a *neptis* of Count William, married Adam's brother Robert II de Brus of Annandale (*ibid*., 27–8; *EYC*, iii, no. 1352).

[1] *Ch. St-Martin-des-Champs*, i, no. 147 (*CDF*, no. 1264); Keats-Rohan 1993a, 21–4.

[2] ADSM, 1 H 1, nos. 2, 5 (Stephen and Enguerrand; the attribution of a son called Richard (*EYC*, iii, 87) seems to be based on a misreading of no. 2); ADOI, H 4653 (Enguerrand); above, pp. 395–6.

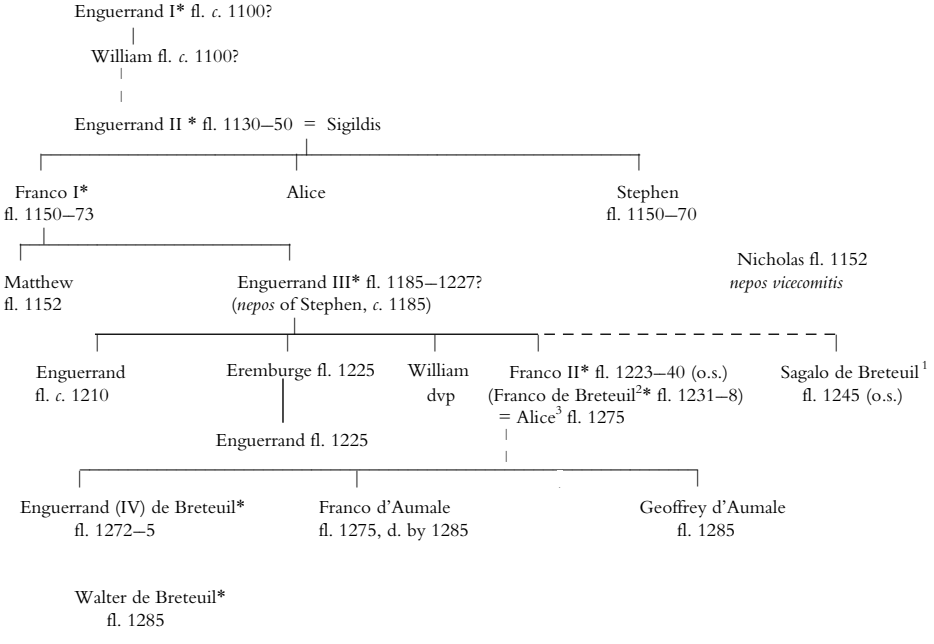
[3] BN, ms. lat. 17137, fol. 82r, no. 81 (*CDF*, no. 971); cf. *Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. DXV, p. 78, and BN, ms. lat. 5441, II, fols. 26r–27r (*CDF*, no. 1215).

[4] E.g. Loisel 1617, 277–8. BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1801, fol. 110v, calls Count William the *avunculus* of the *vidame* Peter III.

[5] *EYC*, iii, 87; her existence is doubted by *Complete Peerage*, i, 353, although Diceto, ii, 1, calls Hawise 'primogenitam'.

4. AUMALE (VISCOUNTS)

*named as viscount of Aumale


Enguerrand I* fl. c. 1100?
William fl. c. 1100?
Enguerrand II * fl. 1130–50 = Sigildis
Franco I* fl. 1150–73
Alice
Stephen fl. 1150–70
Nicholas fl. 1152 nepos vicecomitis
Matthew fl. 1152
Enguerrand III* fl. 1185–1227? (nepos of Stephen, c. 1185)
Enguerrand fl. c. 1210
Eremburge fl. 1225
William dvp
Franco II* fl. 1223–40 (o.s.) (Franco de Breteuil[2]* fl. 1231–8) = Alice[3] fl. 1275
Sagalo de Breteuil[1] fl. 1245 (o.s.)
Enguerrand fl. 1225
Enguerrand (IV) de Breteuil* fl. 1272–5
Franco d'Aumale fl. 1275, d. by 1285
Geoffrey d'Aumale fl. 1285
Walter de Breteuil* fl. 1285

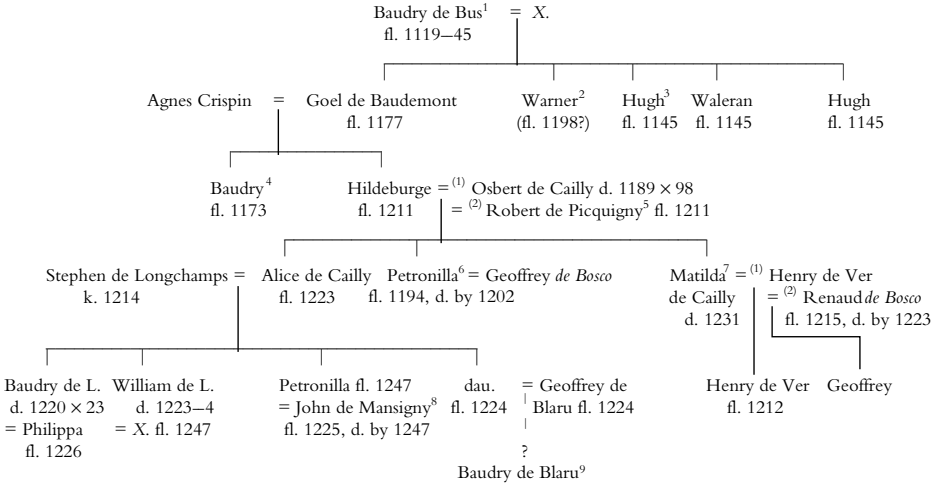
Sources: ADSM, 1 H 1 (nos. 1, 2, 4, 5), 1 H 22 – 1 H 25, 1 H 27 – 1 H 30, 1 H 65, 8 H 70; ADOI, H 4653, H 4979, H 4997; *Ctl. Lannoy*, especially i, no. XXI, and ii, no. CCLXVIII; BN, ms. lat. 9973, fol. 24v, no. 13; BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1801, fols. 111r–v, 116v–117r; *Ctl. Amiens*, i, nos. 208, 273, 296; *Ctl. Sommereux*, nos. 20, 30; Semichon 1862, i, 393.

[1] ADSM, 1 H 27. Since Sagalon de Breteuil appears near Aumale, it is inferred that he belonged to this family (see next note).

[2] Franco appears to have taken the name 'Breteuil' from the 1230s, almost certainly from Breteuil, dépt. Somme, cant. Hornoy-le-Bourg, cne. Lafresguimont-St-Martin, a property two miles north of Aumale which a certain *Ingerrannus*, probably Enguerrand I, held before 1100 (ADSM, 1 H 1, no. 1).

[3] Alice was certainly the mother of Franco d'Aumale (fl. 1275), brother of Enguerrand de Breteuil, viscount of Aumale (ADSM, 1 H 24); it is inferred here that she was the wife of Franco II.

5. *BAUDEMONT*



Sources: In general, see Green 1984, especially 50 for Baudry's predecessors; Torigni, i, 277 and n.; *Bk. Fees*, i, 135–6; *Ch. Jumièges*, i, no. LXXXVII; ADE, H 91, fol. 40v. For the descendants of Hildeburge and Osbert de Cailly, see also BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1801, fol. 83r–v; ADSM, 14 H 18, pp. 487–9, nos. 598–600, and 14 H 331, 14 H 824; *RHF*, xxiii, 717; *CN*, no. 1146; *MRSN*, ii, cxi–cxvii, and Powicke 1961, 334–5 (both of which erroneously merge Alice and Petronilla de Cailly). For Alice de Cailly and her descendants, see also ADC, H Suppl. 484 (II.A.6), 485 (II.A.7), 486 (II.A.8); ADE, H 628, H 633, H 648; *Jugements*, no. 358; *QN*, no. 22.

[1] Baudry probably took his name from Bus-St-Rémy, the next parish to Baudemont. His wife is unidentified, but the subsequent use of the names Goel and Hildeburge could imply kinship to Ascelin Goel of Ivry. In the early thirteenth century Hildeburge de Baudemont had lands around Jouy-sur-Eure (including Fontaine-Heudebourg?), not far from the lands of Ascelin's family (ADSM, 9 H 4, pp. 72–3, nos. 117–18). The Baudemonts may also have been related to the chamberlains of Tancarville, for whose souls Baudry de Bus made various grants in 1145 (BN, ms. lat. 18369, p. 78).

[2] *MRSN*, ii, 486.

[3] For Goel's brothers (1145), see BN, ms. lat. 18369, p. 78 (Gallagher 1970, 248).

[4] *Gesta Henrici*, i, 46; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 677; ADE, H 91, fol. 40r.

[5] ADE, H 91, fol. 40v; ADSM, 14 H 824; *RHF*, xxiii, 714; *Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, i, 90 (laisse 36, line 11); *MRSN*, ii, cxiii; Powicke 1961, 335n.

[6] BN, ms. lat. 12884, fol. 254r: 'Petronilla filia Osberni de Cailli uxor Gaufridi de Bosco' (1194). Geoffrey, Renaud's brother, had remarried Agnes Biset by 1202: see below, no. 8 (Biset).

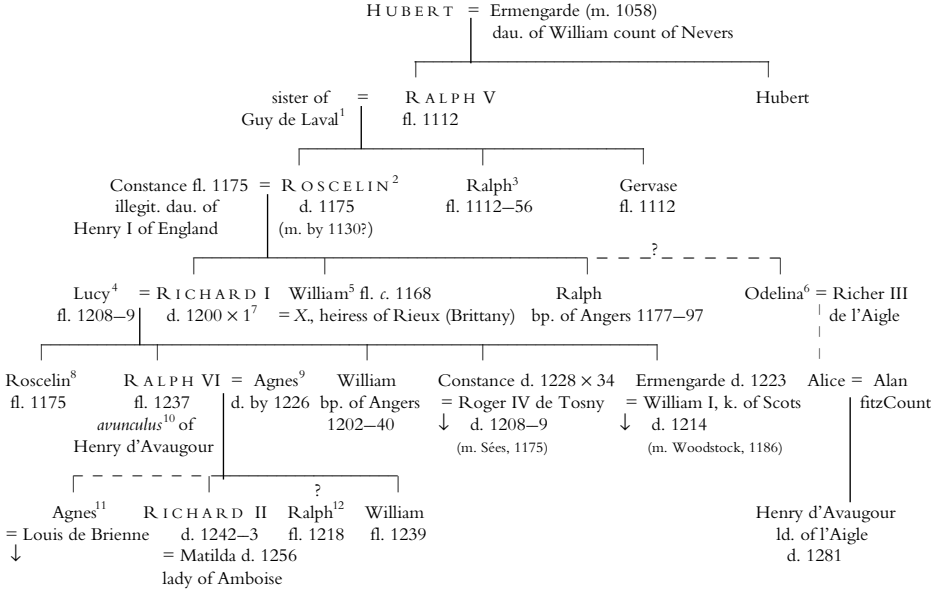
[7] ADSM, 2 H 63, no. 3 (Matilda de Cailly, widow of Henry *de Ver* and wife of Renaud *de Nemore*); ADE, H 1017 (her will, 1231).

[8] Possibly John *de Mausinuy*, an envoy of Count Baldwin of Aumale in 1203 (*RN*, 68).

[9] AN, S 4998[A], no. 14 (s.d., *c.*1230).

6. BEAUMONT-SUR-SARTHE (VISCOUNTS OF MAINE)

Viscounts are indicated in capitals


HUBERT = Ermengarde (m. 1058)
dau. of William count of Nevers
sister of Guy de Laval[1] = RALPH V fl. 1112
Hubert
Constance fl. 1175 illegit. dau. of Henry I of England = ROSCELIN[2] d. 1175 (m. by 1130?)
Ralph[3] fl. 1112–56
Gervase fl. 1112
?
Lucy[4] fl. 1208–9 = RICHARD I d. 1200 × 1[7]
William[5] fl. c. 1168 = X., heiress of Rieux (Brittany)
Ralph bp. of Angers 1177–97
Odelina[6] = Richer III de l'Aigle
Roscelin[8] fl. 1175
RALPH VI fl. 1237 avunculus[10] of Henry d'Avaugour
Agnes d. by 1226
William bp. of Angers 1202–40
Constance d. 1228 × 34 = Roger IV de Tosny ↓ d. 1208–9 (m. Sées, 1175)
Ermengarde d. 1223 = William I, k. of Scots ↓ d. 1214 (m. Woodstock, 1186)
Alice = Alan fitzCount
Agnes[11] = Louis de Brienne ↓
RICHARD II d. 1242–3 = Matilda d. 1256 lady of Amboise
?
Ralph[12] fl. 1218
William fl. 1239
Henry d'Avaugour ld. of l'Aigle d. 1281

Sources: *Généalogies mayennaises*, 11–105; Lemesle 1999, 95–8, 220–7, whose numbering of the various Ralphs is followed here. For the early viscounts, see also Latouche 1910, 127–31; Louise 1992, i, 170–3; Keats-Rohan 1996. For the generations shown here, see also BN, ms. lat. 13818, fol. 201r–v and, for the descendants of Viscount Richard I, BN, ms. lat. 17048, pp. 261–88, and Power 2003b, 200–2; below, no. 31 (Tosny).

[1] *Ctl. St-Vincent*, no. 626 (ref. courtesy of Kathleen Thompson).

[2] The evidence that Roscelin was first married to the heiress of Crépon in Normandy seems to be based on a misunderstanding of the inscription on Odelina de l'Aigle's tomb: see above, no. 1 (l'Aigle). Roscelin was still alive in 1175 (ADC, H 6609) but apparently dead by Michaelmas of that year (*P.R. 21 Hen. II*, 65).

[3] *Ctl. St-Aubin*, i, 386–8.

[4] BES, *Livre Rouge du Chapitre de Sées*, fols. 76v, 79r; *Ctl. Trappe*, 327–8. Her identification as a member of the l'Aigle dynasty, conjectured by Duchesne to account for her son's claim to the Perche inheritance, is unsubstantiated.

[5] Torigni, ii, 3; *Ctl. St-Aubin*, ii, 307.

[6] See above, no. 1.

[7] Still alive in 1200 but dead by Oct. 1201: Boussard 1938, 55, 183–5 (*Preuves*, no. 10); *Fœdera*, i, 1, 84–5.

[8] ADC, H 6609; ADOR, H 1417; BES, *Livre Rouge du Chapitre de Sées*, fols. 76v, 79r.

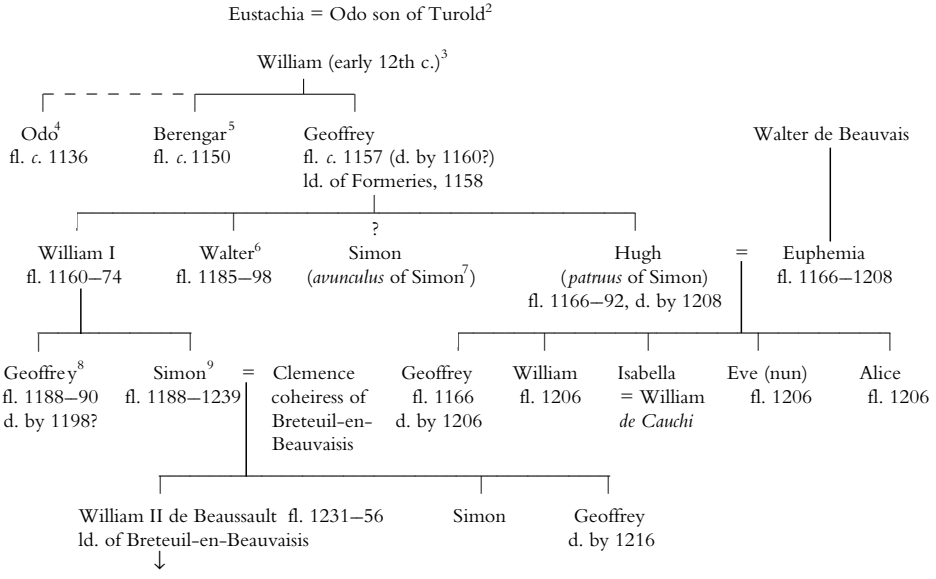
[9] *Ctl. Vivoin*, no. VIII.

[10] *Layettes*, ii, no. 2289 (also identifying Richard II as *consanguineus* of Henry d'Avaugour); cf. nos. 2292–3.

[11] Agnes, viscountess of Beaumont, is usually identified as Richard II's sister. None of his widow's acts suggests that she was Agnes' mother.

[12] *Ctl. Couture*, p. 409 (ambiguous).

7. BEAUSSAULT[1]


Eustachia = Odo son of Turold[2]
William (early 12th c.)[3]
Odo[4] fl. c. 1136
Berengar[5] fl. c. 1150
Geoffrey fl. c. 1157 (d. by 1160?) ld. of Formeries, 1158
Walter de Beauvais
?
William I fl. 1160–74
Walter[6] fl. 1185–98
Simon (avunculus of Simon[7])
Hugh (patruus of Simon) fl. 1166–92, d. by 1208
=
Euphemia fl. 1166–1208
Geoffrey[8] fl. 1188–90 d. by 1198?
Simon[9] fl. 1188–1239
=
Clemence coheiress of Breteuil-en-Beauvaisis
Geoffrey fl. 1166 d. by 1206
William fl. 1206
Isabella = William de Cauchi
Eve (nun) fl. 1206
Alice fl. 1206
William II de Beaussault fl. 1231–56 ld. of Breteuil-en-Beauvaisis
Simon
Geoffrey d. by 1216

In general: 'Nobiliaire du Beauvaisis', xxi, 62–6, and Dion 1883, 215–28; 'Ctl. Lannoy', esp. nos. XXII, XXXV, LVII–LVIII, CII–XIII, CXXXV; BN, ms. lat. 13905, p. 127; ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1801, fols. 3v–4r, 111v, 115r–116v. For Hugh de Beaussault and his family, see also BN, Coll. Picardie CCCIV, no. 57; 'Ctl. Lannoy', nos. XXXV, LXXVII.

Simon de Beaussault's wife Clemence is identified here as the daughter of Simon de Clermont, brother of Count Ralph of Clermont, an identification which requires explanation (for its significance, see pp. 256–9). Clemence and Joanna (also called Beatrice),

[1] The name appears in various forms, including *Belsast*, *Belsap*, *Belsad*, *Belsat*, *de Bello Sacco* and *de Bello Sarto*.

[2] Odo fitzTurold and Eustachia granted the church of Beaussault to Bec, probably after 1077 (*Actes de Henri II*, ii, no. DCCXLIV). Perhaps Odo was the son of Turold de Drincourt (fl. 1043) (*RADN*, nos. 101, 119, 200, 202).

[3] ADSM, 1 H 23; Strayer 1959, 237 (forged charter of Henry II for Bival, but the details concerning Beaussault appear genuine).

[4] BN, ms. lat. 9973, fol. 29v, no. 28; 'Ctl. Lannoy', no. III.

[5] ADSM, 1 H 23.

[6] ADSM, 13 H 14; 14 H 842; *MRSN*, ii, 431.

[7] 'Ctl. Lannoy', no. CXXXV. It is possible that he was the younger Simon's maternal uncle rather than a Beaussault.

[8] ADSM, 53 HP 32, no. 94; 'Ctl. Lannoy', nos. CII–CIII; BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1801, fols. 115–116r. Porée (1901, i, 430) implies that Simon had inherited from Geoffrey by 1198 (cf. *Rot. Chart.*, 33).

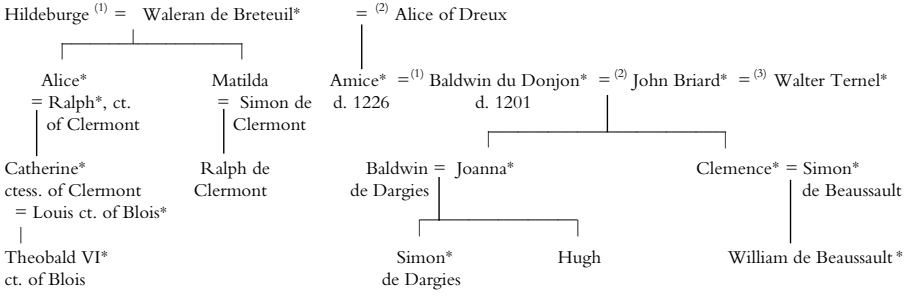
[9] Earliest mention: 'Ctl. Lannoy', no. CII (1188). Latest: ADSM, 2 H 17 (1239).

who together inherited Breteuil-en-Beauvaisis in 1226,[10] are normally identified as the daughters of Amice, lady of Breteuil, by her second husband John Briard. This is impossible: according to Dion, Amice's second marriage cannot have taken place before 1201 (1206 according to Newman), yet Clemence's sister Joanna was already married and a mother in 1194.[11] In 1224 Ralph de Clermont was expecting to inherit Breteuil from Amice (who had in turn received it after the death of Theobald VI of Blois in 1218), but predeceased her;[12] it is hard to see what claim he could have had over Joanna and Clemence if they had been Amice's daughters, but his claim would be valid if they were his sisters. In 1243 Joanna's son Simon de Dargies, lord of Breteuil, confirmed a gift at Tartigny of his *avunculus* Ralph de Clermont; although *avunculus* is an ambiguous term, its original meaning (maternal uncle) would apply exactly if Joanna was Ralph's sister; moreover, the text of Ralph's gift, made in 1216, is known from a *vidimus* of 1370.[13]
It is therefore most probable that Simon de Beaussault's wife was a daughter of Matilda, second daughter of Waleran de Breteuil, by Simon de Clermont, rather than of Waleran's third daughter Amice. An act of Simon de Clermont in 1184 mentions his (unnamed) daughters but not his son Ralph; were Joanna-Beatrice and Clemence these daughters, then his heirs because his son was not yet born?[14] We know from elsewhere that Simon had a daughter called Clemence, whom he married to Hugh d'Oyry (k. 1190) in 1188.[15] It would require the deaths of Theobald VI of Blois, William du Donjon, and Ralph de Clermont to make Joanna and Clemence heirs to the lordship of Breteuil (see p. 490).

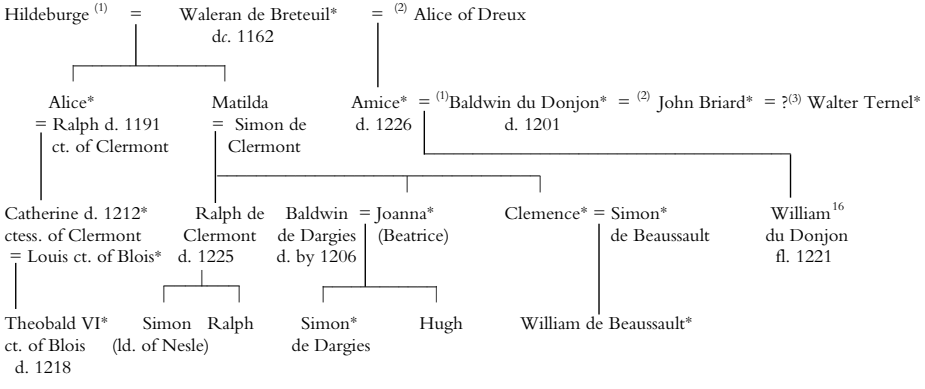
[10] *Layettes*, ii, no. 1829. The descent of Breteuil is too complex to be fully discussed here; for the inheritance principles apparently being observed, see above, pp. 184–6.
[11] Dion 1883, 220; Newman 1971, i, 89, 206.
[12] *Ampl. Coll.*, i, col. 1181; Petit-Dutaillis 1894, 454–5, nos. 44–5.
[13] ADOI, H 4814: Ralph de Clermont, lord of Ailly, grants 2 *muids* of wheat at Tartigny (1215, o.s.; vidimus, 1370); act of Simon de Dargies, lord of Breteuil, confirming this gift (1243). Cf. Dion 1883, 227; Newman 1971, i, 90–2.
[14] *Ctl. Hôtel-Dieu Beauvais*, no. 10.
[15] ADSM, 53 HP 32, no. 76. See above, pp. 237, 240, 256, 411.

DION'S RECONSTRUCTION (SIMPLIFIED)

* lord or lady of Breteuil-en-Beauvaisis (whole or in part)

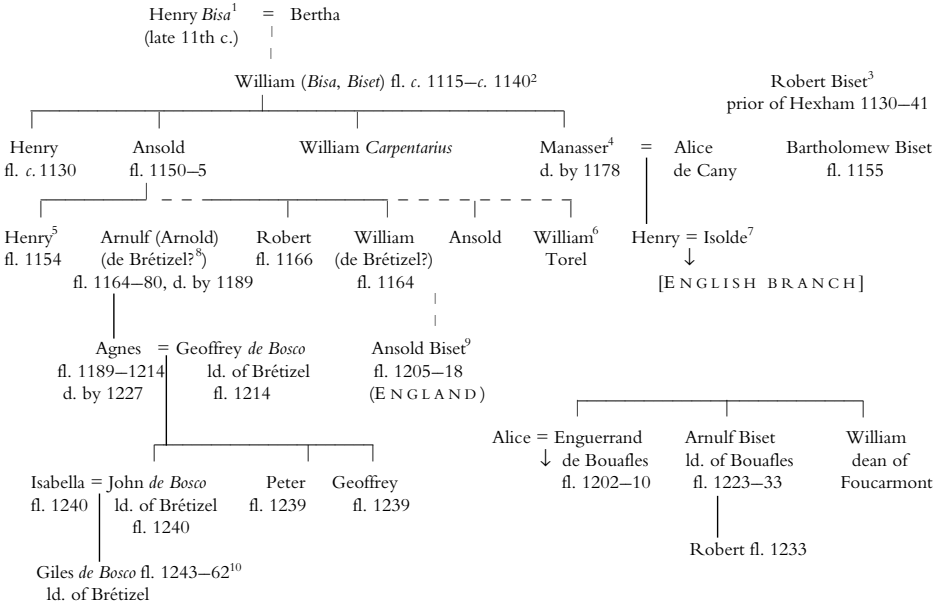

Hildeburge (1) = Waleran de Breteuil* = (2) Alice of Dreux
Alice* = Ralph*, ct. of Clermont
Matilda = Simon de Clermont
Amice* d. 1226 = (1) Baldwin du Donjon* d. 1201 = (2) John Briard* = (3) Walter Ternel*
Catherine* ctess. of Clermont = Louis ct. of Blois*
Ralph de Clermont
Baldwin de Dargies = Joanna*
Clemence* = Simon* de Beaussault
Theobald VI* ct. of Blois
Simon* de Dargies
Hugh
William de Beaussault*

SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION (SIMPLIFIED)


Hildeburge (1) = Waleran de Breteuil* d. c. 1162 = (2) Alice of Dreux
Alice* = Ralph d. 1191 ct. of Clermont
Matilda = Simon de Clermont
Amice* d. 1226 = (1) Baldwin du Donjon* d. 1201 = (2) John Briard* = ?(3) Walter Ternel*
Catherine d. 1212* ctess. of Clermont = Louis ct. of Blois*
Ralph de Clermont d. 1225
Baldwin de Dargies d. by 1206 = Joanna* (Beatrice)
Clemence* = Simon* de Beaussault
William[16] du Donjon fl. 1221
Theobald VI* ct. of Blois d. 1218
Simon (ld. of Nesle)
Ralph
Simon* de Dargies
Hugh
William de Beaussault*

[16] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iv, no. 1714.

8. BISET


Henry *Bisa*[1] (late 11th c.) = Bertha
William (*Bisa*, *Biset*) fl. *c.* 1115–*c.* 1140[2]
Robert Biset[3] prior of Hexham 1130–41
Henry fl. *c.* 1130
Ansold fl. 1150–5
William *Carpentarius*
Manasser[4] d. by 1178 = Alice de Cany
Bartholomew Biset fl. 1155
Henry[5] fl. 1154
Arnulf (Arnold) (de Brétizel?[8]) fl. 1164–80, d. by 1189
Robert fl. 1166
William (de Brétizel?) fl. 1164
Ansold
William[6] Torel
Henry = Isolde[7]
[ENGLISH BRANCH]
Agnes fl. 1189–1214 d. by 1227 = Geoffrey *de Bosco* ld. of Brétizel fl. 1214
Ansold Biset[9] fl. 1205–18 (ENGLAND)
Alice = Enguerrand de Bouafles fl. 1202–10
Arnulf Biset ld. of Bouafles fl. 1223–33
William dean of Foucarmont
Isabella fl. 1240 = John *de Bosco* ld. of Brétizel fl. 1240
Peter fl. 1239
Geoffrey fl. 1239
Robert fl. 1233
Giles *de Bosco* fl. 1243–62[10] ld. of Brétizel

Sources (general): English 1979, 62, 146; ADSM, 1 H 1, nos. 1, 5; ADOI, H 4653; 'Ctl. Lannoy', nos. II, XIX–XXI, XXXV; *Ctl. Sélincourt*, nos. LXII–LXIII, CIII–CIV.

Agnes Biset, Geoffrey *de Bosco*, and their descendants: ADSM, 1 H 28, 1 H 32; BMRO, Y 13, fols. 102r–104, 116r; Semichon 1862, i, 324–5; above, pp. 284–5, 426–7. Geoffrey was a brother of Renaud *de Bosco*: see App. I, no. 5 (Baudemont); *RHF*, xxiii, 689.

Bouafles: BMRO, Y 13, fols. 118r–119r; Bauduin 2000, 157. Bouafles (cant. Aumale, cne. Vieux-Rouen). Cf. *Ctl. Sélincourt*, nos. XCII, XCV.

[1] ADSM, 1 H 1, no. 1; Semichon (1862), i, 391–3, at 393.

[2] *Ch. St-Martin-des-Champs*, i, no. 147; 'Ctl. Lannoy', no. II; BMRO, Y 13, fol. 81r.

[3] John of Hexham, in Symeon of Durham, *Opera*, ii, 284, 311; *Heads of Religious Houses*, 166.

[4] BMRO, Y 13, fols. 84v–85r, suggests that this Manasser was the royal steward who married Alice de Cany (*Actes de Henri II*, intro. vol., 403; *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, no. LXXII (cf. nos. LXX, LXXI); *Ch. Longueville*, nos. XXXIII–XXXIV; Sanders 1960, 5–6). He was probably older than William *Carpentarius* (for whom, see BMRO, Y 13, fol. 81r).

[5] 'Ctl. Lannoy', no.XX; *Regesta*, iii, no. 584.

[6] ADSM, 8 H 269: act of William Torel (mid–late twelfth century) witnessed by 'Hernaldo Biset et Will'mo et Ansoldo fratribus meis'. The wording is ambiguous, but in any case 'Ansold' here suggests kinship with the Bisets, and an Ansold Biset appears in 1179 (*Ctl. Sélincourt*, no. CIII).

[7] *CRR*, i, 214. *Monasticon*, v, 634, makes Henry's first wife Aubreia, daughter of Richard, constable of Chester.

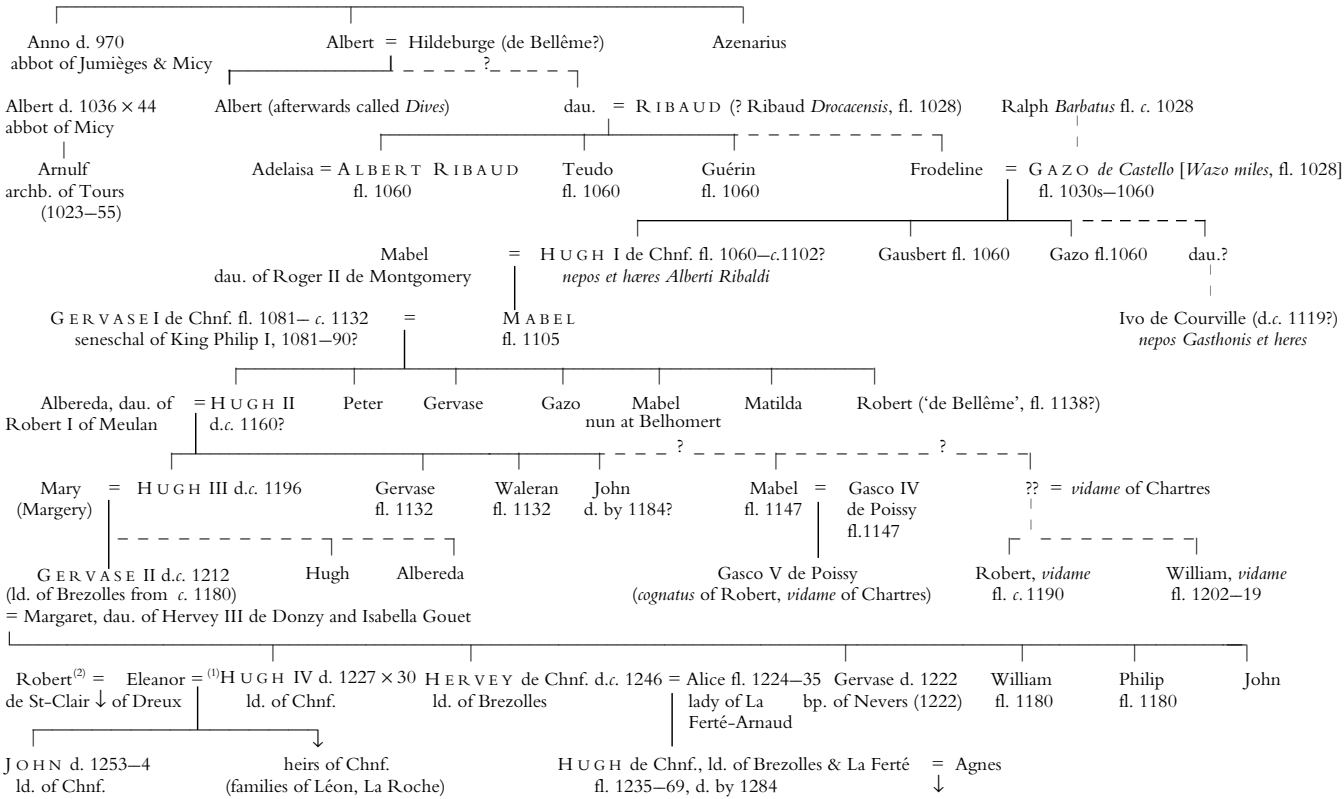
[8] *Ctl. Sélincourt*, no. CIV: William *de Bretesel*, younger brother of *Ernoldus de Bretesel*, *custos et ballivus* of his brother's fief at *Cuivertieres* near Aumale. Brétizel, Somme, cant. Hornoy-le-Bourg, cne. Ste-Germain-sur-Bresle.

[9] Ansold, whose exact kinship to the main Biset line has not been identified, acquired Geoffrey *de Bosco*'s lands in England after 1204: *Rot. Ob. Fin.*, 335–6; *CRR*, iv, 140, 161 (cf. *RN*, 140; *P.R. 8 John*, 53); v, 19, 282; vii, 53; OBL, Ms. Browne-Willis 89, fol. 126v, and Ms. Dugdale 39, fols. 71v–72v.

[10] In 1266 and 1272 John *de Bosco*, perhaps Giles' son, was lord of Brétizel (ADSM, 1 H 12).

9. CHÂTEAUNEUF-EN-THYMERAIS, BREZOLLES

Lords and ladies of Châteauneuf or Brezolles are indicated in small capitals. Chnf = Châteauneuf.



General: Merlet 1865, and Romanet 1890–1902, i, 143–7 (both containing errors); BN, ms. lat. 5417, pp. 209–12, 269–70; ms. lat. 17048, pp. 440–5; *Ctl. St-Père*, and *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, *passim*; *Ctl. Josaphat*, I, no. CCCVII; *Inv. Somm. Eure-et-Loir*, 124–7 (H 3907); ADEL, esp. H 1248, H 5166, H 5194; *Obituaires de Sens*, ii, 45, 71, 192, 363; Power 2001a, 130–5.

For the early history of Châteauneuf and Brezolles, see above, p. 204–6; it is presumed here that 'Gazo the knight' was the same man as Gazo, son of Ralph *Barbatus*, and it is possible (but unlikely) that Albert, later called 'the Rich' (*Dives*), and Albert of Micy were the same person. For 'Gathone filio magni Gasthonis de Nouocastello' and 'Yuo de Curbauilla nepos ipsius Gasthonis et heres futurus sue possessionis', see BN, ms. lat. 17048, pp. 440–1.

There is no proof that Gervase, *dapifer* of Philip I of France (*Actes de Philippe Ier*, 138), was Gervase I de Châteauneuf as Merlet believed, but both Gervases had wives called Mabel; the seneschal had rights in the Chartrain and at Mantes as well as in the Beauvaisis, which may have been his homeland (*Ch. St-Martin*, i, no. 127). That Gervase de Châteauneuf received his surname and lands from his wife Mabel may be deduced from a comparison of Orderic, ii, 358 (who names Hugh I's wife as Mabel, daughter of Roger de Montgomery; cf. iii, 234), with a letter of Ivo of Chartres that traces Hugh II's descent from Roger de Montgomery through Mabel and her daughter Mabel (*PL*, clxii, cols. 265–6). BN, ms. lat. 17048, p. 441, mentions Gervase de Châteauneuf and his wife Mabel 'a quo (*recte*: *ad quam* or *quos*?) totus honor Castelli Noui descendebat'.

In an undated act Robert, *vidame* of Chartres, described Gervase (II) de Châteauneuf and Gasco de Poissy as his *cognati*.[1] It is suggested here that Mabel, wife of Gasco IV de Poissy (fl. 1147), was a daughter of Hugh II de Châteauneuf,[2] and that the *vidame* was related through a daughter of a lord of Châteauneuf, since William, a later *vidame* of Chartres, held property and revenues from Gervase II.[3] For the other Châteauneuf marriages, see *Ctl. N.-D. Chartres*, ii, no. CCXXVIII, and ADEL, H 3966 (Margaret de Donzy); *Archives de Châteaudun*, no. CXVIII, *Layettes*, ii, no. 2084, and Duchesne 1631, 258–9 (Eleanor de Dreux); *Ctl. Trappe*, 13–14, 17–18 (Alice de la Ferté-Arnaud).

Merlet (1865, 13–17) believed that Gervase, lord of Brezolles between *c.*1180 and the death of Hugh III in 1196 × 99, was Hugh III's younger brother, distinct from Hugh's eldest son of the same name, and that this Gervase de Brezolles was succeeded by a son called Guérin (d. *c.*1198). However, it is clear that at this time there was only one Gervase, who held Brezolles *vita patris* during the 1180s and 1190s.[4] The succession to Châteauneuf after 1230 is too complex to be dealt with in detail here (cf. Duchesne 1631, 260–1; *Olim*, i, 494–5, 568–9, 731; *CN*, nos. 990–1, 974n.).

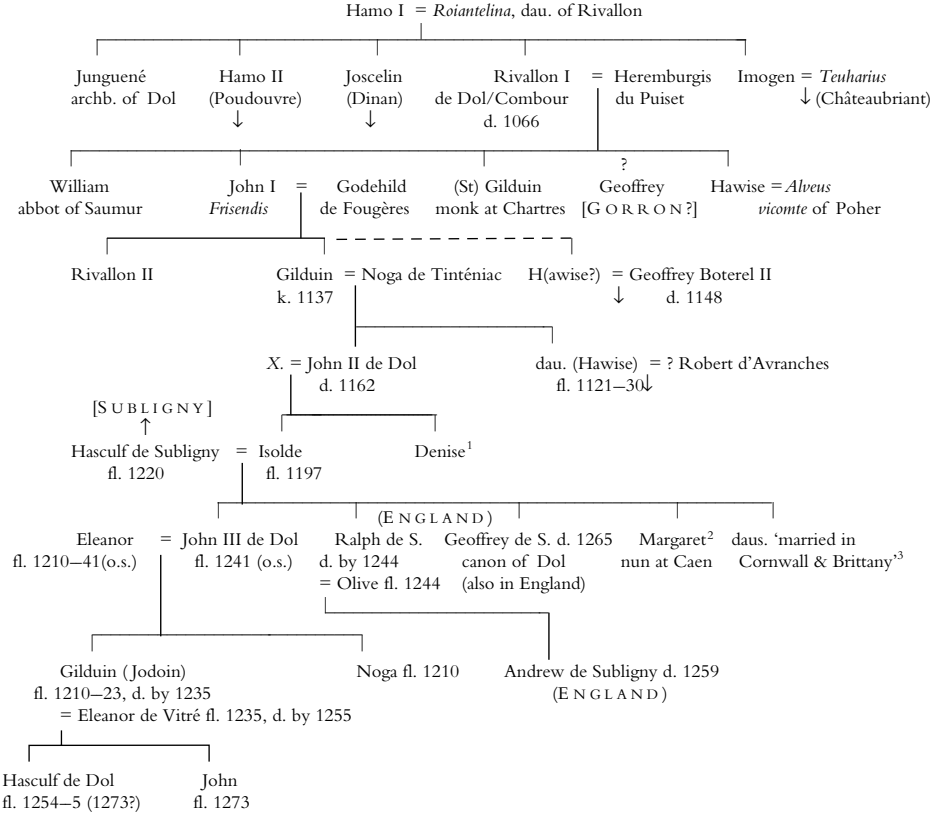
[1] *Ctl. Josaphat*, ii, no. CCCLXXVII (*c.*1190?); probably Gasco VI, d. 1191–2.

[2] *Ch. St-Wandrille*, no. 80, and *Ctl. Pontoise*, 436. Note also that Gasco VI de Poissy had a brother called Gervase, mentioned in an act of his brother Amaury (ADY, 46 H 6, liasse VIII).

[3] *Templiers en Eure-et-Loir*, no. XII; ADEL, H 3913. Cf. Villehardouin, i, 102 (§ 102).

[4] ADEL, H 404, H 406; BN, ms. lat. 10106, fols. 49v–50r. Merlet (1865, 15) also attributed a son, Gervase, and a daughter, Albereda, to Hugh III (shown here), without stating the source.

10. COMBOUR (DOL)


Hamo I = *Roiantelina*, dau. of Rivallon
Junguené archb. of Dol
Hamo II (Poudouvre) ↓
Joscelin (Dinan) ↓
Rivallon I de Dol/Combour d. 1066
= Heremburgis du Puiset
Imogen = *Teuharius* ↓ (Châteaubriant)
?
William abbot of Saumur
John I *Frisendis* =
Godehild de Fougères
(St) Gilduin monk at Chartres
Geoffrey [GORRON?]
Hawise = *Alveus* *vicomte* of Poher
Rivallon II
Gilduin k. 1137 = Noga de Tinténiac
H(awise?) ↓ = Geoffrey Boterel II d. 1148
X. = John II de Dol d. 1162
dau. (Hawise) fl. 1121–30 = ? Robert d'Avranches ↓
[SUBLIGNY] ↑
Hasculf de Subligny fl. 1220 = Isolde fl. 1197
Denise[1]
(ENGLAND)
Eleanor fl. 1210–41(o.s.) = John III de Dol fl. 1241 (o.s.)
Ralph de S. d. by 1244 = Olive fl. 1244
Geoffrey de S. d. 1265 canon of Dol (also in England)
Margaret[2] nun at Caen
daus. 'married in Cornwall & Brittany'[3]
Gilduin (Jodoin) fl. 1210–23, d. by 1235 = Eleanor de Vitré fl. 1235, d. by 1255
Noga fl. 1210
Andrew de Subligny d. 1259 (ENGLAND)
Hasculf de Dol fl. 1254–5 (1273?)
John fl. 1273

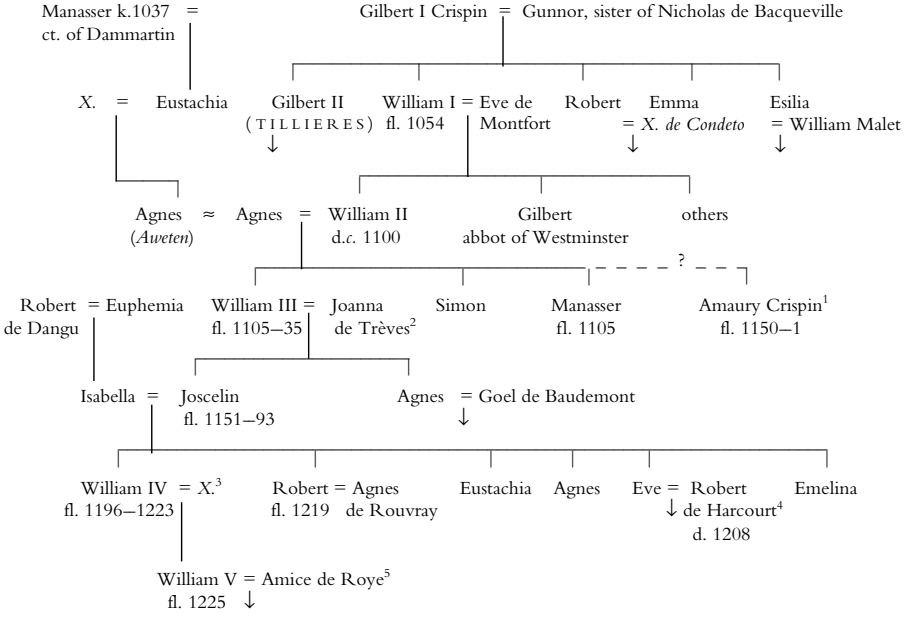
In general, see Keats-Rohan 1991 and Guillotel 1997 for the early generations; also Fougerolles 1999, 54–5, for St Gilduin. For 'Geoffrey son of Rivallon', possibly the forebear of the Gorron family, see *Ctl. Abbayette*, no. 7 and 'Ch. Fougères', no. VII; below, no. 17 (Gorron). For John II's descendants, see Everard 2000, 41–2, 71–2, 84–5, 197, 211–12; Power 2003b, 202–6; BN, ms. lat. 5476, pp. 12–41; ms. fr. 22325, pp. 516–17, 529 (cf. Morice, *Preuves*, esp. cols. 658–9, 691–4, 726–9, 769); *Ctl. Montmorel*, *passim*; ADML, H 3332.

Hawise, wife of Robert d'Avranches in 1121, could be the daughter of Gilduin for whose sake Robert incurred Henry I's ill will before 1129–30 (BMAV, ms. 210, fol. 83r–v; *PR. 31 Henry I*, 155). The wife of the Breton lord Geoffrey Boterel II also apparently came from the Combourg dynasty, for Geoffrey's son Count Stephen was described as *nepos* of both John II de Dol and his mother Noga (BN, ms. fr. 22325, p. 523; Guillotel (1997, 272) makes her a sister of Gilduin de Dol, whereas Everard (2000, 72) makes her Gilduin's daughter).

For Hasculf de Dol (fl. 1254–5), squire, son of Eleanor and grandson of John III de Dol, see BN, ms. fr. 22325, p. 537; ms. lat. 5476, p. 59. Hasculf and his brother of John appear in 1273 in unlawful control of Geoffrey de Subligny's manor at Dol (Morice, *Preuves*, col. 1029). This shows that although Geoffrey eventually succeeded to the English lands, he also maintained connections with Brittany after 1244.

[1] BN, ms. lat. 5476, p. 99; BN, ms. fr. 22325, p. 523; Everard 2000, 197.
[2] *Holy Trinity Charters*, 37–8, 44–5. [3] *Cal. IPM Henry III*, no. 629.

11. CRISPIN (NEAUFLES)



General: Crispin and Macary 1938; Green 1984, and the sources there cited; BN, ms. lat. 5441, I, pp. 99–101. For Joscelin Crispin, his wife and children, see BN, ms. lat. 18369, pp. 55–7 (Gallagher 1970, 219–20); for Robert Crispin and his wife Agnes, daughter of John de Rouvray, see Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 134–5.

Mathieu (1996, 19, 60), suggests that Eustachia, daughter of Count Manasser of Dammartin (d. 1037), was the mother of Agnes, wife of William II Crispin. Certainly William had a son called Manasser (fl. 1105), and the name Eustachia occurs in a later generation (ADSM, G 8740, ed. in Crispin and Macary 1938, no. 12; Green 1984, 62). Lot 1913, no. 49, is an act of *Aweten* (Agnes?), daughter of Eustachia the daughter of Count Manasser, granting tithes at Rosny for the souls of her mother and husband William; the conjunction of Rosny and the name Manasser suggests a connection with the later Mauvoisins of Rosny (see below, no. 20).

[1] *Regesta*, iii, no. 729. *Ctl. St-Aubin*, i, no. CXIV, mentions an Amaury Crispin in Anjou in 1117–19, husband of *Warmasia*, heiress of Champtoceaux (for whom, see Guillot 1972, i, 338–42); Keats-Rohan (1993b, 21) suggests that he was a son of William II Crispin, but the Amaury of 1150–1 could also be a son of William III.

[2] *Ctl. St-Aubin*, ii, no. DCCCCXXXI (1114); Keats-Rohan 1993b, 21.

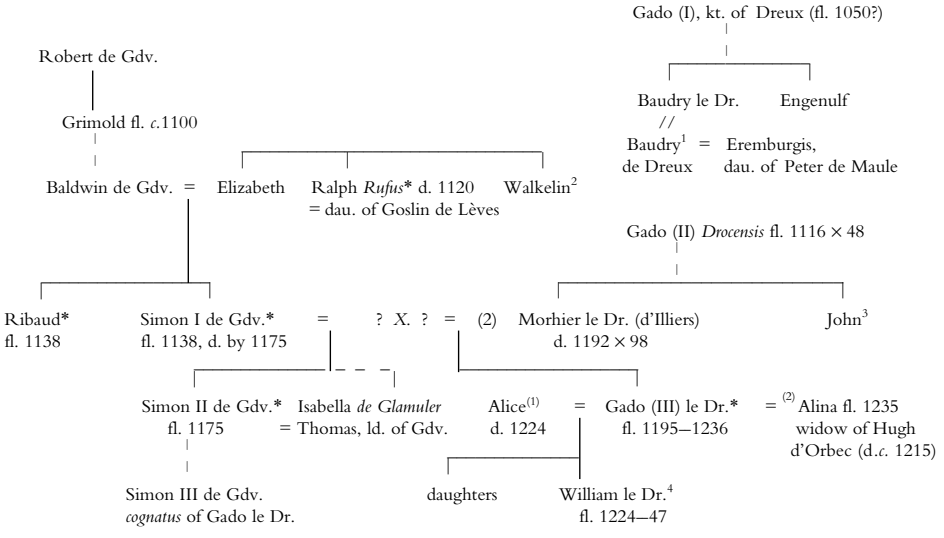
[3] Le Prévost (1862–9, ii, 6–8) makes her Eve, daughter of William de Harcourt.

[4] Crouch 1986, 220.

[5] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1376.

12. DROUAIS, GRANDVILLIERS

le Dr. = le Drouais / *Drocensis*
Gdv. = Grandvilliers
* lord of Pont-Echanfray


Gado (I), kt. of Dreux (fl. 1050?)
Robert de Gdv.
Baudry le Dr.
Engenulf
Grimold fl. c.1100
Baudry[1] de Dreux
= Eremburgis, dau. of Peter de Maule
Baldwin de Gdv. = Elizabeth
Ralph Rufus* d. 1120 = dau. of Goslin de Lèves
Walkelin[2]
Gado (II) Drocensis fl. 1116 × 48
Ribaud* fl. 1138
Simon I de Gdv.* fl. 1138, d. by 1175
= ? X. ? = (2) Morhier le Dr. (d'Illiers) d. 1192 × 98
John[3]
Simon II de Gdv.* fl. 1175
Isabella de Glamuler = Thomas, ld. of Gdv.
Alice(1) d. 1224
= Gado (III) le Dr.* fl. 1195–1236
= (2) Alina fl. 1235 widow of Hugh d'Orbec (d.c. 1215)
Simon III de Gdv. cognatus of Gado le Dr.
daughters
William le Dr.[4] fl. 1224–47

General: for Le Drouais, see above, pp. 278–80. For Grandvilliers (including Ralph *Rufus*), see Orderic, vi, 512, 534–6; BN, ms. lat. 17132, fol. 106v; *Ch. St-Wandrille*, no. 50; Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 197–9 (numerous errors); Crouch 1986, 107, 111–12, 133, 137.

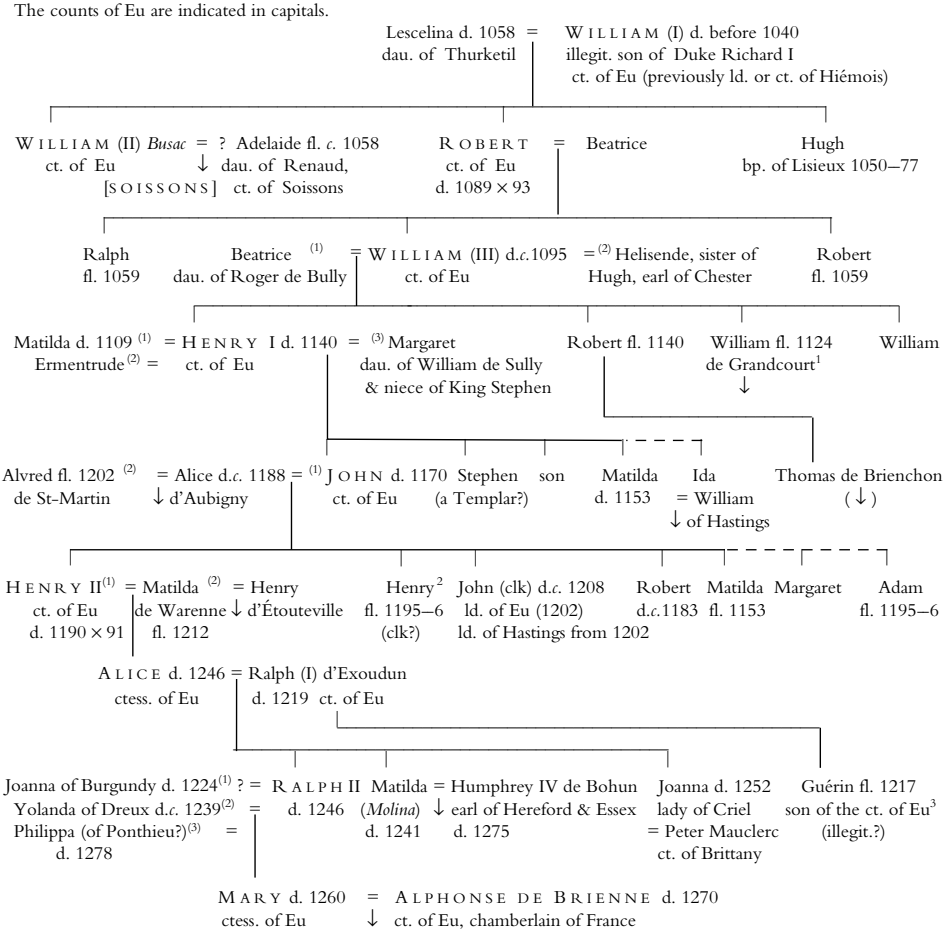
Between 1191 and 1204 a Simon de Grandvilliers was described as *cognatus* of Gado (III) le Drouais; the latter issued an act as lord of Pont-Echanfray, and made gifts there to La Chaise-Dieu for the soul of his brother Simon, buried in the priory (BN, ms. lat. 11055, fols. 30v–33v (no. 32), 50r–v (no. 70); ADE, H 1437, pp. 27–8). In addition Isabella *de Glamuler* (or *Glanuiler*, i.e. Grandvilliers?) was Gado's *antenata* (*Jugements*, no. 38); for Thomas 'dictus de Grantuill'', husband of 'Ysabel de Granuiler', heiress of Grandvilliers, see ADSM, 16 H 14, fol. 235r; Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 199; *Ch. St-Wandrille*, 105 n.1. It is suggested here that Gado's brother, or rather half-brother, was Simon II de Grandvilliers, who had succeeded his father by Simon I by 1175 (*Ctl. Trappe*, 180), and that Gado's *cognatus* was Simon III. Note that Gado's father Morhier had witnessed an act of a Simon de Grandvilliers, perhaps his stepson (Petit 1859, 78, no. II, 1165 × 83).

In March 1224 (n.s.) an act of Gado mentioned his wife Alice, but the same year another referred to his wives Alice and Alina (ADE, H 319, fols. 87v–88r, no. 176; *Ctl. Trappe*, 416). In 1235 Ralph, son of Hugh d'Orbec, described Gado as his stepfather, husband of his mother Alina (ADE, H 571; for Ralph, younger son of Hugh and Alina, see ADSM, 56 HP 1).

[1] Orderic, iii, 176, 186. [2] Orderic, vi, 104. [3] *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 105.
[4] *Ctl. Trappe*, 416; ADE, G 6, p. 193, no. 257, and H 705, fol. 1v, no. 32; *QN*, no. 235.

13. EU (COUNTS)

The counts of Eu are indicated in capitals.


Lescelina d. 1058 = WILLIAM (I) d. before 1040
dau. of Thurketil illegit. son of Duke Richard I
ct. of Eu (previously ld. or ct. of Hiémois)
WILLIAM (II) Busac = ? Adelaide fl. c. 1058
ct. of Eu ↓ dau. of Renaud,
[SOISSONS] ct. of Soissons
ROBERT = Beatrice
ct. of Eu
d. 1089 × 93
Hugh
bp. of Lisieux 1050–77
Ralph
fl. 1059
Beatrice (1) = WILLIAM (III) d.c.1095 = (2) Helisende, sister of
dau. of Roger de Bully ct. of Eu Hugh, earl of Chester
Robert
fl. 1059
Matilda d. 1109 (1) = HENRY I d. 1140 = (3) Margaret
Ermentrude (2) = ct. of Eu dau. of William de Sully
& niece of King Stephen
Robert fl. 1140
William fl. 1124
de Grandcourt1
↓
William
Alvred fl. 1202 (2) = Alice d.c. 1188 = (1) JOHN d. 1170
de St-Martin ↓ d'Aubigny ct. of Eu
Stephen son
(a Templar?)
Matilda
d. 1153
Ida
= William
↓ of Hastings
Thomas de Brienchon
(↓)
HENRY II(1) = Matilda (2) = Henry
ct. of Eu de Warenne ↓ d'Étouteville
d. 1190 × 91 fl. 1212
Henry2
fl. 1195–6
(clk?)
John (clk) d.c. 1208
ld. of Eu (1202)
ld. of Hastings from 1202
Robert
d.c.1183
Matilda
fl. 1153
Margaret
Adam
fl. 1195–6
ALICE d. 1246 = Ralph (I) d'Exoudun
ctess. of Eu d. 1219 ct. of Eu
Joanna of Burgundy d. 1224(1) ? =
Yolanda of Dreux d.c. 1239(2) =
Philippa (of Ponthieu?)(3) =
d. 1278
RALPH II
d. 1246
Matilda
(Molina)
d. 1241
↓
= Humphrey IV de Bohun
earl of Hereford & Essex
d. 1275
Joanna d. 1252
lady of Criel
= Peter Mauclerc
ct. of Brittany
Guérin fl. 1217
son of the ct. of Eu3
(illegit.?)
MARY d. 1260 = ALPHONSE DE BRIENNE d. 1270
ctess. of Eu ↓ ct. of Eu, chamberlain of France

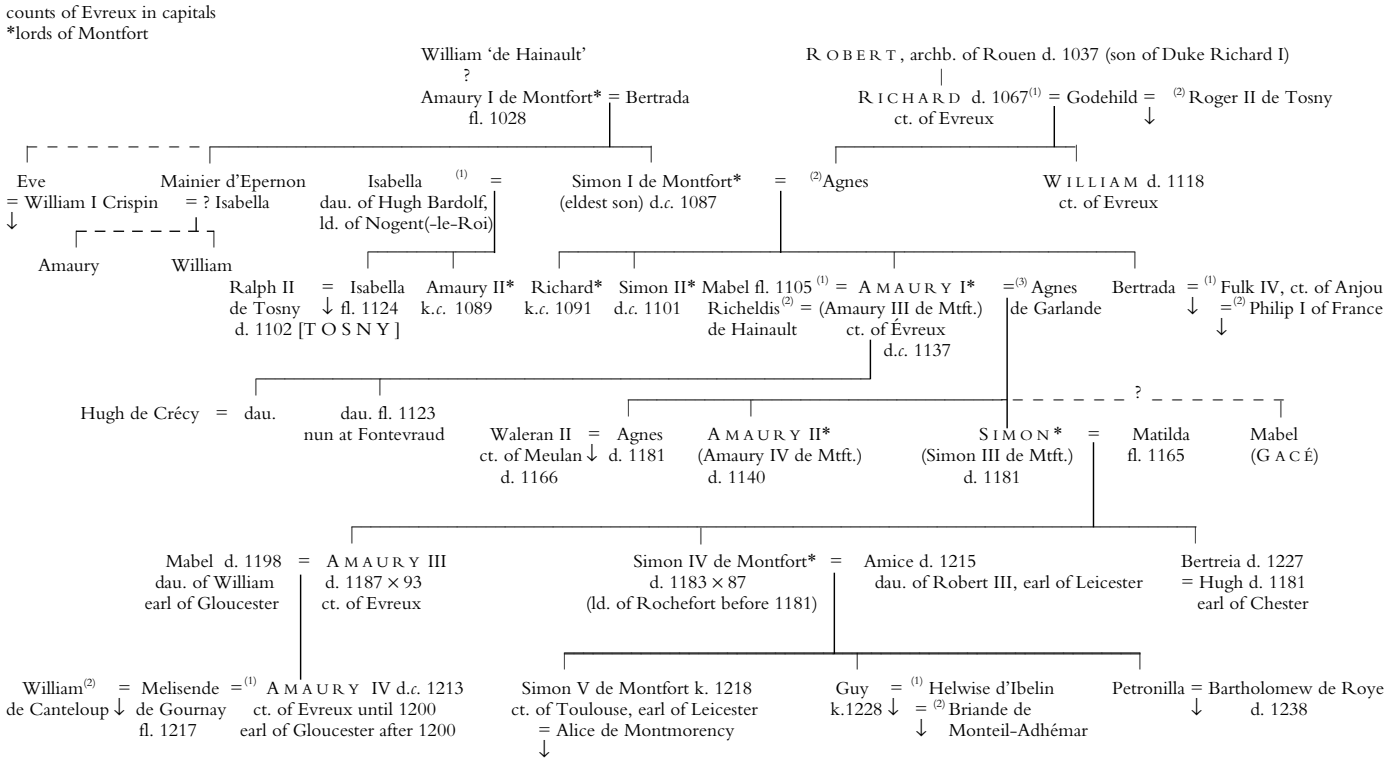
General: Delisle 1856, 545–53; *Complete Peerage*, v, 151–69; Douglas 1946, 135–40, 154–6; *GND*, ii, 8–10, 128, 262; Garnett 1994, 96–7, 100 n.111; Holt 1972, 52; Watson 1919–20; *Ctl. du Tréport*, no. LIII (Count Ralph I, 1191), and *passim*; BN, ms. lat. 13904 (*Cartulaire des Comtes d'Eu*); ADSM, D 17 (Count Henry III, 1190), 8 H 8, 8 H 9, 8 H 12, 17 HP 1; *GND*, ii, 262; *Rot. Ob. Fin.*, 376 (Ida, daughter of a count of Eu and wife of William of Hastings); *Rot. Lib.*, 21; ADOI, H 4758; ADOI, H 4729 (acts of Joanna d'Eu, lady of Criel (1252); Alphonse and Mary, count and countess of Eu, 1256). For the wives of Ralph II, see *RHF*, xxiii, 443 (Joanna); Duchesne 1631, 263, *MGH, SS*, xxiii, 852, and xxv, 425 (Yolande); *Layettes*, ii, no. 3567 (Philippa, usually identified as a daughter of Simon de Dammartin and Mary, count and countess of Ponthieu; cf. *Actes de Ponthieu*, nos. CCCII, CDXXIII, CDLXXII).

[1] Orderic, vi, 350–2 (cf. Loyd 1951, 47).

[2] *Chancellor's Roll 8 Richard I*, 115 (Henry, son of the count of Eu, and his brother Adam); ADSM, 8 H 8 (act of Count Henry II, witnessed by his brother Henry).

[3] *Rot. Pat.*, 95.

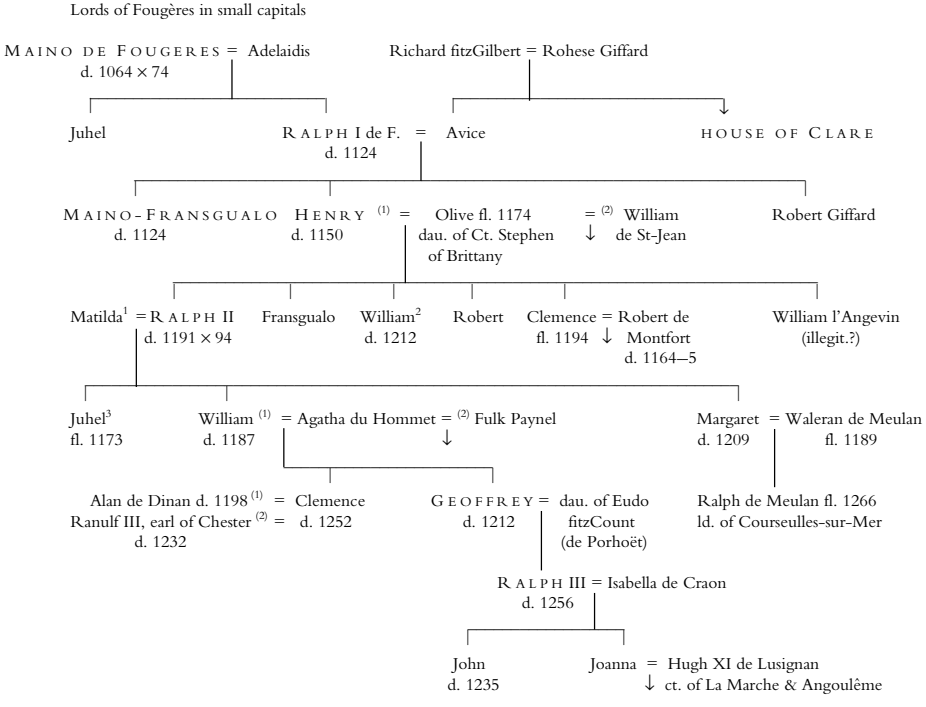
14. EVREUX-MONTFORT*



General: Rhein 1910, corrected by *Complete Peerage*, vii, 708–17, and Dor 1992, 18–49; above, pp. 86, 228–31, 288–95, 331–2, 380–3. For the early generations, see also Orderic, iii, 186–8; iv, 74, 198–202, 214–16; *Complete Peerage*, viii, 756–7 (Godehild de Tosny). For Nogent-le-Roi, see also above, p. 205; below, no. 31 (Tosny); BN, ms. lat. 17031, p. 11–12; ms. lat. 17048, pp. 431–43. Dor (1992, 26) names the wife of Hugh de Crécy as Luciana; it is not known whether she and her sister who became a nun of Fontevraud were the daughters of Amaury III's first or second wife.

For the marriages of the children of Simon IV, see *Complete Peerage*, vii, 540, 717; Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay, i, 286–7; Rhein 1910, 62, 68; Runciman 1951–4, iii, 205, and Appendix III, no. 1; Timbal 1949, 35, 117, 121; Dor 1992, 38–41.

15. FOUGERES



General: Vincent 1997, and the sources cited there; Keats-Rohan 1993b, 21–2; *RADN*, no. 162; *GND*, ii, 270; Torigni, ii, 156; Savigny Chronicle, in *RHF*, xviii, 351–2, and xxiii, 584–6; AN, L 968, nos. 207, 209; L 970, nos. 443–6; *Ctl. Fougères*, esp. nos. XLI–XLII; *QN*, no. 286; above, pp. 227, 251–2, 441.

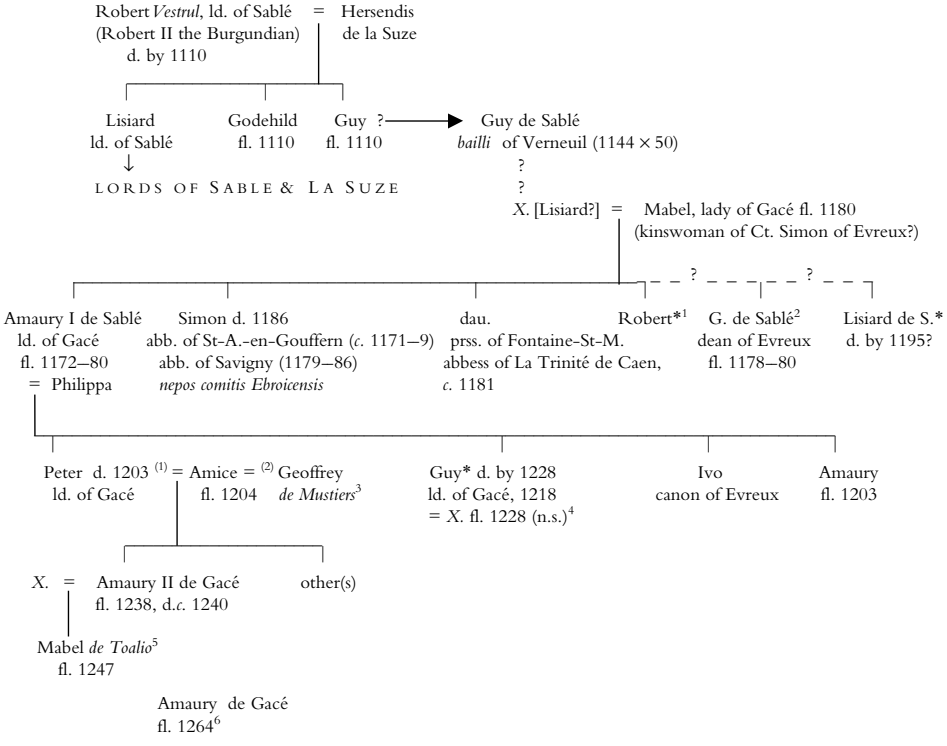
[1] *Missenden Ctl.*, iii, no. 702 (1168 × 73). Since Matilda's elder son was called Juhel and her grandson was Geoffrey, it is very tempting to assume that she was a daughter of Juhel I de Mayenne, but I know of no evidence to this effect.

[2] Custodian of Fougères from Ralph II's death until 1200, when Geoffrey came of age.

[3] *Gesta Henrici*, i, 57; AN, L 968, no. 220.

16. GACÉ (SABLÉ)

*witness for the family of Evreux-Montfort


Robert *Vestrul*, ld. of Sablé (Robert II the Burgundian) d. by 1110
=
Hersendis de la Suze
Lisiard ld. of Sablé
Godehild fl. 1110
Guy ? fl. 1110
Guy de Sablé *bailli* of Verneuil (1144 × 50)
LORDS OF SABLE & LA SUZE
X. [Lisiard?] = Mabel, lady of Gacé fl. 1180 (kinswoman of Ct. Simon of Evreux?)
Amaury I de Sablé ld. of Gacé fl. 1172–80 = Philippa
Simon d. 1186 abb. of St-A.-en-Gouffern (*c.* 1171–9) abb. of Savigny (1179–86) *nepos comitis Ebroicensis*
dau. prss. of Fontaine-St-M. abbess of La Trinité de Caen, *c.* 1181
Robert*[1]
G. de Sablé[2] dean of Evreux fl. 1178–80
Lisiard de S.* d. by 1195?
Peter d. 1203 ld. of Gacé
(1) = Amice fl. 1204 = (2) Geoffrey *de Mustiers*[3]
Guy* d. by 1228 ld. of Gacé, 1218 = X. fl. 1228 (n.s.)[4]
Ivo canon of Evreux
Amaury fl. 1203
X. = Mabel *de Toalio*[5] fl. 1247
Amaury II de Gacé fl. 1238, d.*c.* 1240
other(s)
Amaury de Gacé fl. 1264[6]

General: BN, ms. lat. 11055, fols. 64v–67r, nos. 113–17 (cf. ADOR, H 733, and Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 495–7, which wildly misdates some crucial acts); ADE, G 122, fols. 23r, nos. 93–5; ADOR, H 1823; ADC, H 6610; *RB*, ii, 629 (*Registres*, 269); *RHF*, xxiii, 637; *RN*, 39, 67, 114, 115; *Jugements*, no. 27; Powicke 1961, 340; Stevenson 1974, ii, 462–3. For the lords of Sablé (eleventh to twelfth centuries), see Lemesle 1999, 231–4.

Torigni, ii, 104, described the abbot of Savigny as 'nepos Simonis comitis Ebroicensis', whose sister, the prioress of Fontaine-St-Martin in Maine, became abbess of La Trinité

[1] ADE, G 122, fol. 23r, no. 93.

[2] *Papsturkunden*, *Normandie*, no. 196. Possibly the Geoffrey de Sablé whom Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux installed in the church of Neuville-sur-Touques, cant. Gacé (ADC, H 7061)?

[3] *P.R. 6 John*, 170. [4] *Ctl. Couture*, no. CCXCV.

[5] *QN*, no. 344: *querimonia* of Mabel, daughter of the late Amaury *de Toalio*, lord of Gacé (1247). The text implies that she was not sole heiress when her father married her to an unidentified husband; most probably there was another daughter. The 'manor' of *Toalium*, apparently near Bernay, could be the *Teilleium* mentioned below, n. 11.

[6] BN ms. lat. 11059, fols. 92r–93v.

de Caen in 1182 (*recte* 1181?). This must be Abbot Simon (1179–86), previously abbot of St-André-en-Gouffern.[7] Since an undated act of Amaury de Sablé was witnessed by his brother Simon, abbot of Savigny, it may be surmised that Amaury was also the count's *nepos*;[8] Amaury and Simon were, of course, the chief male names used in the Montfort family. There can be little doubt that Gacé came to the Sablés from the counts of Evreux: it had belonged to Count William of Evreux; Peter de Sablé held the *vicomté* there around 1200; and his grandmother Mabel, lady of Gacé, was a benefactress there of the Montforts' priory of Hautes-Bruyères as well as of Evreux Cathedral and the abbey of St-Sauveur d'Evreux.[9] The later descent is revealed by a *vidimus* of Amaury de Gacé (1229) of an act of his father 'Peter de Gacé, son of Amaury'; elsewhere Peter described 'M'., lady of Gacé, as his grandmother.[10] While Mabel's exact relationship to Count Simon remains unclear, it is intriguing to note that the first wife of Simon's father Amaury de Montfort had also been called Mabel (Rhein (1910), 39 and *Pièces*, no. III).

The relationship of the Sablé lords of Gacé to the lords of Sablé in Maine is more problematic, although the use of the unusual name Lisiard in the Norman family implies that such a bond of kinship existed (or was believed to exist). Mabel was also a benefactress of Fontaine-St-Martin, where her daughter became prioress.[11] If the Norman family was a cadet branch of the lords of Sablé, its connection with a monastery so close to La Suze could imply descent from Hersendis de La Suze, mother of Lisiard, lord of Sablé in the 1120s. A prime contender for the ancestor of the Norman family is Guy de Sablé, one of Geoffrey of Anjou's chief associates in Normandy,[12] perhaps Lisiard's brother of that name (fl. 1110).[13] Guy would have been well placed to arrange an advantageous marriage alliance with the heirs of Amaury de Montfort in the 1140s, just as Waleran of Meulan did.[14] Did Guy marry his son to a kinswoman, possibly even a sister of the young Count Simon of Evreux (perhaps Mabel herself?), appropriating part of the honour of Evreux as her dowry? This son must remain putative, but he could be the Lisiard de Sablé who witnessed an undated act of Count Simon, although this could also be the Lisiard who was dead or forfeit in 1195.[15] Alternatively, perhaps Guy himself married Mabel.

[7] *GC*, xi, cols. 547, 744; col. 433 calls this abbess Matilda, but by 1183 the abbess was called Joanna (*Holy Trinity Charters*, *England*, 139).

[8] *Ctl. Perseigne*, no. LVIII.

[9] Orderic, iv, 184; ADE, G 122, fol. 23r, nos. 93–5. An act of Count Simon for St-Evroul confirms property at Gacé, but poses problems of authenticity (BN, ms. lat. 11055, fols. 201r–v, no. 618; *CDF*, no. 628).

[10] BN, ms. lat. 11055, fols. 64v–65v, no. 113; ADE, G 122, fol. 23r, no. 94.

[11] ADE, G 122, fol. 23r, no. 93 ('M. de Gaceio'). Cf. Linière 1906, 179–81, no. 9 (ADSA, H 1545): act of William de St-Cénery for Fontaine-St-Martin, witnessed by Mabel, lady of Gacé, in the hall of Amaury de Gacé at *Teilleium* (1180).

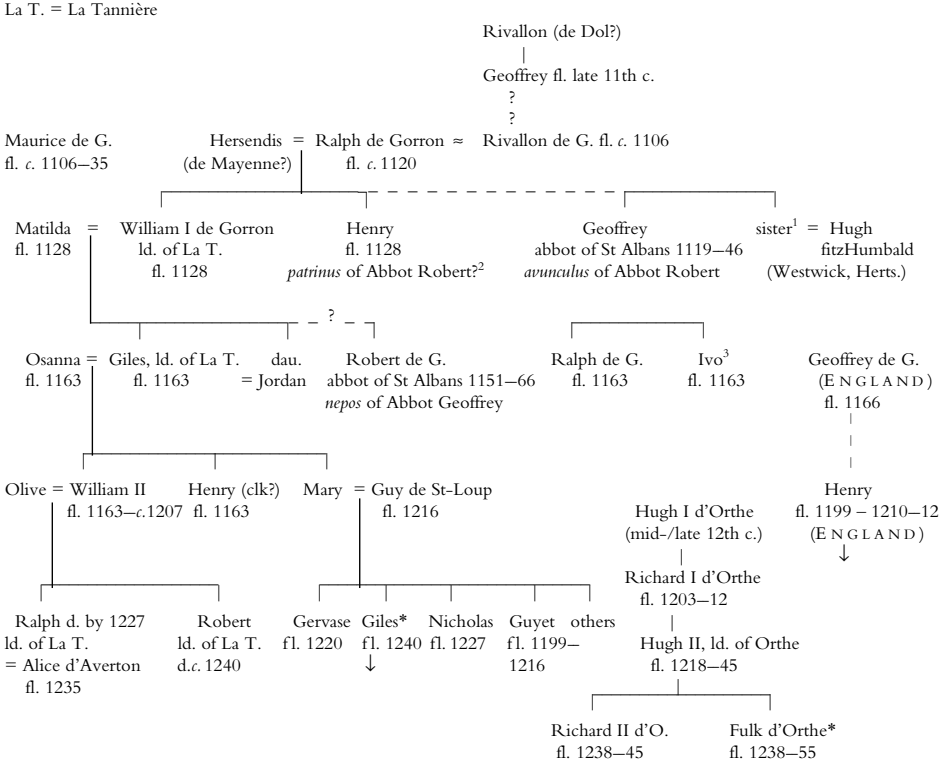
[12] *MRSN*, iii, lii; for Guy, see Haskins 1918, 145; Chartrou 1928, 100; cf. Chibnall 1991, 106. Orderic, ii, 30, believed that the Norman connections of the lords of Sablé were much older, stating that his contemporary Lisiard de Sablé was descended from a daughter of Giroie by Solomon de Sablé. However, this genealogy is contradicted by the charter evidence for the lords of Sablé.

[13] *Ctl. Manceau*, ii, 93.

[14] Crouch 1986, 52.

[15] *Analectes historiques*, 19–20, no. VII (ADE, H-dépôt Evreux, p. 1, no. 2); *MRSN*, i, 254. A Lisiard de Sablé also witnessed an act of Amaury, lord of Gacé, probably in the 1180s (BN, ms. lat. 11055, fol. 66r, no. 115); since he was not amongst the sons whom Amaury named in another act (fol. 66v, no. 117), he was more probably Amaury's younger brother. Another contender for the ancestor of the Norman family of Sablé is a certain William *de Sabruel* who appears in Normandy in 1151 × 53 (*Actes de Henri II*, i, no. XL*).

17. GORRON


La T. = La Tannière
Rivallon (de Dol?)
Geoffrey fl. late 11th c.
Maurice de G. fl. c. 1106–35
Hersendis (de Mayenne?) = Ralph de Gorron fl. c. 1120 ≈ Rivallon de G. fl. c. 1106
Matilda fl. 1128 = William I de Gorron ld. of La T. fl. 1128
Henry fl. 1128 patrinus of Abbot Robert?2
Geoffrey abbot of St Albans 1119–46 avunculus of Abbot Robert
sister1 = Hugh fitzHumbald (Westwick, Herts.)
Osanna fl. 1163 = Giles, ld. of La T. fl. 1163
dau. = Jordan
Robert de G. abbot of St Albans 1151–66 nepos of Abbot Geoffrey
Ralph de G. fl. 1163
Ivo3 fl. 1163
Geoffrey de G. (ENGLAND) fl. 1166
Olive = William II fl. 1163–c.1207
Henry (clk?) fl. 1163
Mary = Guy de St-Loup fl. 1216
Hugh I d'Orthe (mid-/late 12th c.)
Henry fl. 1199 – 1210–12 (ENGLAND)
Richard I d'Orthe fl. 1203–12
Ralph d. by 1227 ld. of La T. = Alice d'Averton fl. 1235
Robert ld. of La T. d.c. 1240
Gervase fl. 1220
Giles* fl. 1240
Nicholas fl. 1227
Guyet fl. 1199–1216
others
Hugh II, ld. of Orthe fl. 1218–45
Richard II d'O. fl. 1238–45
Fulk d'Orthe* fl. 1238–55

∗ Heirs of Robert de Gorron. Andrew, lord of Vitré, also had an unspecified claim or interest in the succession.
In 1199 Juhel *de Mota*, Geoffrey *de Cunbrai* and Geoffrey du Bois-Bérenger were all described as *consanguinei* of William de Gorron (*Rot. Chart.*, 59).

General: *Généalogies mayennaises*, 651–71, 689–93; Gorham 1838; Gorham 1840; *Ctl. Manceau*, ii, 6–7; AN, L 969, nos. 376, 385–6; L 970, no. 542; L 972, nos. 639–41; L 979, no. 55; BN, ms. lat. 9215, no. 101; *Ctl. Abbayette*, nos. 10, 20, 29–33, 36; *Ctl. Fontaine-Daniel*, nos. CXX–CXXII, CLIX, CCVIII; *Rot. Chart.*, 59. For the English Gorrons or Gorhams, see also *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani*, 72–3, 80, 95–6, 110–11, 131–2, 168–9; *RB*, i, 360; ii, 508; *Rot. Curiæ Regis*, i, 158; *Memo. Roll 1 John*, 12; *Heads of Religious Houses*, 66–7. Orthe: see also *Ctl. Vivoin*, no. II; *Ctl. Manceau*, i, 295; *RN*, 69.

[1] *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani*, i, 95.
[2] *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani*, i, 168–9. Should this in fact read 'patruus'? *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani*, i, 131–2, also mentions monks of St Albans called Robert and Geoffrey de Gorron (mid-twelfth century).
[3] AN, L 972, no. 641. Possibly the Ivo de Gorron who held Westwick (Gorham 1838, 190 and n.)?

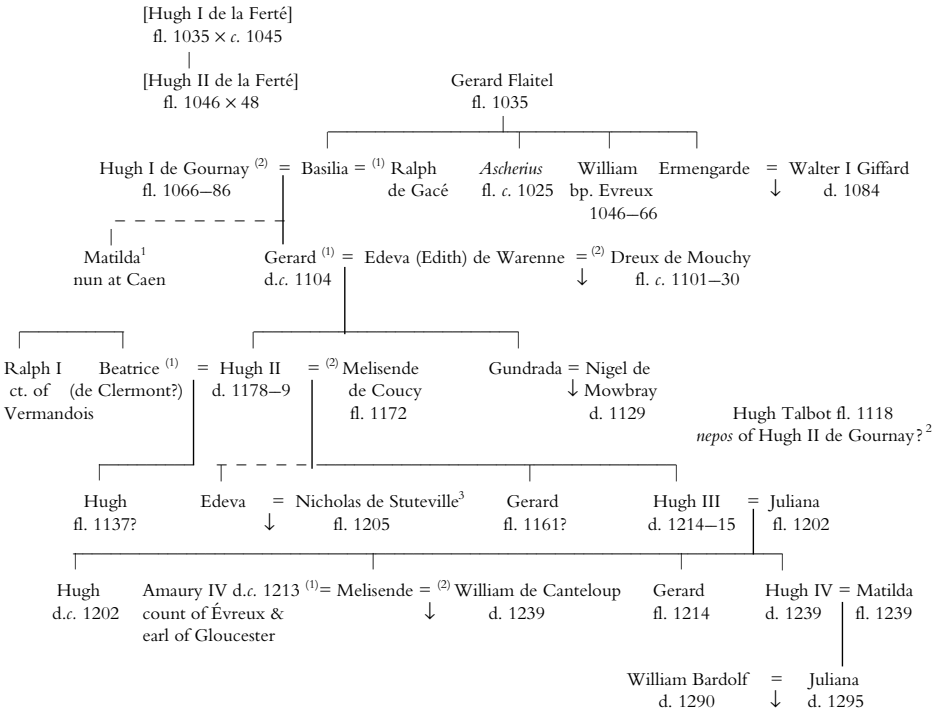
Keats-Rohan (1991, 168–9) suggests that Geoffrey fitz Rivallon was the son of Rivallon de Dol and father of Rivallon de Gorron, and that the latter was the ancestor of the Gorron family. Certainly both Geoffrey fitzRivallon and William I de Gorron held property at Livaré, but the connection could also have been through the female line. However, an early act for Savigny, copied from a roll into the abbey's cartulary (destroyed in 1944), names William I's parents as Ralph de Gorron and Hersendis; the witness-list implies that she was the sister of Hamelin and Juhel I de Mayenne (BMF, ms. 23, pp. 862–4). Elsewhere (*ibid*., p. 871) '*Ruall*' and William de Gorron appear together; perhaps Ralph and Ruallon were the same person, although the two names are not normally interchangeable. If the Gorrons were of Breton origin it was soon forgotten: the *Gesta Abbatum Sancti Albani* refers only to the Manceau and Norman connections of abbots Geoffrey and Robert.

The evidence for the succession to Robert de Gorron, lord of La Tannière (d. *c.*1240), is contradictory. One heir, Giles de St-Loup, was the grandson of Giles de Gorron (fl. 1163); his younger brother Nicholas had already received the dowry of his mother, Mary de Gorron, as his inheritance.[4] The other heir was Fulk, younger son of Hugh II d'Orthe, but the nature of his claim cannot be established; Angot gave two conflicting explanations.[5]

[4] *Ctl. Fontaine-Daniel*, no. cxx.

[5] *Généalogies mayennaises*, 657, 660 (table), 670, makes Fulk one of the sons-in-law of Gervase de St-Loup; *ibid*., 689–90, names Fulk's mother as a Gorron but conflates Hugh I and Hugh II d'Orthe. Perhaps Fulk's grandfather Richard I or great-grandfather Hugh I had married an (unrecorded) daughter of Giles de Gorron. For the first explanation the *Généalogies* used a seventeenth-century copy of a supposed act of Geoffrey, bishop of Le Mans, regulating the division of Robert's inheritance (*ibid*., 670), which is not beyond suspicion; it was not included in *Actes des Evêques du Mans*.

18. GOURNAY


[Hugh I de la Ferté]
fl. 1035 × c. 1045
[Hugh II de la Ferté]
fl. 1046 × 48
Gerard Flaitel
fl. 1035
Hugh I de Gournay (2) = Basilia = (1) Ralph de Gacé
fl. 1066–86
Ascherius fl. c. 1025
William bp. Evreux 1046–66
Ermengarde = Walter I Giffard d. 1084
Matilda[1] nun at Caen
Gerard (1) = Edeva (Edith) de Warenne = (2) Dreux de Mouchy
d.c. 1104
fl. c. 1101–30
Ralph I ct. of Vermandois
Beatrice (1) (de Clermont?) = Hugh II d. 1178–9
= (2) Melisende de Coucy fl. 1172
Gundrada = Nigel de Mowbray d. 1129
Hugh Talbot fl. 1118
nepos of Hugh II de Gournay?[2]
Hugh fl. 1137?
Edeva = Nicholas de Stuteville[3] fl. 1205
Gerard fl. 1161?
Hugh III d. 1214–15 = Juliana fl. 1202
Hugh d.c. 1202
Amaury IV d.c. 1213 count of Évreux & earl of Gloucester
(1) = Melisende = (2) William de Canteloup d. 1239
Gerard fl. 1214
Hugh IV d. 1239 = Matilda fl. 1239
William Bardolf d. 1290 = Juliana d. 1295

In general: Gurney 1848–58, i, *passim*; *HKF*, iii, 420–3; *RADN*, nos. 30, 103, 107, 166, and *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 212 (p. 658); Orderic, iv, 186, 282–4; vi, 190–2, 486; *GND*, ii, 214, 268; 'Genealogia Regum Francorum', *RHF*, xiv, 4; Chronicle of Aubry de Trois-Fontaines, *MGH*, *SS*, xxiii, 824; ADN, 1 H 41, no. 466; ADE, H 633; BMRO, Y 51, fol. 53v; BN, ms. lat. 13905, p. 162; above, pp. 190, 233, 355–9. At first sight Hugh II seems implausibly long-lived, as if the two wives attributed to him actually married a father and son of the same name. However, in an act of 1172 Hugh de Gournay, husband of Melisende, named his father as Gerard (ADE, H 711, fols. 51v–52r, no. 116; cf. no. 115), and a charter produced before the English *curia regis* in 1212 called Melisende's husband the son of Edith (*CRR*, vi, 272–3), although its authenticity is not beyond doubt (see above, p. 356 n.94).

GND, ii, 214, states that Hugh II married a sister of Ralph I of Vermandois. It seems more probable that she was Ralph's half-sister, a daughter of his mother Adeliza of Vermandois by her second husband, Renaud, count of Clermont-en-Beauvaisis (cf. *RHF*, xii, 267, and xiii, 415 (*Registres*, 550); *Ctl. Pontoise*, 304); for this wife, Beatrice, see *Ctl. St-Leu*

[1] Van Houts 1997, 123.

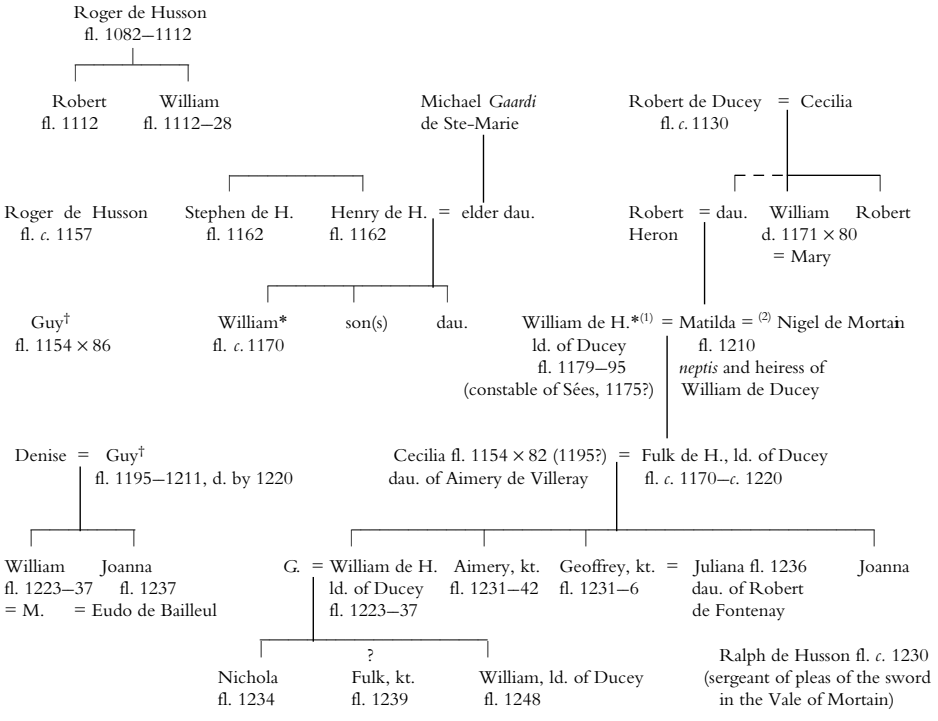
[2] Orderic, vi, 192, although it is unclear whether he was *nepos* of Hugh de Gournay – perhaps a cousin rather than a nephew – or another man, Bertrand *Rumex*.

[3] *EYC*, ix, 45–6.

Esserent, no. XLVI (issued to a priory closely associated with the counts of Clermont), which mentions their son Hugh (for whom see also BN, ms. lat. 17137, fol. 257r–v, no. 379); ADOI, H 7657 (*inspeximus* of Walter archbishop of Rouen). Gurney took this son to be the Hugh whom Orderic, vi, 486, numbered amongst the *adolescentes* in King Stephen's army in 1137, although the passage is ambiguous (cf. Torigni, i, 207). It would appear, then, that there was only one lord of Gournay called Hugh for most of the twelfth century, who remarried after the death of his adult son and heir.

The origins of Hugh III's Juliana remain unknown: she was certainly not a sister of Count Renaud of Boulogne, as later tradition maintained (Gurney 1848–58, i, 146–9).

19. HUSSON

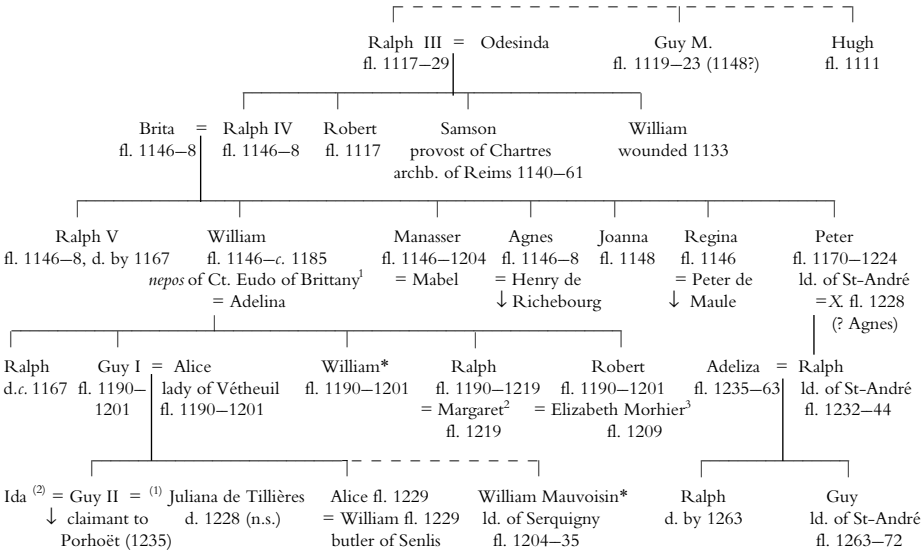


∗ William, son of Henry, and William, husband of Matilda de Ducey, could be the same person, although the former would have been barely old enough to act as constable of Sées in 1175.

† Guy (fl. 1154 × 86) and Guy (d. by 1223) were possibly the same person.

For the early generations shown here, see BMAV, ms. 210, fols. 85r–86v; *Regesta*, ed. Bates, no. 215 (p. 683); BN, ms. lat. 5441, ii, p. 404; *Thes. Anec.*, i, 332 (*GC*, xi, instr., cols. 110–11; *RRAN*, ii, no. 1015) (Husson). For the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, see *Ctl. Montmorel*, nos. CIX–CXXVII, *passim*; *LCSV*, nos. 45, 88; BMF, ms. 22, pp. 157–9, no. 125; AN, L 967, no. 176; L 968, nos. 280–1, 283–5; L 969, nos. 353–4, 427; L 970, nos. 495–6; L 973, nos. 810, 843; L 975, nos. 1047–8, 1056, 1058–9; L 976, no. 1138; L 977, no. 1247; L 979, nos. 86–8; *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. LXXIX, CCXCVI, and 446 n.1; *MRSN*, i, 11, 215 (also 244, for Cecilia de Villeray?); ii, 300; *RHF*, xiii, 612, 729; *Registres*, 305; *Jugements*, nos. 307, 409; Haskins 1918, 338 and n. 14; above, pp. 234–5.

These documents permit several quite different reconstructions; the table given here is offered as the most plausible descent, largely for reasons of chronology. It differs substantially from Pouëssel (1981, 103–6), who does not use the collections of original acts for Savigny. There were certainly two distinct branches by the late twelfth century, for in the 1230s we find William, son of Guy (AN, L 969, no. 427), and William, son of Fulk, lord of Ducey (e.g. BMRO, Y 201, fol. 70r–v). The different fines paid in 1195 suggest that Guy then represented the senior and Fulk's father William, lord of Ducey, the junior branch (*MRSN*, i, 215). The two branches are still discernible in a muster roll of 1272 (*RHF*, xxiii, 735).



∗ It is possible that the William Mauvoisin who received Serquigny in 1204 was the brother, not son, of Guy I Mauvoisin.

General: *Ctl. Pontoise*, 250–67 (including details of the eleventh-century generations, not shown here); *GC*, ix, col. 84, and x, instr., cols. 258–9; BMRO, Y 51, fol. 23v; ADSM, 4 H 17, 7 H 2186; ADY, 21 H 4; Lot 1913, nos. 57, 120, 186; *Ctl. Bonport*, nos. VIII–IX; above, pp. 254–5, and App. I, no. 11 (Crispin). Depoin's numbering of the various Ralphs is adopted here.

William (d. *c.*1185): above, p. 404. His brother Manasser: above, pp. 238, 404; *Ch. St-Germain*, ii, no. CXXXI, and *Ctl. N.-D. Chartres*, i, no. CXXXI, which confirm that Guy II Mauvoisin and Peter de Richebourg were his nephews.

Despite the longevity which it implies, Peter, the brother of William and Manasser (BMRO, Y 51, fol. 10r; *Ch. St-Germain*, ii, nos. CCCLX–CCCLXI), already an adult in 1169–70 (*P.R. 16 Henry II*, 15), cannot be distinguished from the royal knight who received St-André in the Evrecin, fought at Bouvines and was still alive in 1224 (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1305; *Registres*, 198, 201; Will. Bret., 272, 283; *CN*, no. 1129). For his descendants at St-André, see BN, ms. lat. 5464, no. 189; ADE, H 262, fols. 114r–118r, and H 430; ADY, 46 H 5, liasse 16, and 46 H 6, liasse 5; *Jugements*, no. 411; *CN*, nos. 493, 1165. It is not clear if 'Peter Mauvoisin of Ennery' in the French Vexin (fl. 1209), husband of Agnes and father of John, lord of Ennery, was the same man (AN, LL 1157, pp. 630–1; *Ctl. Pontoise*, 257–8).

William, lord of Serquigny (1231): *QN*, no. 342; *CN*, no. 385; *Ctl. Beaumont*, no. XXXV; probably also *Ctl. Vaux-de-Cernay*, i, no. CLXXX.

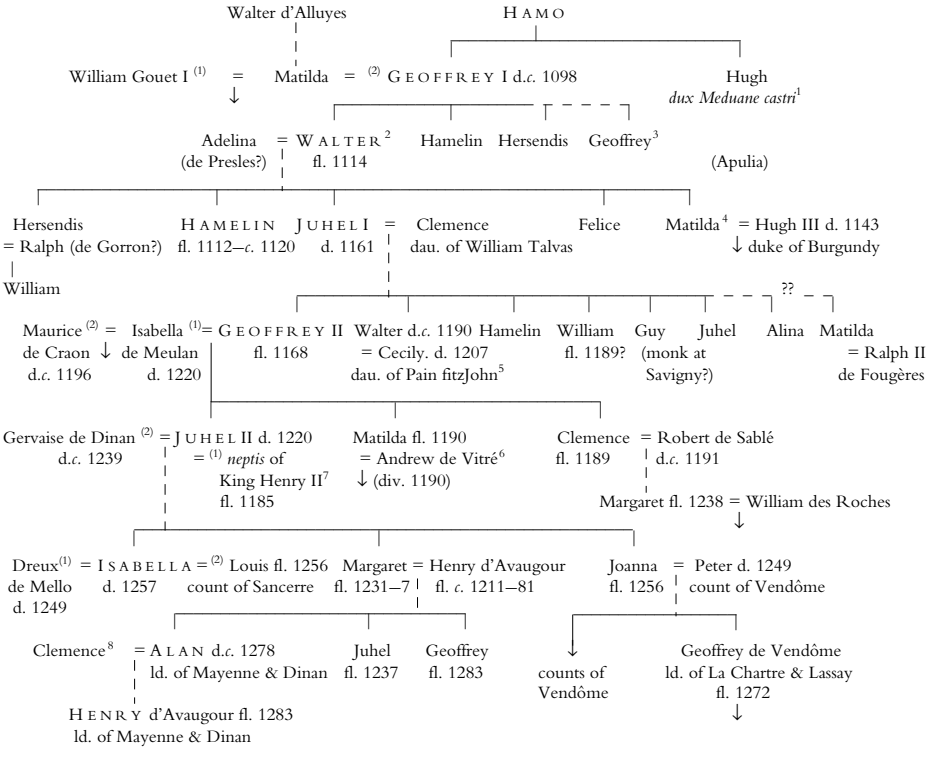
For Guy II's claims to Porhoët in 1235, see *Layettes*, ii, nos. 2389–94, 2399–400. The kinship, if any, of William Mauvoisin, bishop of Glasgow (1200–2) and St Andrews (1202–38), to this lineage, is not known.

[1] *Becket Materials*, iii, 129. The claim of William's grandson to Porhoët in 1235 suggests that Eudo's *nepos* was the lord of Rosny rather than another William Mauvoisin. Perhaps it is significant that William's mother was called 'Brita' ('the Breton woman').

[2] *Neustria Pia*, 604. [3] *Ctl. Vaux-de-Cernay*, i, no. CLXVIII.

21. MAYENNE

lords of Mayenne in small capitals


Walter d'Alluyes
HAMO
William Gouet I (1) = ↓ Matilda = (2) GEOFFREY I d.c. 1098
Hugh
dux Meduane castri[1]
Adelina (de Presles?) = WALTER[2] fl. 1114
Hamelin
Hersendis
Geoffrey[3]
(Apulia)
Hersendis = Ralph (de Gorron?)
HAMELIN fl. 1112–c. 1120
JUHEL I d. 1161 = Clemence dau. of William Talvas
Felice
Matilda[4] = Hugh III d. 1143 ↓ duke of Burgundy
William
??
Maurice (2) = de Craon ↓ d.c. 1196
Isabella (1) = de Meulan d. 1220
= GEOFFREY II fl. 1168
Walter d.c. 1190 = Cecily. d. 1207 dau. of Pain fitzJohn[5]
Hamelin
William fl. 1189?
Guy (monk at Savigny?)
Juhel
Alina
Matilda = Ralph II de Fougères
Gervaise de Dinan (2) = d.c. 1239
= JUHEL II d. 1220 = (1) neptis of King Henry II[7] fl. 1185
Matilda fl. 1190 = Andrew de Vitré[6] ↓ (div. 1190)
Clemence fl. 1189 = Robert de Sablé d.c. 1191
Margaret fl. 1238 = William des Roches ↓
Dreux (1) = de Mello d. 1249
ISABELLA = (2) Louis fl. 1256 count of Sancerre
d. 1257
Margaret = Henry d'Avaugour fl. 1231–7 fl. c. 1211–81
Joanna = Peter d. 1249 fl. 1256 count of Vendôme
Clemence[8] = ALAN d.c. 1278 ld. of Mayenne & Dinan
Juhel fl. 1237
Geoffrey fl. 1283
HENRY d'Avaugour fl. 1283 ld. of Mayenne & Dinan
↓ counts of Vendôme
Geoffrey de Vendôme ld. of La Chartre & Lassay fl. 1272 ↓

General: Morice, *Preuves*, i, and *Anciens évêchés de Bretagne*, *passim*; AN, K 24, nos. 2^2, 16^7 (*Mon. Hist.*, nos. 555, 614); *Ctl. Manceau*, i, e.g. 35–7; *Généalogies mayennaises*, 493–634, modified by Keats-Rohan 1993b, 27–9 (Adelina de Presles); Meazey 1997, 71–146; Power 2003a, 212–16. For Avaugour, see also above, App. I, nos. 1 (l'Aigle), 6 (Beaumont-sur-Sarthe); *Anciens évêchés de Bretagne*, iii, no. CXVII (ADCA, ms. 2, p. 81).

At Juhel II's death Isabella initially received Mayenne and her father's *acquêt* of Guarplic (Le Guesclin) in Brittany; Margaret received another acquisition, Pontorson; Joanna received Lassay in Northern Maine (see above, pp. 165–7, 461–6). After their mother Gervaise's death, her rights at Dinan were partitioned between the husbands of Isabella and Margaret. Isabella's inheritance at Mayenne at Dinan passed to her nephew Alan d'Avaugour after her death.

[1] *Ctl. Abbayette*, no. 8.

[2] BMF, ms. 23, pp. 872–6, notices of act of Walter de Mayenne (31 Mar. 1114). *Chroniques d'Anjou*, 158, places Walter at the battle of Alençon in 1118, but this seems unlikely.

[3] *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis*, 417–19.

[4] Bouchard 1987, 259. The duke of Burgundy gave a horse to one of the men of Mayenne (*Ctl. Manceau*, ii, 17).

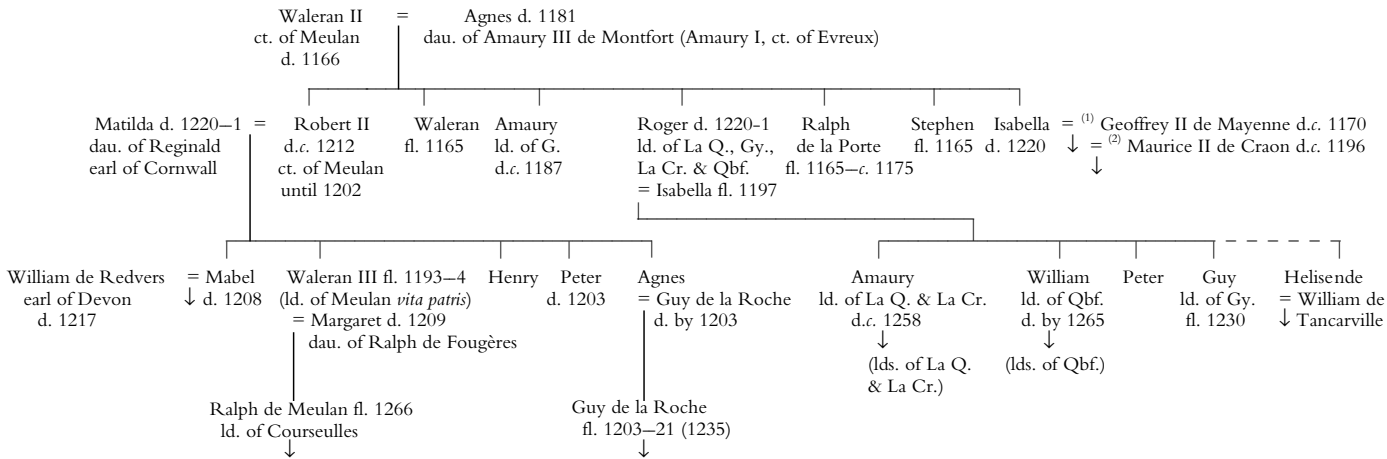
[5] *Complete Peerage*, ix, 424–6; Sanders 1960, 144; *Domesday Monachorum*, 49; Wightman 1966, 175–7; 'Hereford charters', nos. 63–7. She was also the widow of Earl Roger of Hereford and closely related to the Herefordshire Lacys and Talbots, although her exact maternal descent from these families is disputed.

[6] *Maison de Laval*, i, 294; v, no. 3194 (*Charters of Duchess Constance*, no. C23).

[7] *P.R. 31 Henry II*, 216.

[8] Meazey (1997, 120) identifies her as the daughter of Hawise, heiress of the surviving senior branch of the lords of Dinan, by Alan de Beaufort (cf. ADCA, H 423; *Anciens évêchés de Bretagne*, iv, 409).

Gy. Gournay-sur-Marne
La Cr. La Croix-St-Leufroy
La Q. La Queue
Qbf. Quittebeuf

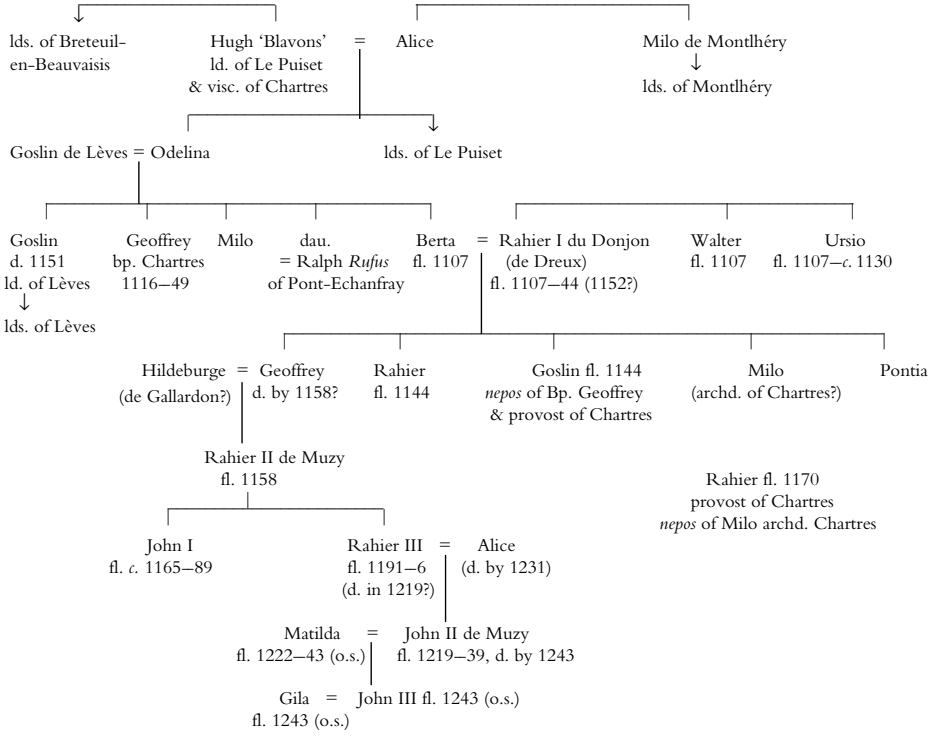


The ancestors and siblings of Waleran II of Meulan are well documented and need no repetition here; see Houth 1961; Crouch 1986, 9–13, 15–17, and the sources cited there. For his children, see especially *Ch. St-Martin-des-Champs*, ii, no. 386; AN, L 974, nos. 929–45; Houth 1963. For the wife and children of Robert II, see *Rot. Claus.*, i, 345, 391, 429, 590, 601; *Redvers Charters*, 14 and App. II, nos. 37–8; *Rot. Chart.*, 33; *QN*, no. 286; Powicke 1961, 344–5; Holt 1992, 174–6; above, pp. 245–6, 405, 430–1.

Roger de Meulan and his descendants: *Layettes*, i, no. 736; *GC*, viii, instr., col. 353; xi, instr., col. 143; Coll. Vexin, III, p. 36; BN, ms. fr. nouv. acq. 7384, fols. 39v–40r, 43r; *Ch. St-Martin-des-Champs*, iii, no. 776; *CN*, no. 501 n.1; La Roque 1663, iv, 1359–60, 1625, and Suppl., 7; Power 2001a, 129–30 and nn. 45–7; below, no. 24 (Le Neubourg). It would be tempting to link Roger's wife Isabella to the Mauvoisins on account of the names of her younger sons; Roger was the chief witness for an act of Guy Mauvoisin (*Ctl. Josaphat*, i, no. CCCV).

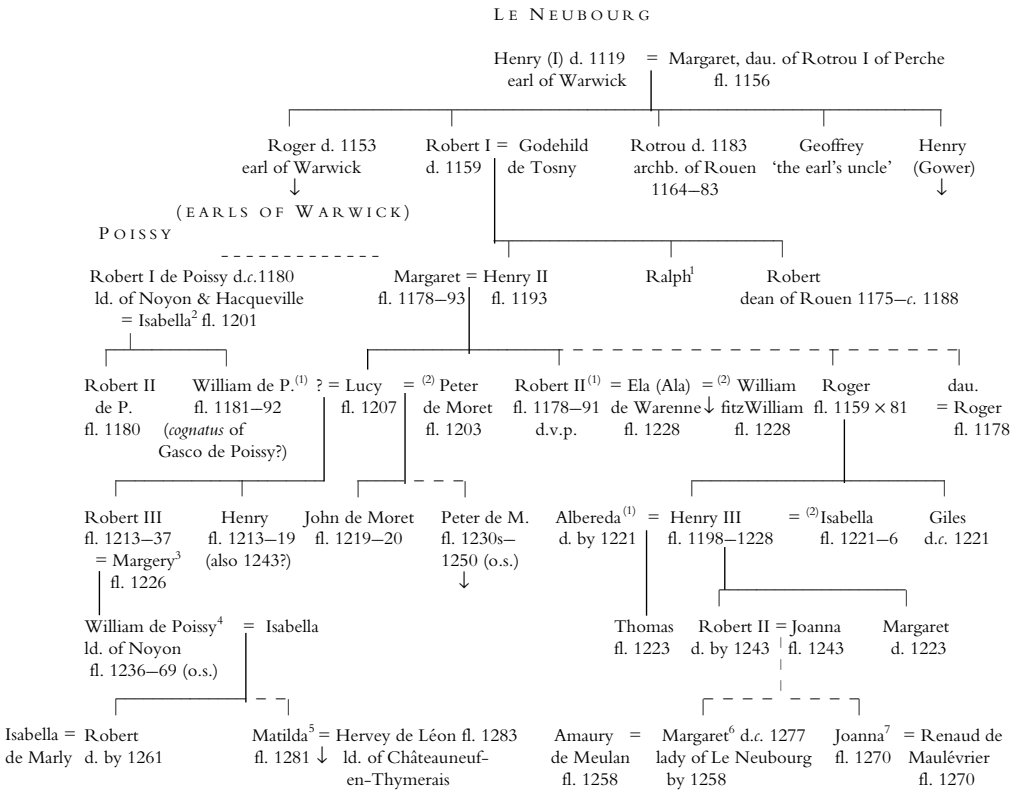
23. MUZY (DONJON)

The first part of the following table is intended to show the main connections of Berta, wife of Rahier du Donjon.


lds. of Breteuil-en-Beauvaisis
Hugh 'Blavons' ld. of Le Puiset & visc. of Chartres
=
Alice
Milo de Montlhéry
lds. of Montlhéry
Goslin de Lèves = Odelina
lds. of Le Puiset
Goslin d. 1151 ld. of Lèves
lds. of Lèves
Geoffrey bp. Chartres 1116–49
Milo
dau. = Ralph *Rufus* of Pont-Echanfray
Berta fl. 1107
= Rahier I du Donjon (de Dreux) fl. 1107–44 (1152?)
Walter fl. 1107
Ursio fl. 1107–*c.* 1130
Hildeburge (de Gallardon?)
= Geoffrey d. by 1158?
Rahier fl. 1144
Goslin fl. 1144 *nepos* of Bp. Geoffrey & provost of Chartres
Milo (archd. of Chartres?)
Pontia
Rahier II de Muzy fl. 1158
Rahier fl. 1170 provost of Chartres *nepos* of Milo archd. Chartres
John I fl. *c.* 1165–89
Rahier III fl. 1191–6 (d. in 1219?)
= Alice (d. by 1231)
Matilda fl. 1222–43 (o.s.)
= John II de Muzy fl. 1219–39, d. by 1243
Gila fl. 1243 (o.s.)
= John III fl. 1243 (o.s.)

General: ADE, H 319 (especially fols. 4r–5v, 13v, 16r–19v, 73v, 75r–76v, 79r–v), H 320–h 323; *Ctl. St-Père*, i, 274–7; ii, 580–1; *Ctl. Fontevraud*, nos. 201, 536; *Ctl. Josaphat*, i, especially nos. LXVIII, CXIV–CXV, CCII; Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 430–5; Power 1995, 195; above, pp. 269–72. The genealogies of Le Puiset and Montlhéry are based upon Dion 1883 and La Monte 1942; cf. Riley-Smith 1997, 169–70, 248.

24. NEUBOURG (LE), POISSY (NOYON)


LE NEUBOURG
Henry (I) d. 1119 earl of Warwick = Margaret, dau. of Rotrou I of Perche fl. 1156
Roger d. 1153 earl of Warwick
Robert I d. 1159 = Godehild de Tosny
Rotrou d. 1183 archb. of Rouen 1164–83
Geoffrey 'the earl's uncle'
Henry (Gower)
(EARLS OF WARWICK)
POISSY
Robert I de Poissy d.c.1180 ld. of Noyon & Hacqueville = Isabella[2] fl. 1201
Margaret = Henry II fl. 1178–93 fl. 1193
Ralph[1]
Robert dean of Rouen 1175–c. 1188
Robert II de P. fl. 1180
William de P.[(1)] fl. 1181–92 (cognatus of Gasco de Poissy?)
? = Lucy fl. 1207
= (2) Peter de Moret fl. 1203
Robert II[(1)] fl. 1178–91 d.v.p.
= Ela (Ala) de Warenne fl. 1228
= (2) William fitzWilliam fl. 1228
Roger fl. 1159 × 81
dau. = Roger fl. 1178
Robert III fl. 1213–37 = Margery[3] fl. 1226
Henry fl. 1213–19 (also 1243?)
John de Moret fl. 1219–20
Peter de M. fl. 1230s–1250 (o.s.)
Albereda[(1)] d. by 1221
= Henry III fl. 1198–1228
= (2) Isabella fl. 1221–6
Giles d.c. 1221
William de Poissy[4] ld. of Noyon fl. 1236–69 (o.s.) = Isabella
Thomas fl. 1223
Robert II d. by 1243 = Joanna fl. 1243
Margaret d. 1223
Isabella = Robert de Marly d. by 1261
Matilda[5] fl. 1281 = Hervey de Léon fl. 1283 ld. of Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais
Amaury = de Meulan fl. 1258
Margaret[6] d.c. 1277 lady of Le Neubourg by 1258
Joanna[7] fl. 1270 = Renaud de Maulévrier fl. 1270

LE NEUBOURG:

General: Crouch 1984; 1996; ADE, E 3745, fol. 1r; La Roque 1663, i, 253–6, 262 (some errors); *Actes de Henri II*, intro., 445–7. For Henry II du Neubourg and his heirs, see especially the following Bec acts: ms. lat. 13905, pp. 53–5; ADE, E 3745, fols. 1v–2r; *CDF*, no. 380 n.3; Porée 1901, i, 347–50.

There has been much confusion concerning the genealogy of the lords of Le Neubourg after 1159, especially as Henry II and Henry III are often conflated. The table above has been constructed in light of the following considerations.

(i) Between 1220 and 1228 Ela, widow of Robert II du Neubourg and wife of William fitzWilliam fitzGodric, sought dower in several English manors (*CRR*, ix, 300, 348; xiii, no. 705), including Basildon (Berks.), which Henry II du Neubourg and his

[1] A Ralph du Neubourg attended assizes at Longueville, probably as a ducal justice, between 1178 and 1189 (Valin (1910), 273–4, no. xx).

[2] *Rot. Curiæ Regis*, ii, 178.

[3] ADE, H 1243: gifts of Robert, 'miles de Pisciaco', and his wife *Margaria* to Fontaine-Guérard for the soul of their dead son John (not shown here) (1227).

[4] ADE, H 658, no. 11; BN, ms. fr. nouv. acq. 7384, fol. 44r–v; *CN*, no. 692, and ADSM, 51 HP 5, both of which mention William's late son Robert (cf. *Olim*, i, 524–5).

[5] *CN*, no. 974 and n.1; *RHF*, xxiii, 766, 768, 777.

[6] Plaisse 1961, 625–7; Porée 1901, i, 492–3; La Roque 1663, iv, 1359–60.

[7] La Roque 1663, 1359–60.

son Robert had acquired from Richard de Vernon of Harlaston (Staffs.) in the reign of King Henry II (*HMC Rutland*, iv, 21; Loyd 1951, 110; *HKF*, ii, 276–7). Ela and William had already exchanged her dower rights in Radepont with King John, where Robert (II) du Neubourg and his wife 'Ala' had previously made gifts (*Rot. Lib.*, 18; ADE, H 1230; Le Prévost 1862–9, i, 402–3). *EYC*, viii, 20–1, and no. 96 (a late thirteenth-century copy), shows that William fitzWilliam's wife Ela was a daughter of Isabella de Warenne by Hamelin, illegitimate brother of King Henry II, and calls her the widow of an otherwise unknown Robert *de Neuburn*, who must in fact have been Robert II du Neubourg.

(ii) In the court pleas of 1220–8 mentioned above, the opponents of Ela and William sometimes named Henry III, lord of Le Neubourg, as the brother of Robert II; Ela and William had initially claimed not to know who Robert II's heir was. However, since the heir of Henry II du Neubourg was under age in 1198 (*MRSN*, ii, 462), it is most unlikely that he was a brother of Robert II, who had been old enough to join the Third Crusade (Howden, iii, 62). Since in 1209 and 1218 Henry III du Neubourg was called 'son of Roger', perhaps the Roger du Neubourg who witnessed acts of Henry II du Neubourg (BN, ms. lat. 12884, fols. 285v, 296r; *HMC Rutland*, iv, 21), Henry III appears to have been a grandson of Henry II and to have succeeded him directly.

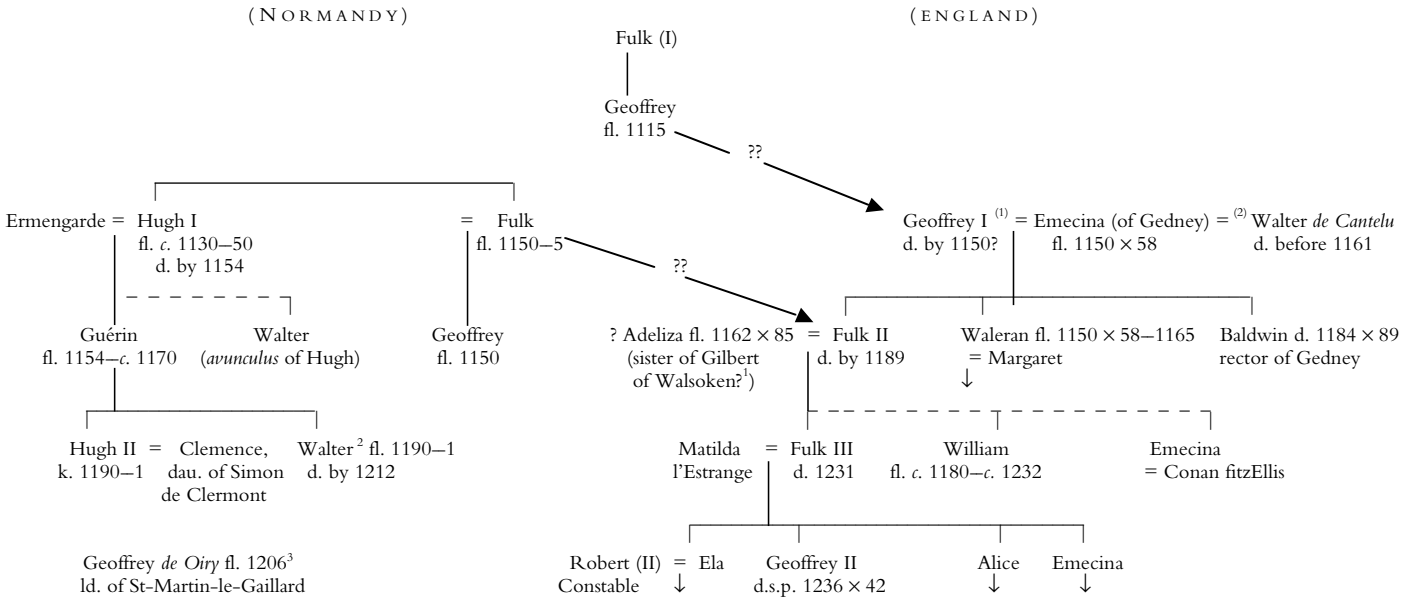
(iii) For Henry III and his two marriages, see BN, ms. fr. nouv. acq. 7384, fol. 44r–v; ms. lat. 12884, fols. 305r, 302r, 308r; it is not clear which wife was the mother of Henry's younger children. He last appears in 1228 (*ibid.*, fol. 311r). Robert III, apparently still under age in 1229, was lord of Le Neubourg in 1230, but dead in 1243 (*ibid.*, fols. 315r, 340v; *Jugements*, no. 453). Another Henry du Neubourg appears in 1258 and 1264, holding lands from his nephew Robert, a minor (*Jugements*, no. 813; *Olim*, i, 569–70). By 1258, however, the lordship of Le Neubourg had been divided between coheiresses.

Poissy

For Robert I de Poissy, *consiliarius* of Count Simon of Evreux and lord of Hacqueville in the Norman Vexin, see above, p. 209; BN, ms. lat. 12777, p. 732; ms. lat. 18369, pp. 95–6 (Gallagher, 'Ctl. Mortemer', 267); *RB*, ii, 643 (*Registres*, 275). His kinship to the family of Poissy, lords of Maisons-sur-Seine, is not established, but in *c.*1190 Gazo de Poissy, lord of Maisons, had a *cognatus* called William de Poissy, husband of Lucy (ADY, 46 H 6, liasse 7; *Ch. Abbécourt*, no. 12, concerning Villepreux, Yvelines, ar. St-Germain-en-Laye, cant. St-Nom-la-Bretèche): he may well have been Robert I's son William, proposed here as the husband of Lucy du Neubourg. Robert also received lands in England from King Henry II (above, p. 404).

Robert's son Robert succeeded to his English lands in 1180–1, but the following year they had come to William son of Robert (I?) de Poissy (*P.R. 27 Henry II,* 14; *P.R. 28 Henry II,* 19; *P.R. 34 Henry II,* 134, 199). He appears in an act concerning Vascœuil (1182 v× 96) and may be the William *de Pessy* on the Third Crusade (ADE, H 711, fols. 11v–12r, no. 20; Howden, iii, 193). In or before 1207, Lucy *de Pessiaco*, daughter of Henry du Neubourg, endowed the nuns of Fontaine-Guérard near Radepont from her dowry at Fontaine-sous-Jouy (cant. Evreux-nord), with the consent of her eldest son Robert (III) and her other sons. She also gave a millstream near the abbey, with the gift and consent of her 'lord' (i.e. husband) Peter de Moret, and wood from Radepont (ADE, H 1248: copy of *vidimus* of Walter, archbishop of Rouen (1207), mostly printed in Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 119). This suggests that Lucy first married William de Poissy, who – if he was indeed the crusader – was still alive in 1192, but her marriage to Peter de Moret must have taken place soon afterwards since Robert's brother John de Moret was old enough to participate in the partition of Radepont in 1219 (*Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iv, nos. 1566, 1575). By the 1230s the Moret lands in the Andelle valley had come to another Peter de Moret (*RHF*, xxiii, 247).

25. OYRY



[1] *CRR*, ii, 45–6, mentions Fulk III's *advunculus* Gilbert (1201). Major (1984, 6–7) suggests that he was Gilbert of Walsoken.

[2] *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 148; AN, R[I] 34, doss. 3, pièce 1; 'Nobiliaire du Beauvaisis', xxii, 131. [3] *Ctl. Tréport*, no. LXXXIII.

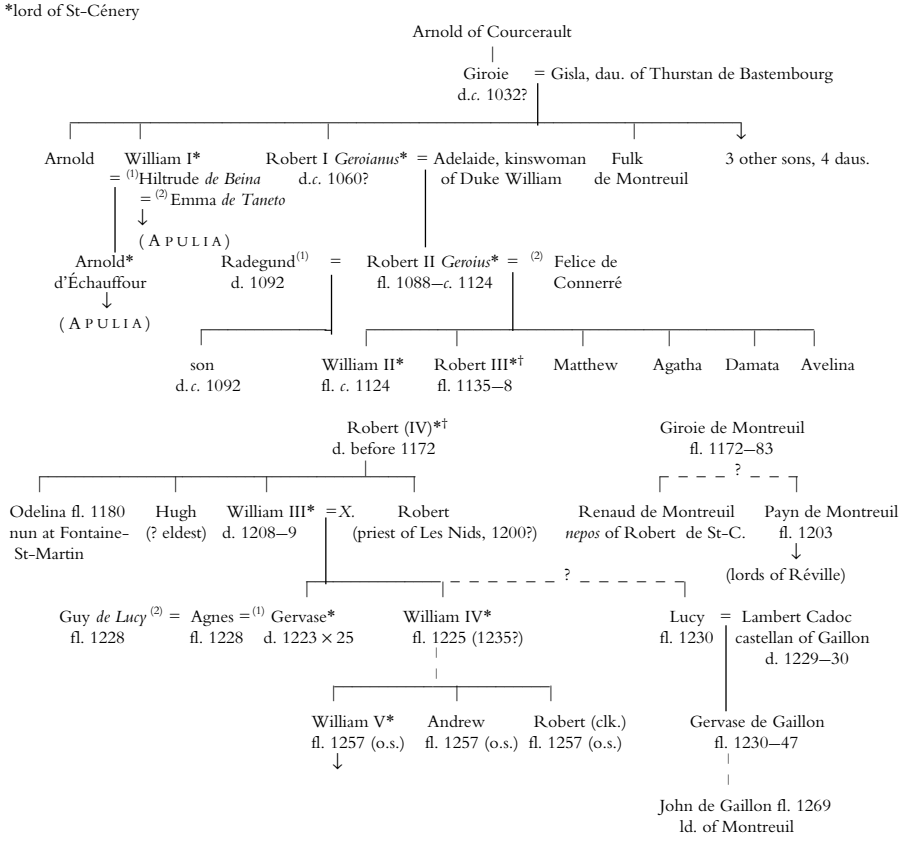
General: Major 1984, which contains more details about the English branches than shown here; English 1979, esp. 65–9, 154–5; BMRO, Y 13, fols. 22v–23r, 104v–106r, 111r–v; *Actes de Henri II,* ii, no. DCVII; *EYC*, iii, no. 1304; *CRR*, xv, no. 169; ADSM, 1 H 1, 1 H 4, 1 H 23, 1 H 65, 51 HP 5, 53 HP 32 (no. 76); ADOI, H 4653; *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 144, 148.

The origins of the surname is unknown, but Oiry in Champagne (Marne, ar. Epernay, cant. Avize) is a possibility. Perhaps Fulk I came to Normandy with the exiled Odo of Champagne, progenitor of the counts of Aumale (above, no. 3; cf. Major 1984, 3). The first certain appearance of the surname is for Geoffrey d'Oyry in 1115. Closer to Aumale, however, the abbey of Froidmont near Beauvais acquired property at an unidentified *Oyri* (BN, ms. lat. 11001, fol. 1v). The Norman family came to hold Roupied (cant. Aumale, cne. Haudricourt), presumably by gift of the counts of Aumale, and extensive lands in the lordship of Poix, some through the marriage of Hugh I to Ermengarde, apparently coheiress of Menantissart (cant. Grandvilliers, cne. St-Thibault; see *Ctl. Sommereux*, p. 222), but others probably by gift of the Tirel lords of Poix (see above, pp. 240, 256). It is noticeable that Hugh and Walter were also the chief names in the Tirel family.

It is impossible to relate the English and Norman branches exactly, although they were undoubtedly closely related. Major (1984, 3) suggested that the Geoffrey who appears in Normandy in 1115 was the same man as Geoffrey, husband of Emecina, founders of the English branch. For a variety of reasons it would be tempting to make the Norman Hugh I and his brother Fulk (see ADSM, 1 H 23) the sons of Geoffrey and Emecina, but chronological and other considerations must prevent Emecina being Hugh's mother. Hugh I's brother Fulk is almost certainly the Fulk d'Oyry who with his son Geoffrey was amongst the *milites* witnessing an act of 1150 (ADOI, H 4653); if this Fulk was the English Fulk II, then his son Geoffrey, apparently a knight by 1150, would have been the brother of the English Fulk III, who was probably not born until *c.*1160 and lived until 1231.

There were certainly only two English Fulks after 1150, for in 1230 Fulk III himself named Emicina as his grandmother, Waleran d'Oyry of Whaplode as his paternal uncle and Fulk (II) as his father (*CRR*, xv, no. 169). An act of William, abbot of Aumale, datable to 1162 × 85, stated that Adeliza, widow of Fulk d'Oyry, and her son Fulk had granted 10 marks to his abbey, to be assigned to one of the abbey's Norman rents (ADSM, 1 H 65). The table depicts Adeliza as the widow of the English Fulk II, since her cash gift was measured in marks and a cash gift would be more explicable from a donor with no Norman lands; moreover, one of Fulk III's daughters was called Alice (= Adeliza). It is also quite possible, however, that Adeliza was the widow of Hugh I's brother Fulk (assuming that he was not the same man as the English Fulk II).

26. SAINT-CENERY (GIROIE), MONTREUIL



† There may have been only one Robert, lord of Saint-Cénery, between 1135 and 1172.

In general: Bauduin (1992). For the 'Giroies' before 1135, see Orderic, ii, *passim*; iv, 154–6, 292–6; vi, 224, 512.

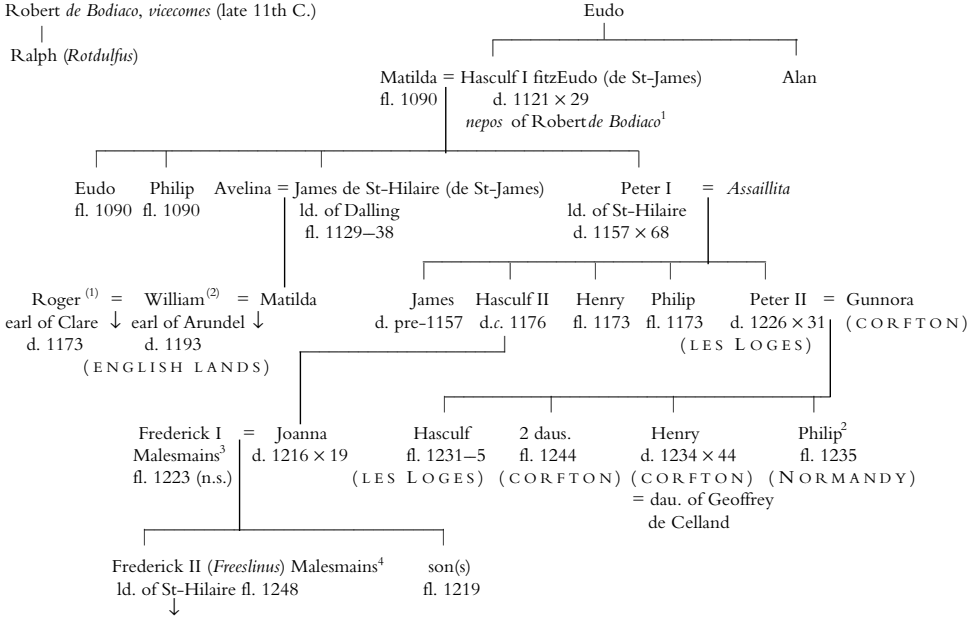
Lords of St-Cénery after 1172: *RB*, ii, 631; *Registres*, 270, 283; *RHF*, xxiii, 618, 637; Linière 1906, 179–81, no. 9 (ADSA, H 1545); ADOR, H 571, H 666; ADC, H 6698; BN, ms. lat. 11055, fols. 37v–44r; ms. lat. 11056, fols. 28r–30v; BES, *Livre Blanc de St-Martin de Sées*, fols. 73v–74r, 114r–116v (*RHF*, xxiv, I, *preuves*, no. 53); *LCSV*, no. 81; *RN*, 37, 41.

Family of Montreuil (lords of Réville, cant. Broglie): Bauduin 1992, 343–5; above, (Payn); for Giroie (fl. 1183), see also *Actes de Henri II,* ii, 99; *Gesta Henrici*, i, 299; Howden, ii, 277; Everard 2000, 135–6. Bauduin suggests that Giroie de Montreuil was descended from his namesake, an illegitimate son of Fulk de Montreuil, brother of Robert I *Geroianus* (cf. Orderic, ii, 28, 34, 96); however, the description of Renaud de Montreuil as *nepos* of Robert de Cénery (ADC, H 6698) could indicate a closer tie of kinship between the family of Montreuil and the lords of St-Cénery.

Lucy, Cadoc and their descendants: BN, lat. 11056, fols. 30v–32r, nos. 691–4; *QN*, no. 305, showing that Lucy, rather than Payn de Montreuil and his descendants, held the lordship of Montreuil-l'Argillé, and that her father had held it before her. The name of her eldest son Gervase could mean that she was a sister of Gervase de St-Cénery.

Guy *de Lucy*: BN, ms. lat. 11056, fol. 30v, no. 689. A Frenchman of this name joined the Albigensian crusade (Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay, i, 155, 230, 255) and a Guy de Lucé occurs in Maine (BMM, ms. 473, fol. 267v, no. 107). One of them may have been the guardian of the sons of Peter de Sablé in 1207 (*Jugements*, no. 27).

27. SAINT-HILAIRE (SAINT-JAMES)



Sources (general): Sanders 1960, 44; Powicke 1961, 351–2; Pouëssel 1981, 67–74; Dufief 1966, 86, 89, 98; *Domesday Descendants*, 689–90; BN, ms. lat. 5441, II, pp. 159–69; BMF, ms. 22, pp. 38–40, no. 25; AN, L 975, no. 1042; *Actes de Henri II,* i, no. LXXX, p. 187; *EYC*, iv, no. 1 (p. 2); v, 86–7.

Peter I: see also AN, L 976, no. 1118; BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 2292, no. 1; *Actes de Henri II*, intro., 414.

Hasculf II and his brothers: *Gesta Henrici*, ii, 56–8; Torigni, ii, 35, 64; BMF, ms. 22, fols. 82r–83r, no. 52. For his daughter Joanna and Frederick Malesmains, see also *MRSN*, i, 10, 215, 217, 289; *Registres*, 305; *RHF*, xxiii, 612.

In 1206 Peter II described himself as son of Peter and brother of Hasculf (AN, L 972, no. 647; Poulle 1989, no. 13). Before 1204 he received lands at Lapenty, Les Loges-Marchis and Le Teilleul, which he disputed with his niece Joanna until her death (*RN*, 39; *MRSN*, i,

[1] BN, ms. lat. 5441, II, pp. 159–62; Pigeon 1888, 674–6. If *Bodiacum* is Bouceel (cant. Pontorson, cne. Vergoncey), it eventually came to Peter II de St-Hilaire and his son Hasculf (ms. lat. 5441, II, pp. 168–9; BMAV, ms. 206, fol. 19r, no. 74).

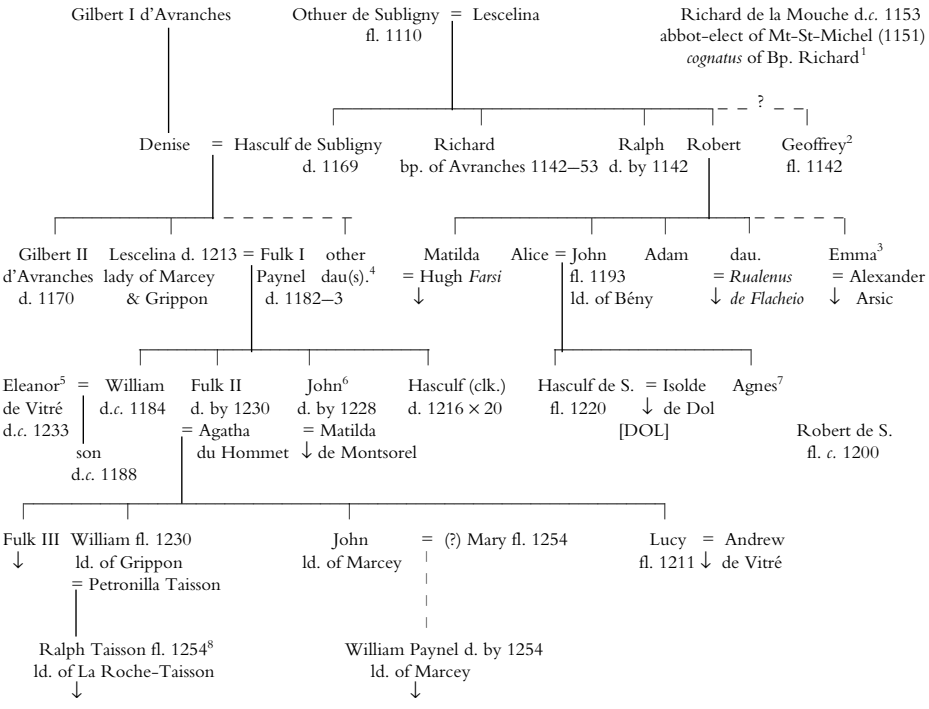
[2] AN, L 972, no. 653.

[3] Variously also *Fraticus*, *Fraericus*, *Freslinus* or *Freesent*: brother of Gilbert and Nicholas Malesmains (ADC, H 6510, fols. 3v–4r, no. 7; ADSM, 53 HP 32, no. 45).

[4] AN, L 975, no. 1041, and *RHF*, xxiii, 729; for his brother(s), see *Jugements*, no. 249.

215; ii, 545; *Jugements*, nos. 32, 163, 249). His wife Gunnora had held Corfton (Som.) from the English family of Dinan until 1204 (*RN*, 126; *Rot. Ob. Fin.*, 221), and Peter recovered it in 1220 (*Excerpta e Rot. Fin.*, i, 52; cf. 143); by 1229 it had passed to their younger son Henry, to hold of Geoffrey de Dinan (*Pat. Rolls 1225–32*, 357; *Close Rolls 1227–1231*, 157). Henry participated in the English campaigns in Brittany and Normandy (1230–4), even acquiring revenues at St-James (*Close Rolls 1231–1234*, 234, 558; cf. *Cal. Liberate Rolls*, i, 221; for his wife, see *Bk. Fees*, ii, 1268). In 1244 Henry's sisters held Corfton, but by 1246 it had been confiscated as one of the *terre Normannorum* (*Bk. Fees*, ii, 1156; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, i, 305; Stevenson 1974, ii, 464). In Normandy Peter was succeeded by his eldest son Hasculf (BN, ms. lat. 5441, II, pp. 168–9).

28. SUBLIGNY (AVRANCHES)



For Hasculf (d. 1169), Denise d'Avranches, their predecessors and children, see BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 16; *GC*, xi, instr., cols. 112–13; *Ctl. Luzerne*, no. 1; Torigni, ii, 12, 17, 277–8; *Gesta Henrici*, i, 4; *Domesday Descendants*, 725–6.

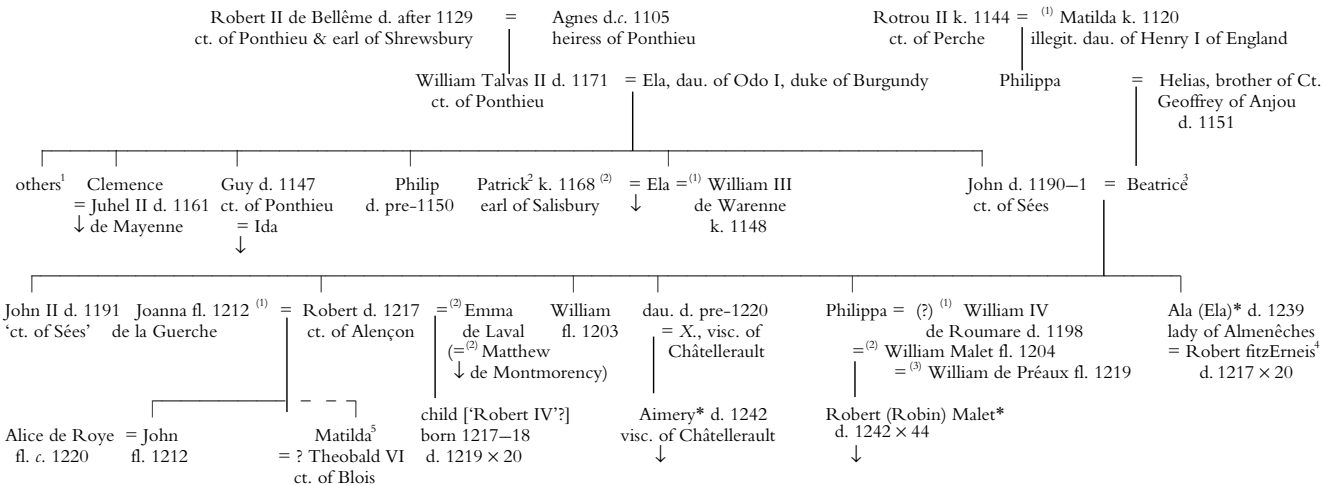
Richard, bishop of Avranches: Bouet and Dosdat 1995, 23–4; BMAV, ms. 206, fols 8r–v, 34v (nos. 22–3, 42).

Robert and John de Subligny, and their descendants: *Actes de Henri II,* intro., 399; Everard 2000, 211–12; Power 2003b, 202–6. Hasculf was *avunculus* of John (BMAV, ms. 206, fol. 15r, no. 50), who was most probably son of Robert de Subligny (*Ctl. Montmorel*, no. CXLV; Everard 2000, 211). John may be the John *de Suloeitum* who was with Queen Berengaria in Rome in 1193 (*CDF*, no 278; Landon 1935, 74–5).

[1] 'De abbatibus Montis Sancti Michaelis', 352; Torigni, ii, 279.
[2] BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 16.
[3] *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, no. 1543, an inquest of 1291, calls her John's sister, but more likely his daughter?
[4] *MRSN*, i, XCII, identifies them as the wife of Thomas de Coulonces and Joanna de Presles.
[5] ADC, H 6839 (Ctl. Mondaye), fol. 7r–v, no. XVII. See below, no. 30.
[6] BN, ms. fr. 22325, p. 529 (mentioning that John's eldest daughter was in the '[Channel] Isles' with her uncles); *Complete Peerage*, iv, 94 (Matilda, daughter of William de Montsorel, lord of Landal, and widow of John Paynel).
[7] Agnes, daughter of John de Subligny: *Ctl. Montmorel*, no. XII; Keats-Rohan 1993b, 11.
[8] BMAV, ms. 206, fol. 41r, no. 67.

Lescelina, wife of Fulk I Paynel, lady of Marcey and Grippon: *EYC*, vi, 20; *MRSN*, i, 215; *CDF*, no. 915; *Inv. Somm. Manche*, *Série H*, iii, 3 (H 4309); *EYC*, vi, 20; BMAV, ms. 206, fol. 18r–v, no. 69 ('Lescelina, lady of Marcey, daughter of Hasculf de Subligny'); BMRO, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 17; AN, L 979, nos. 29, 50, 84 ('Lescelina de Grippon, widow, daughter and heir of the nobleman Hasculf de Subligny'). Paynels: *EYC*, vi, 18–30; *RHF*, xxiii, 729; *Jugements*, e.g. nos. 137–8, 212, 298, 727. Fulk II Paynel's first wife (not shown here) was Cecily, a daughter of Jordan Taisson.

29. *TALVAS*



∗ Heirs to the county of Alençon (1220–1). Later claimants included Mary, countess of Ponthieu (great-granddaughter of Count Guy) and Geoffrey de Lusignan, in right of his wife Clemence, daughter of Hugh, viscount of Châtellerault.

[1] William had lost six sons (two Roberts, two Williams, two Enguerrands) and a daughter, Mabel, by 1127 (*Actes de Ponthieu*, no. XIX). He also had several illegitimate sons, including Robert Samson and Robert de Garennes (*ibid.*, no. LXXXIII; *Actes de Henri II*, ii, Suppl. no. XXII) and Hugh de Merlay (BN, ms. lat. 17137, fol. 121v, no. 140).

[2] Torigni, ii, 5; cf. ADC, H 6510, fols. 6v–7r, no. 19, an act of Count John I witnessed by 'Will(elm)o nepote meo de Salisberiis'.

[3] William of Tyre, ii, 632–3; Torigni, ii, 28; ADC, H 6510, fols. 6v–7r, no. 19; Thompson 1996b, 45–61.

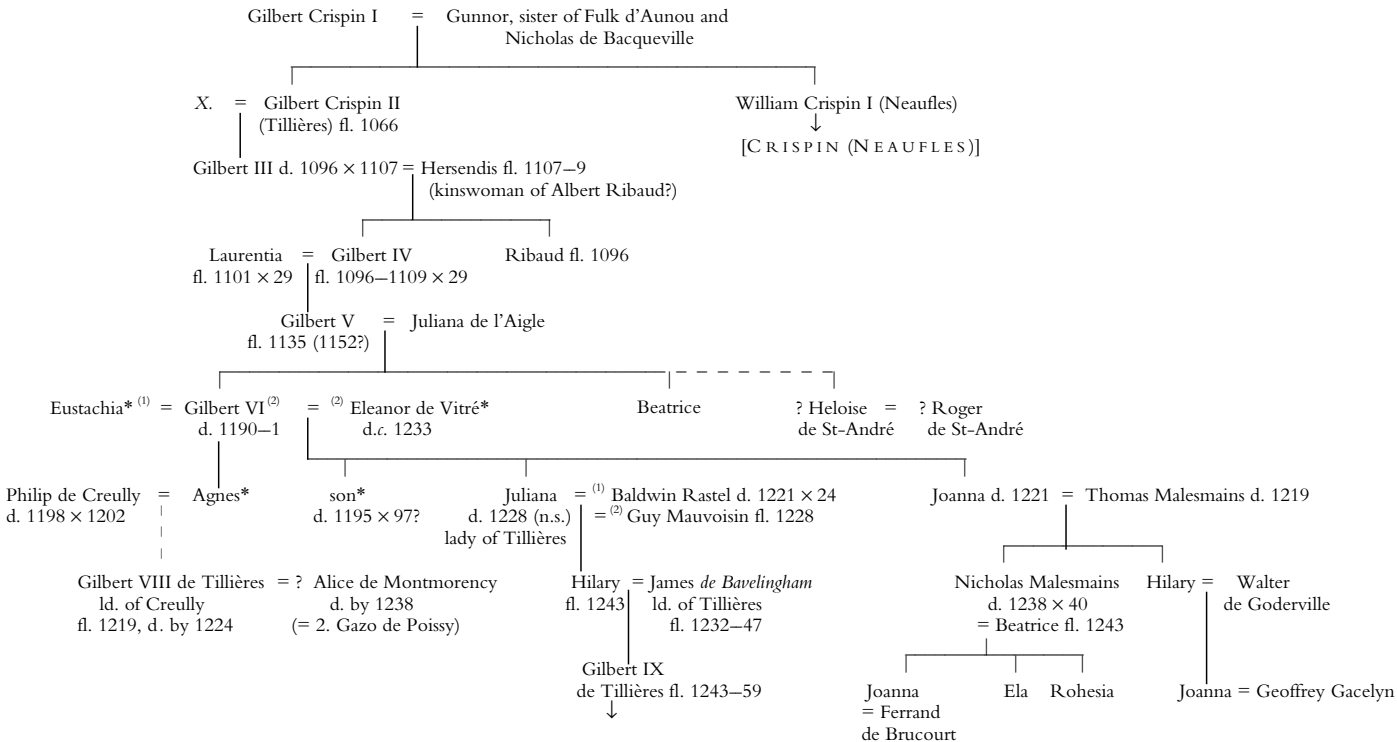
[4] BN, ms. lat. 10086, fols. 173r–176r.

[5] BN, Coll. Moreau, CXVII, fol. 168r–v (1218), names Theobald's first wife as Matilda, but I have not been able to verify the tradition that she was Count Robert's daughter (*Art des dates*, ii, 884).

Sources (general): Thompson 1994, 1996b and 2002, 74–7, 84, 167–9; Louise 1992, ii, 173–84 (some errors); Carré de Busserolle 1861; *Actes de Ponthieu*, *passim*; *Ctl. Perseigne*, *passim*; *GND*, ii, 266. For the ancestors of Robert II de Bellême (not shown here), see Thompson 1985 and 1987; Louise 1992.

For the succession to Count Robert of Alençon, see also *Layettes*, i, nos. 1415 (AN, J 211, Normandie, II, no. 5), 1416 (*CN*, no. 283), 1426; ii, nos. 1650, 1713; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iv, no. 1778; *Jugements*, nos. 213, 668–9 (cf. no. 177), and *QN*, nos. 483, 529; *RHF*, xxiii, 729; Powicke 1961, 331, 341–2; BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 2380, no. 4. For the tradition that John I's daughter Philippa was first married to William de Roumare, see *Neustria Pia*, 864, and *Complete Peerage*, vii, 671; her alleged first husband was one of Count John I's creditors in *c.*1190 (ADC, F 5047). Aimery de Châtellerault described Count Robert of Alençon as his *avunculus* (e.g. ADSA, H 929, no. 3, ed. as *Ctl. Perseigne*, no. XIX), and he was senior to his cousin Robin Malet (cf. *Jugements*, no. 668), but the exact relationship between the Talvas and the viscounts of Châtellerault remains unclear, since the succession to Châtellerault is bewilderingly complex (cf. 'Comptes d'Alphonse de Poitou', 39–47, 56–64). As a granddaughter of Helias of Anjou (born after 1114), Aimery's mother can hardly have been born much before 1155 (*pace* Duguet 1981, 266–70, whose reconstruction would make her a grandmother by *c.*1170); she has normally been treated as a second wife of Viscount Hugh II (e.g. *Dict. du Poitou*, ii, 316–18), but it is tempting to see her as a wife of Viscount William (d. before 1188) and mother of Hugh III (d. *c.*1204), whose daughter Clemence (d.s.p. 1238), wife of Geoffrey de Lusignan of Vouvant, also inherited claims to the county of Alençon. If so, Aimery was the younger brother, not uncle, of Hugh III and the uncle, not great-uncle, of Clemence.

30. TILLIERES


Gilbert Crispin I = Gunnor, sister of Fulk d'Aunou and Nicholas de Bacqueville
X. = Gilbert Crispin II (Tillières) fl. 1066
William Crispin I (Neaufles)
↓
[CRISPIN (NEAUFLES)]
Gilbert III d. 1096 × 1107 = Hersendis fl. 1107–9 (kinswoman of Albert Ribaud?)
Laurentia fl. 1101 × 29 = Gilbert IV fl. 1096–1109 × 29
Ribaud fl. 1096
Gilbert V fl. 1135 (1152?) = Juliana de l'Aigle
Eustachia* (1) = Gilbert VI (2) d. 1190–1 = (2) Eleanor de Vitré* d.c. 1233
Beatrice
? Heloise de St-André = ? Roger de St-André
Philip de Creully d. 1198 × 1202 = Agnes*
son* d. 1195 × 97?
Juliana d. 1228 (n.s.) lady of Tillières = (1) Baldwin Rastel d. 1221 × 24 = (2) Guy Mauvoisin fl. 1228
Joanna d. 1221 = Thomas Malesmains d. 1219
Gilbert VIII de Tillières ld. of Creully fl. 1219, d. by 1224 = ? Alice de Montmorency d. by 1238 (= 2. Gazo de Poissy)
Hilary fl. 1243 = James de Bavelingham ld. of Tillières fl. 1232–47
Gilbert IX de Tillières fl. 1243–59
↓
Nicholas Malesmains d. 1238 × 40 = Beatrice fl. 1243
Hilary = Walter de Goderville
Joanna = Ferrand de Brucourt
Ela
Rohesia
Joanna = Geoffrey Gacelyn

*Eustachia may have been the mother of Agnes and (less probably) of Gilbert's son; Agnes may also conceivably have belonged to the previous generation (see text).

Early generations: see *Ctl. St-Père*, ii, 518–19, 536–8 (ADEL, H 359), 557–9. The first of these acts suggests that Hersendis, wife of Gilbert III, was from the family of Brezolles: in 1107 Gilbert IV de Tillières and his mother Hersendis assented to an act of Gervase I and Mabel de Châteauneuf concerning an oven *in Bruerolensi vico* (cf. *ibid.*, i, 133–4, for Albert Ribaud's confirmation of gifts by a certain Hersendis near Brezolles in *c.*1060), and Hersendis' younger son by Gilbert III was called Ribaud (*ibid.*, ii, 557–9; *Ch. Jumièges*, i, no. LII). Cf. above, pp. 246–7, and App. I, no. 9.

Bk. Fees, i, 106, implies that there were only two men called Gilbert de Tillières between 1135 and *c.*1190. For Juliana de l'Aigle, see above, no. 1; for Heloise de Saint-André, see no. 2; for Eustachia and her sister-in-law Beatrice, see *Ctl. Gd-Beaulieu*, no. 111 (s.d.). If, as seems very probable, the name Beatrice was inherited from the l'Aigle family, Eustachia was the first wife of Gilbert VI rather than the second wife of Gilbert V.

Agnes, daughter of Gilbert de Tillières and wife of Philip de Creully (BL, Add. Ch. 5526, 5527; *VCH Surrey*, iii, 291), was most probably the daughter of Gilbert VI, but by which wife is unknown. In 1193–5 Gilbert's English lands were escheats, and between 1194–5 and 1197–8 the heir of Tillières was under age (*P.R. 6 Richard I*, 1, 20; *P.R. 7 Richard I*, 41, 49; *MRSN*, i, 237; ii, 311), but by 1197 Philip de Creully had made a proffer for the honour of Tillières (*ibid.*, ii, 342). Philip died by 1202 (*RN*, 62; cf. *Misc. Exchq. Records*, 37), and the history of Tillières from then until 1217 is obscure. No representative of the lineage was recorded in the lists of knights-banneret of 1204 × 08 (*Registres*, 308–10; the 'lord of Creully' was added to a later version). In 1214 we find a generic reference to 'the lord of Tillières' (*Ctl. St-Jean*, no. 183), but in 1217 the *dominus de Theleriis* was said to be under age (*Jugements*, no. 196). He appears to be the 'Gilbert de Tillières, lord of Creully', whose gifts to the *bailli* of Caen (1219) were confirmed by Richard, younger brother of Philip de Creully, in 1220 (*Livre Noir de Bayeux*, i, nos. CCXVII–CCXVIII), and he was presumably also the 'Gilbert de Tillières' mentioned in *c.*1220 as holding Tillières and Le Manoir in the Bessin, which had been a Creully property (*RHF*, xxiii, 612e, 618b; cf. *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, no. CLXXVI; ADC, E 725, chapitre 4, shows that Le Manoir remained with the Creullys after Gilbert's death). The fact that Richard de Creully's *antenatus* was called 'Gilbert de Creully' elsewhere in the surveys (*ibid.*, 612c) does not prevent him being the same man as 'Gilbert de Tillières, lord of Creully'. The date at which Richard de Creully inherited the Creully lands from Gilbert de Creully is unknown, but it was possibly as early as 1220 or 1221: *Livre Noir de Bayeux*, i, no. CCXVIII; *Holy Trinity Charters*, 135; *Jugements*, no. 320. See also the confused eighteenth-century inventories of the Baronnie de Creully, ADC, E 725 (chapitre 2, pp. 2–3, 71–2), E 926.

It appears that the male line of Tillières had already died out in the 1190s, but even before its extinction Philip de Creully had bid for control of the Norman honour in right of his wife (her younger sisters having already been given dowries in England); that Gilbert VII de Tillières was her son by Philip de Creully, but only held half of the honour (Powicke 1961, 353n.), the remainder presumably being shared amongst her sisters; and that after his death (1219 × 24, probably 1220–1), his mother's sister Juliana, daughter of Gilbert VI, inherited Tillières but another sister, Joanna, received a sizeable share (see below). Alice, wife of Gazo de Poissy, who had dower at Tillières in 1228, was presumably Gilbert's widow (ADE, H 319, fols. 45v–46r, nos. 102–3; cf. ADY, 46 H 5, liasse 20; *Obituaires de Sens*, ii, 295); she was a sister of Bouchard, lord of Montmorency (ADY, 46 H 5, liasse 20).

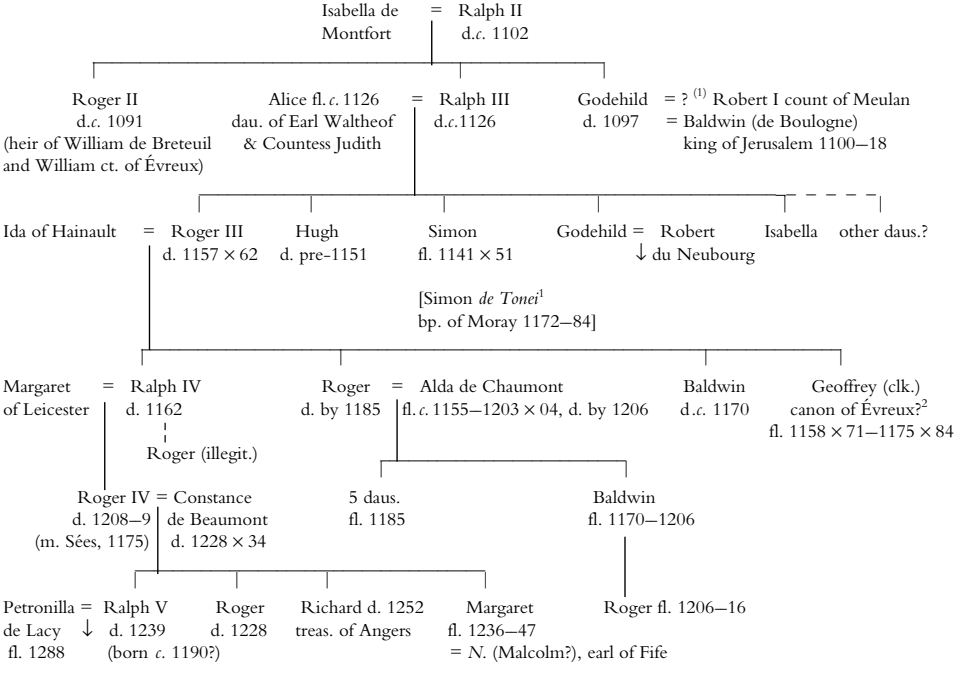
Juliana and Joanna, daughters of Gilbert VI and Eleanor de Vitré (later countess of Salisbury): in general, see Powicke 1961, 304n., 353–5; Stevenson 1974, ii, 472–6; *Jugements*, nos. 546, 556, 628, 637, and *QN*, nos. 54, 247, 263; ADC, H 6389, fols. 3v–8r, nos. VII–XIX, and fol. 11r, nos. XXVI–XXVIII; ADE, H 319, fols. 44v–45v, 46r–47v, nos. 100–1, 104–6. Eleanor cannot have married Gilbert VI before the death of her first husband William Paynel (1184).

Juliana and her two husbands: see also *RN*, 63; *Registres*, 282; *RHF*, xxiii, 616, 715–16; Nortier and Baldwin 1980, 20, no. 75; ADE, H 321, cotte 29; H 1438, p. 9; H 1742; *Ctl. Pontoise*, 268. Baldwin Rastel may have come from a family of this name in the county of Eu (cf. *Actes de Henri II*, i, no. CLXXVI; *Ctl. Tréport*, no. CCIII). For Juliana's daughter Hilary and her descendants, see also ADE, G 165, fol. 52r, no. 88; ADEL, H 409, and H 1261, p. 153; BN, ms. lat. 5417, pp. 208–9; *Ctl. Trappe*, 13–14, 292–3; *RHF*, xxiii, 729; *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, i, nos. 25, 42.

Joanna, Thomas Malesmains and their descendants: see also *Rot. Claus.*, i, 389, 468; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1232–47*, 178, 240; *Close Rolls 1237–42*, 257; *CRR*, vi, 158, 178–9, 226; viii, 192, 325–6; ix, 173, 385; xvi, no. 2099; xvii, nos. 527–8, 1311; *Bradenstoke Ctl.*, nos. 467, 473, 510–15; *VCH Northants*, iii, 181–2; Power 2003a, 212, 215–16.

Appendix 1 Genealogies

31. TOSNY (CONCHES)


Isabella de Montfort = Ralph II d.c. 1102
Roger II d.c. 1091 (heir of William de Breteuil and William ct. of Évreux)
Alice fl. c. 1126 dau. of Earl Waltheof & Countess Judith
= Ralph III d.c.1126
Godehild d. 1097
= ? (1) Robert I count of Meulan = Baldwin (de Boulogne) king of Jerusalem 1100–18
Ida of Hainault = Roger III d. 1157 × 62
Hugh d. pre-1151
Simon fl. 1141 × 51
[Simon de Tonei[1] bp. of Moray 1172–84]
Godehild = Robert ↓ du Neubourg
Isabella
other daus.?
Margaret of Leicester = Ralph IV d. 1162
Roger (illegit.)
Roger d. by 1185 = Alda de Chaumont fl. c. 1155–1203 × 04, d. by 1206
Baldwin d.c. 1170
Geoffrey (clk.) canon of Évreux?[2] fl. 1158 × 71–1175 × 84
Roger IV d. 1208–9 (m. Sées, 1175) = Constance de Beaumont d. 1228 × 34
5 daus. fl. 1185
Baldwin fl. 1170–1206
Petronilla de Lacy ↓ fl. 1288
Ralph V d. 1239 (born c. 1190?)
Roger d. 1228
Richard d. 1252 treas. of Angers
Margaret fl. 1236–47 = N. (Malcolm?), earl of Fife
Roger fl. 1206–16

Sources (general): *Complete Peerage*, xii, i, 754–71, and Musset 1977, which give conflicting reconstructions of the family's early history; Gilbert of Mons, 55–6, 95, 202; *Beauchamp Ctl.*, xliii–xlviii, and nos. 355–84; BN, ms. lat. 12777, pp. 715–16, 719.

For Roger, brother of Ralph IV, and his descendants, see *Rot. Dom.*, 51; *VCH Oxon.*, v, 137–8 (Garsington); *CRR*, iv, 122, and v, 19; *Bk. Fees*, i, 120–1, 615; ii, 1351; *Rot. Claus.*, i, 300; *Ancient Charters*, no. 53. Roger's grandson Roger was possibly Roger, son of Baldwin d'Acquigny (fl. 1241), and perhaps his father Baldwin was the Baldwin d'Acquigny who deserted to the king of France in 1193–4 (above, p. 419). More probably, the Acquigny family were tenants of the Tosnys, or (in view of the similar naming patterns) descended from an earlier cadet; a Ralph d'Acquigny appears in the time of Abbot Herbert of Conches, *c.*1165–*c.*1180 (ADE, H 711, fols. 49v–50r, no. 110; *GC*, xi, col. 639).

For the Tosnys' lordship of Nogent-le-Roi, inherited from Isabella de Montfort (above, App. i, no. 14), see ADEL, H 1261, pp. 2, 98, 367–8, 396; *GC*, viii, instr., col. 328; BN, ms. lat. 17031, pp. 11–12; BN, ms. lat. 17048, pp. 431–4; *Polyptyque de St-Germain*, ii, 223; *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, nos 105, 172; Rhein (1910), 31–4.

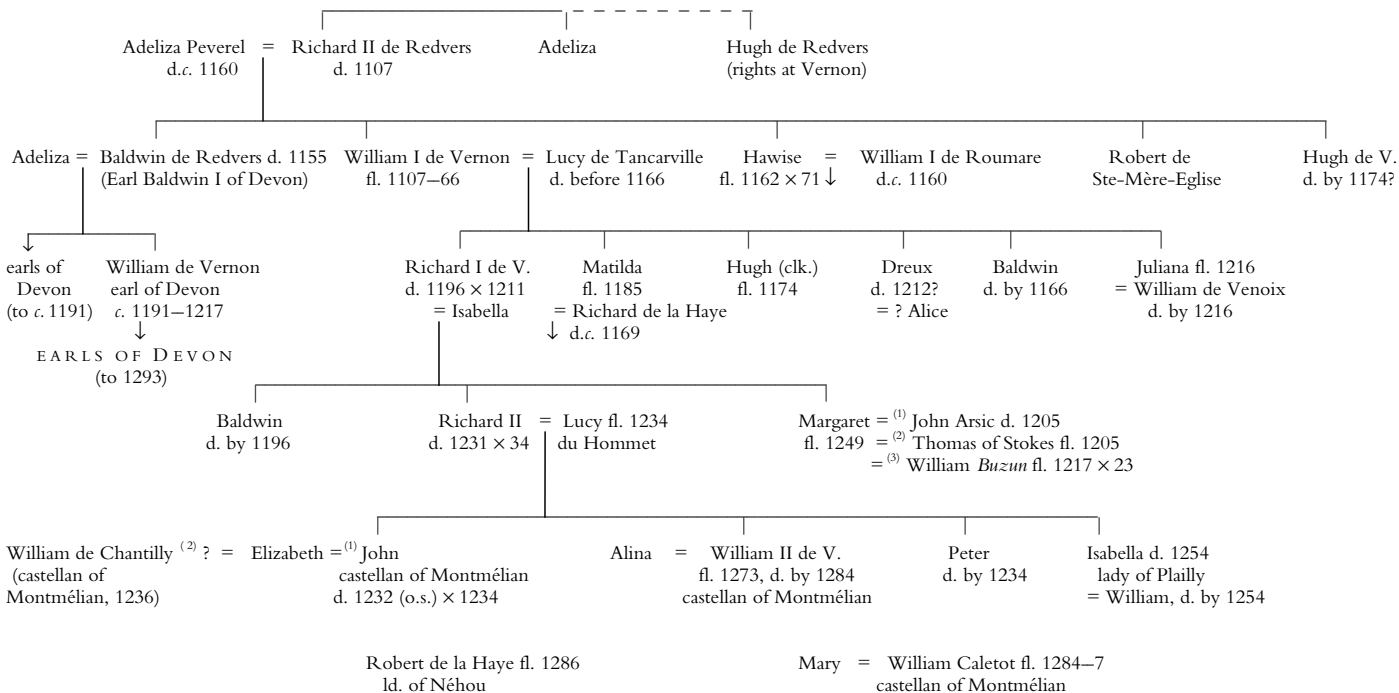
For the descendants of Roger IV and Constance de Beaumont, see also BN, ms. lat. 17048, pp. 261, 269–76; BL, Add. Ch. 20235; *Bk. Fees*, i, 98; *Généalogies mayennaises*, 98–9, 103; Power 2003b, 200–2.

[1] *Melrose Chronicle*, 60.

[2] *Beauchamp Ctl.*, no. 365; ADE, G 122, fols. 21v–22r, no. 85; ADSM, 8 H 108.

32. VERNON (NEHOU)

V.: Vernon
R.: Redvers (Reviers)



In general: BN, ms. lat. 10087 (Montebourg cartulary), *passim*; ms. lat. 17137, fols. 72r–76v, nos. 66–9; BMRO, Y 52, fols. 83r–84v; *Ch. Jumièges*, ii, no. CXIV; *RHF*, xxiii, 554–6 (Montebourg necrology); *CN*, no. 1234; *MRSN*, esp. ii, cclxix–cclxxx; *Complete Peerage*, iv, 309–11, 317, 768–71; *Redvers Charters*, *passim*.

A full reconstruction of the various Anglo-Norman families called Vernon would require a separate book. No attempt has been made here to depict the genealogy of the lords of Vernon before Richard de Redvers, who received the town at an unknown date before his death in 1107. For his problematic ancestry, see *MRSN*, ii, cclxix–cclxxx; Hockey 1970, 267 n.4; Bearman 1981, 8–13, and *Redvers Charters*, 1–5; Van Houts 1989, 229, and *GND*, ii, 275 n.6, correcting *Complete Peerage*, iv, 310 note (a); Keats-Rohan 1993a, 24–7; Bauduin 1998, 310–17.

Powicke (1961, 348) made Richard (fl. 1172) the grandfather of the Richard who surrendered Vernon in 1196 and assumed that he deserted to Philip Augustus in 1203. However, the Montebourg charters show that there were only two Richards, father and son, between 1149 and 1231. Richard I de Vernon was already lord of Vernon in 1149 in his father's lifetime (BN, ms. lat. 12884, fol. 210v; Torigni, i, 272); he appears with his son Richard (II) in 1190–1 and 1196 (*Itin.*, 93; *Layettes*, i, no. 441). For his eldest son Baldwin, see BN, ms. lat. 10087, pp. 70, 80–1, nos. 150, 189; ADSM, 18 HP 7; *HGM*, i, lines 8865–9. Only one Richard, presumably Richard II, is mentioned in the confiscations of 1203; Richard I de Vernon had definitely died by 1211 (ADSM, 13 H 192).

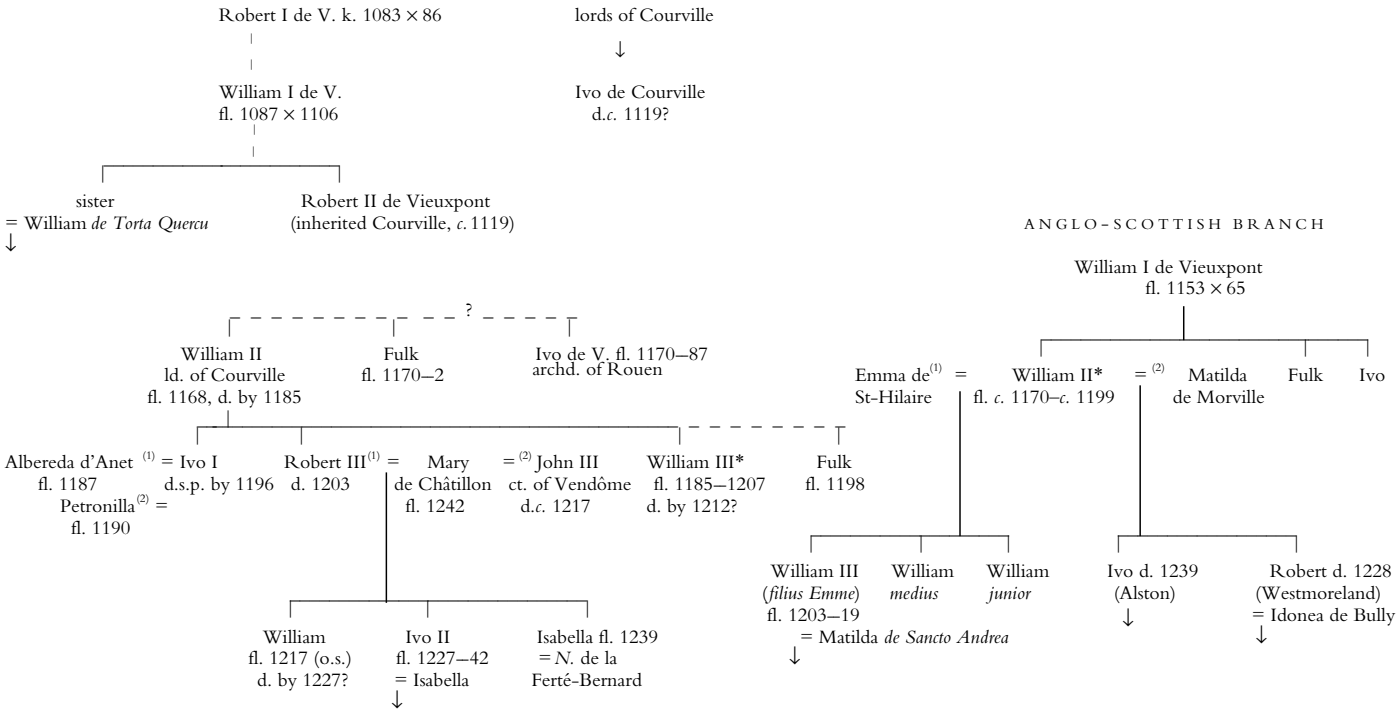
Lucy de Tancarville, wife of William I de Vernon: ADSM, 13 H 192; BMRO, Y 52, fol. 83r; BN, ms. lat. 10087, p. 72, no. 158; *RRAN*, ii, no. 1012 (ed. p. 326, no. LXXV). Their daughters Matilda, wife of Richard de la Haye, and Juliana, wife of William de Venoix: *Inv. Somm. Manche, Série H*, i, 18 (H 121); Torigni, ii, 12; *MRSN*, i, cxlv; *Rot. Dom.*, 12; BN, ms. lat. 10087, p. 72, nos. 159–60. William I's son Dreux could be the Dreux de Vernon whose widow Alice received dower in Cornwall in 1212 (*Rot. Claus.*, i, 124). Richard I's daughter Margaret or Margery, lady of Freshwater (Wight): *Redvers Charters*, 17, 150–3; Stevenson 1974, ii, 482–3; *Rot. Ob. Fin*, 322, 513.

William I's brother was known as Robert de Sainte-Mère-Eglise (*Complete Peerage*, iv, 768). It would be tempting to make him the ancestor of William de Sainte-Mère-Eglise, bishop of London (1198–1221) and his namesake, bishop of Avranches (1236–53) (R. V. Turner 1988, 26; *RHF*, xxiii, 585–6); Richard (II?) de Vernon was a patron of the former (*Rot. Chart.*, 64).

Richard II married Lucy du Hommet (BMRO, Y 52, fol. 131v). She bore the name of both the wife and maternal grandmother of William du Hommet, constable of Normandy under Richard I and King John, whose son Thomas received the Vernon lands in 1203 (ADC, H 667, and *GC*, xi, instr., cols. 90–1; AN, L 979, no. 81; *Actes de Henri II*, intro., 485–6; Le Hardy 1897, 255–8, no. 3; *RN*, 102; *Rot. Pat.*, 33). However, naming patterns could also mean that she was from the Cléville branch of the Hommets (*Rot. Claus.*, i, 552; Powicke 1961, 336; Stevenson 1974, ii, 426) or else a kinswoman of a certain Peter du Hommet (fl. 1216–27), son of Robert (*RHF*, xxiii, 611; *Jugements*, no. 175; BN, ms. lat. 10087, p. 128, nos. 366–7).

For Richard II's son John, castellan of Montmélian, and his wife Elizabeth, see *Ch. St-Martin-des-Champs*, iv, no. 896; ADOI, H 5314; ADVO, 2 H 3; AN, LL 1157, p. 912. William II: *ibid.*, pp. 912, 914, 924–5; ADE, H 600; BN, ms. lat. 17137, fols. 72v–73r, no. 66. For Richard II's daughter Isabella, lady of Plailly, see AN, LL 1157, pp. 924–5; *RHF*, xxiii, 681. Both Plailly and Montmélian had been given with other lands by Philip Augustus to the dynasty in 1196, in return for Vernon (above, pp. 420–1). By 1284 most of these French lands had come to William Caletot (AN, LL 1157, pp. 879–82 (*CN*, no. 1234), 919), but in 1286 Robert de la Haye was lord of Néhou (BN, ms. lat. 17137, fols. 54v–55v, no. 45).

33. VIEUXPONT-EN-AUGE (COURVILLE, CHAILLOUÉ, HARDINGSTONE)



∗ The Franco-Norman William (fl. 1203) is normally presumed to be father of Robert, ld. of Westmoreland, but this is impossible.

The evidence for the various lineages in France, Normandy, England and Scotland called Vieuxpont is difficult and contradictory. Powicke (1961, 351–2) recognised the distinction between the lords of Courville near Chartres, who took their name from Vieux-Pont-en-Auge, and the much less powerful *lignage chevaleresque* of Vieux-Pont near Argentan (for which see ADC, H 6510, fols. 56r, 60r, nos. 242, 263; BN, ms. lat. 11059, fols. 142r–146r; *Registres*, 166; *CN*, no. 283). His attempt to distinguish between them was inaccurate because the Courville line also appears to have held lands near Argentan and Sées at Nonant, Sarceaux and Chailloué. Powicke also erred in conflating the Anglo-Scottish baron William de Vieuxpont of Hardingstone (Northants), father of King John's trusted henchman Robert de Vieuxpont, with William de Vieuxpont (fl. 1202), brother of Robert, lord of Courville (and whose lands came to King John's courtier Robert de Vieuxpont in 1203). In fact, the Anglo-Scottish family must have been much more distantly related to its Franco-Norman namesake, although naming patterns, heraldic evidence and King John's grant of the Norman lands to a member of the Anglo-Scottish family in 1203 all testify to the kinship of the two lineages.

FRANCO-NORMAN BRANCH

General: *MRSN*, ii, cclxiv–cclxvii (proving that the lords of Courville came from Vieuxpont-en-Auge); Powicke 1961, 357–8; ADEL, H 2310.

Early Vieuxponts: *Regesta*, ed. Bates, nos. 29 (II), 214; Orderic, iv, 48, and n.3; *Holy Trinity Charters*, 127. Robert (II) de Vieuxpont inherited the lands in the Chartrain of Ivo de Courville and Fulk *de Quercu*, presumably his kinsmen, in *c.*1119 (*Ctl. Tiron*, i, nos. LXXXV, XVIII); for the date, see Lo Prete 1990, 587 n.71.

William II: *Ctl. Josaphat*, i, no. CLXVII; *Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu*, no. 73. The Fulk and William (II?) de Vieuxpont recorded in the Norman inquest of 1172 both appear to be from the Courville lineage (*RB*, ii, 629, 631, and *Registres*, 269–70; cf. ADOR, H 2621, for a Fulk as a witness for Count Rotrou of Perche, 1170); so does Ivo de Vieuxpont, archdeacon of Rouen (Spear 1984, 27–8). The inquest's returns suggest that Fulk and William had divided the Norman lands equally between them. For Ivo I, Robert III and William III, the sons of William II who successively held Courville, see ADEL, H 2310, nos. 1–2; H 5207; *Ctl. Josaphat*, ii, nos. CCXCV, CCCXXXVI (to be dated *c.*1180?); *MRSN*, ii, 389; above, no. 2 (Anet), and probably also *Itin.*, 93, 104 (cf. *Templiers en Eure-et-Loir*, no. XVIII). The William de Vieuxpont who appears in central Normandy in 1195 and 1198 and with his brother Fulk at Sarceaux near Argentan was probably William III (*MRSN*, i, 270, 280, 284; ii, 363; BN, ms. lat. nouv. acq. 2380, no. 5); it was probably this Fulk who appears in the *bailliage* of Falaise in 1198 and who made gifts for the soul of Ivo de Vieuxpont, presumably Ivo I, lord of Courville (*MRSN*, ii, 402, 407; ADC, H 6681).

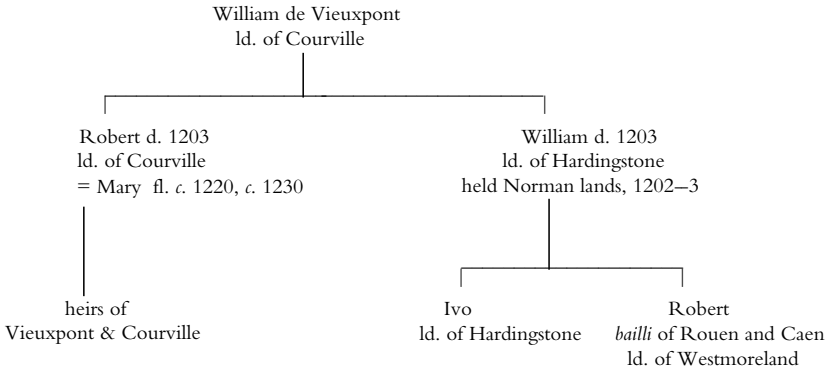
William III took over the Norman lands from his brother Robert in 1202–3 and again after 1204; he had probably died by 1212 and perhaps by 1207–8 (*RN*, 45, 55, 91; *Registres*, 269, 311; *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, iii, no. 1209). Probably after William's death, Robert III's widow Mary, a sister of Gaucher de Châtillon, count of St-Pol, and later wife of Count John III of Vendôme, had custody of Courville. For her and her children, see Barthélemy 1993, 799–800 (Q), 815; *RHF*, xxiii, 619; *Layettes*, i, no. 1002; *Obituaires de Sens*, ii, 464; ADEL, H 5207; AN, J 211, no. 5 (Chailloué, 1221); *Ctl. Josaphat*, ii, no. CCCLXI; BMAL, ms. 177, fol. 400r; *Ctl. St-Jean*, nos. 219, 271; *Archives de Châteaudun*, no. CXLVII; ADC, H. Suppl. 484 (II.A.6); *Jugements*, no. 547 n.3; *MRSN*, ii, cclxvi–cclxvii.
I am grateful to Kathleen Thompson for her advice concerning this genealogy.

ANGLO-SCOTTISH BRANCH

See *RRS*, ii, especially nos. 5, 84, 146, 182, 238, 381, 468; *Holyrood Liber*, nos. 33, 41, 44; *Kelso Liber*, i, nos. 139–43; ii, no. 319; *Dryburgh Liber*, nos. 75–9, 186; *VCH Northants*, iv, 255; *HKF*, ii, 342; Ragg 1911, esp. 274–7, 308–9, 316–18; Denholm-Young 1929–31, 229–30; Reid 1954–5; Sanders 1960, 103–4; Holt 1961, 67, 220–1; Barrow 1980, 73–6, 179; Stringer 1985, 161, 201, 309 n.67, 317 n.80. The genealogy is exceptionally confusing since so many members were called William. The first recorded Anglo-Scottish William de Vieuxpont occurs in the reign of Malcolm IV (1153–65), both in Scotland and in the English lands of the kings of Scots (*RRS*, i, nos. 196, 205, 254, 260; ii, no. 5). A judgment in the court of Malcolm's successor William the Lion (1165 × 70) restored all these lands to a William de Vieuxpont as his father had held them, which suggests that he was the first William's son (*RRS*, ii, no. 84). This William (II) witnessed Scots royal acts until *c.*1197; by 1203 he had been succeeded in most of his Scottish lands by another William (III) and by 1205 at Alston by his son Ivo, to whom William III later also enfeoffed half of Hardingstone (*Kelso Liber*, i, no. 143; *RRS*, ii, no. 468; *CRR*, viii, 104–5, 152–3, 285; cf. *Close Rolls 1251–1253*, 445). The 'William de Vieuxpont, eldest son of those whom William de Vieuxpont had by Lady Emma de Saint-Hilaire' (1198 × 1214) was presumably William III, and is possibly the William *filius Emme* (fl. 1174) who appears in some royal acts. If so, he had two younger brothers and a son all called William and appears to have married Matilda *de Sancto Andrea* (*Kelso Liber*, i, nos. 139–141; *Holyrood Liber*, nos. 33, 41, 44). William II also married Matilda, heiress of the Morville lords of Appleby, by whom he had the Ivo mentioned above and Robert, a favourite of King John who was presumably also the *bailli* of Caen and Rouen and the recipient of the Franco-Norman branch's confiscated Norman lands in 1203.

Appendix 1 Genealogies

Powicke's reconstruction (mainly following *MRSN*, ii, cclxiv–cclxvii):



Appendix II

THE CAMPAIGNS IN EASTERN NORMANDY (1202)

The sources for the opening campaigns of the war of 1202–4 are contradictory, yet an attempt to reconstruct these events is justified, for they cast an interesting light upon the collapse of Angevin rule in eastern Normandy in 1202. The speed of that collapse, and the apparent lack of resistance except at Radepont, Gournay and Arques, requires explanation. Unfortunately, the chief narrative sources for these events, Rigord, William the Breton, Ralph of Coggeshall and Roger of Wendover, cannot be reconciled with each other or with the chancery rolls, which give an approximate indication of John's movements.[1] However, if the sources are considered in conjunction with the French royal accounts and the geography of landownership in north-eastern Normandy, it is possible to reconstruct the sequence of events in considerable detail and with some coherence.

Several accounts state that Philip began the war by capturing and levelling Richard's new castle at Boutavant. Most agree that he next took a number of fortresses lying between the Forest of Lyons and the English Channel, before turning back to capture Gournay. At some point in the spring or summer of 1202 he gave custody of the nearby fortress of Formerie to the bishop of Beauvais.[2] From Gournay the king of France marched to besiege Arques, until the news of Arthur's capture at Mirebeau reached him. The difficulty lies in establishing how and when he achieved these successes, and how they relate to John's movements in the same period (see Map IX).

Powicke avoided a precise reconstruction of these events.[3] However, Kate Norgate had already attempted to unravel them, commenting, 'The order of the campaign . . . is not easy to make out, for no two

[1] The dates given below for John's letters are those which appear on the chancery rolls. Their relationship to John's actual whereabouts is highly problematic, and can be used only very roughly as an indication of his movements, particularly when he was conducting rapid campaigns.

[2] *Actes de Philippe Auguste*, ii, no. 714 (Beauvais, Apr.–Oct. 1202). For Formerie, hitherto a castle of Simon de Beaussault, see above, pp. 105, 190–1, 255–6, 357.

[3] Powicke 1961, 149.

contemporary writers name the castles [that fell to the French] in the same order.'[4] She decided that Philip marched northwards from Boutavant, taking Lyons, Longchamps, La Ferté, Argueil, Mortemer and then Eu, before returning to Gournay. Alexander Cartellieri preferred the following itinerary for King Philip: Longchamps, Radepont, Lyons (after John's visit there on 28–29 May), La Ferté-en-Bray, Gaillefontaine (by 28 May), Mortemer and Gournay (where by 5 July there was a French garrison). From there the king proceeded to take Drincourt, Eu, Aumale, and so to Arques.[5] While Cartellieri was demonstrably wrong so far as Drincourt and Radepont are concerned, he was the first to use dated garrison payments in the Capetian accounts as a source for French gains.

Some of the contradictions can be resolved, however, if attention is paid to the accounts of Gervase of Canterbury and Ralph of Coggeshall. Gervase notes that Philip's forces assailed John 'from all sides'.[6] Although this phrase was a conventional one, it does imply the presence of more than one French army in the field: in the campaigns of 1151–3 or 1173–4, the French had put pressure upon the defences of eastern Normandy at several different points simultaneously, and it is probable that they did the same in 1202. It is easy to identify these other forces. Coggeshall describes Count Renaud of Boulogne as the standard-bearer (*signifer*) of the king of France, and it is fair to assume that the count brought a second army to the campaigns.[7] What is more, Ralph de Lusignan, count of Eu, had been at war with John since October 1201, and his followers may have constituted a third force, operating from a base within John's territories. It has been suggested in chapter 12 that he had already secured Drincourt in March, before relations between the kings of England and France had broken down irretrievably, and the next loss that King John suffered after Boutavant seems to have been Eu.[8]

When the sequence of events is considered, it seems clear that after the king of France had destroyed Boutavant around 20 May, all subsequent French successes until the middle of June occur in the far north-east of the duchy, and it is possible that these were therefore the work of his allies rather than of the king himself. The town of Eu probably fell before 23 May; Aumale – the castle, if it was not yet in French hands, and the county – before 22 May; and Gaillefontaine before 28 May. It is

[4] Norgate 1887, ii, 404n. When discussing the events leading up to the capture of Gournay, she observed drily, 'What John had been doing all this time it is difficult to understand' (*ibid.*, 404).

[5] Cartellieri 1899–1922, iv, 1, 116–17, 119.

[6] Gervase of Canterbury, ii, 94.

[7] Coggeshall, 136. For the value of this chronicle as a source for the opening years of John's reign, see Carpenter 1998.

[8] For Drincourt, see above, pp. 424–5; for the fall of Eu, see below, pp. 534–5.

also reasonable to suppose that Mortemer fell before 4 June.[9] Wendover attributed the fall of Eu to Philip Augustus, and Coggeshall also credited the king of France with the capture of Aumale; neither was mentioned by Rigord or William the Breton, but they both held the king responsible for the fall of Mortemer. William the Breton's *Gesta* (following Rigord) and *Philippidos*, although differing in detail, both depict King Philip taking Boutavant after three weeks, then marching northwards to subdue Longchamps, Argueil and Mortemer; he then turned back to La Ferté, Lyons and Gournay. Yet neither Rigord nor William the Breton mentions Eu, Drincourt, Aumale or Gaillefontaine, perhaps an indication that the counts of Boulogne and Eu were responsible for these successes.

The most tempting interpretation therefore runs as follows. The count of Eu was in control of Drincourt by mid-March,[10] but initially failed to take control of Eu at the end of that month.[11] In April the two kings failed to come to an agreement,[12] and on 22 April King John was sufficiently mistrustful of the count of Boulogne to order the seizure of his Norman custodies.[13] On 29 April war broke out,[14] and King Philip besieged Boutavant for about three weeks,[15] while John hovered at a distance.[16] With the fall of Boutavant (*c.* 20 May) the assault became more general. The count of Eu may have recovered Eu before 23 May, when the king of England gave away the property of one of the count's men,[17] while John's redistribution of other Norman lands at the same time implies that the count of Boulogne, perhaps helped by the *vidame* of Picquigny,

[9] For these dates, see below, pp. 534–5; For the fate of Aumale after the siege of 1196, see above, p. 415.

[10] Evacuation of burgesses loyal to John, 13 March (*Rot. Pat.*, 7). Drincourt may never have been in John's hands: Howden, iv, 160–1, says that it was besieged in spring 1201 but did not fall, whereas *Philippidos*, ii, 97–101 (vi, 97) says that John captured it treacherously while the count of Eu was on his business far away (in England (*in Britannia majori*), according to Will. Bret., 207). The evacuation of 13 March can therefore be interpreted differently according to which of these accounts is given credence.

[11] John thanks burgesses for expelling his enemies in Eu, 1 April (*Rot. Pat.*, 8).

[12] Powicke 1961, 148. [13] *Rot. Pat.*, 9.

[14] Norgate 1887, ii, 402, following Rigord, 151–2: John failed to appear in Paris that day.

[15] *Philippidos*, 159 (vi, lines 204–7). Other mentions of the siege: Rigord, 152; Will. Bret., 210; Coggeshall, 136; Gervase of Canterbury, ii, 94; Roger of Wendover, *Chron. Maj.*, ii, 477.

[16] *Rot. Pat.*, itinerary, 23 March–12 May: John is almost entirely at Rouen, Orival, Moulineaux, Les Andelys or Pont-de-l'Arche.

[17] *RN*, 45 (23 May): John grants houses in Rouen belonging to William de Sept-Meules (whose name implies that he came from the county of Eu) to the mayor of Eu; this may signal that the town was lost and that John was compensating his loyal mayor with the property of a rebel knight. *Rot. Pat.*, 13: seizure of property belonging to a merchant from Eu at Lincoln, some days before 29 June. Coggeshall, 136, places the fall of Eu only after the fall of the lands of Hugh de Gournay and of the castle and county of Aumale.

had overrun the lands of the count of Aumale by then.[18] King Philip headed north: perhaps it was in late May that he took Longchamps[19] and Argueil,[20] avoiding Gournay, and either he or his allies had control of Gaillefontaine before 28 May, by which date there was a French garrison there.[21] On the march Philip had probably avoided La Ferté; he afterwards seems to have joined the count of Boulogne, his *signifer*,[22] who had seized some lands of the Earl Warenne before 4 June,[23] no doubt around the earl's castle of Mortemer, which fell to the French about this time.[24]

John, meanwhile, had resided in the Seine valley until mid-May, when he journeyed north to the Andelle valley, Bellencombre and Arques, perhaps in response to the advances of the counts of Eu and Boulogne.[25] His letters suggest that he spent the rest of May in or close to the Andelle valley; he was still confident enough to visit Gournay (letter dated 27 May), only to retreat via Lyons to Orival on the Seine again.[26] Perhaps he had abandoned an attempt to relieve Longchamps or Argueil. After a feint south of the Seine towards Harcourt, he returned around 9 June to Auffay, possibly in preparation for an expected French assault upon Arques. He almost certainly came very close to his enemies about the time that Mortemer fell, for he was at La Ferté on 11 June.[27] He retreated to Le

[18] *Rot. Lib.*, 33: lands of *vidame* of Picquigny given to Count Baldwin of Aumale. *RN*, 45 (23 May): the Norman lands of the count of Boulogne are distributed to the viscount of Aumale, Hugh *de Caigni* (see above, pp. 415, 426–7), and others. Coggeshall, 136, ascribes the fall of the castle and county of Aumale to King Philip, who then granted it to the count of Boulogne; this would accord with the date of the distribution of the count's Norman lands.

[19] *Philippidos*, ii, 160 (Bk. vi, line 208); cf. below, n. 24. A French garrison was paid there only from 27 June (Lot and Fawtier 1932, clxv).

[20] Rigord, 152; Will. Bret., 210.

[21] Lot and Fawtier 1932, clix; cf. clviii, implying that the king's confidant Brother Guérin was at Gaillefontaine on 29 May. *Hist. des ducs*, 92, states that Philip himself took Gaillefontaine.

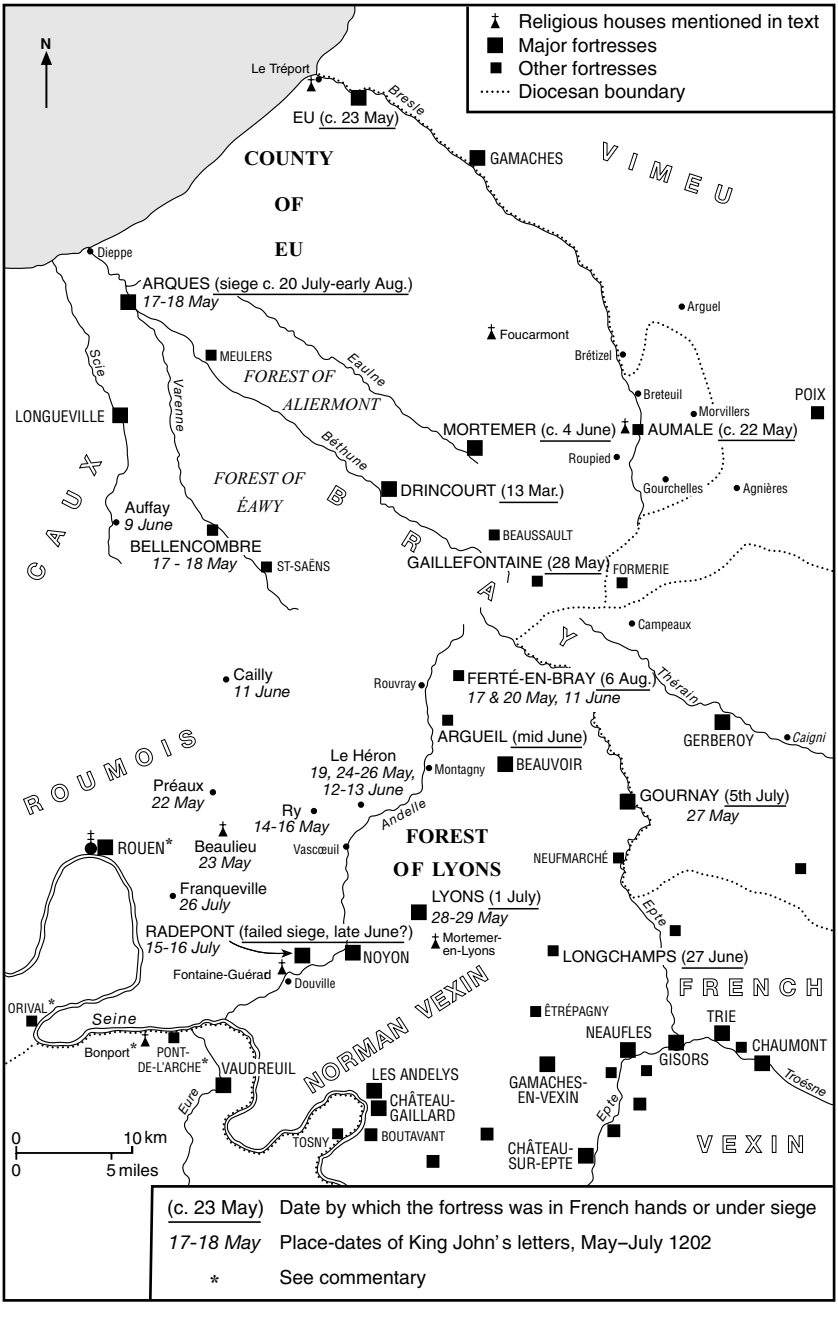
[22] Coggeshall, 136. [23] *RN*, 47.

[24] *Philippidos*, 160 (vi, line 208), places the capture of Mortemer between that of Longchamps and of La Ferté; Rigord, 152, and Will. Bret., 210, place it (more generally) between the fall of Argueil and of Gournay. It is possible, of course, that King Philip was here being given the credit for a feat of the count of Boulogne, but King John's move to La Ferté on 11 June suggests that the king of France had not yet marched there from Mortemer.

[25] *Rot. Pat.*, 10–11; *Rot. Lib.*, 32–3; *RN*, 45. His letters are dated at Ry near Vascœuil (14–16 May), La Ferté (17 May), where he made a grant in favour of its lord Hugh de Gournay, Bellencombre (18 May) and Arques (17–18 May).

[26] *Rot. Pat.*, 11–12; *Rot. Lib.*, 32–3; *RN*, 45, 46. Letters dated at Le Héron (19 May), La Ferté (20), Préaux (22), Beaulieu (23), Le Héron (24–6), Gournay (27) and Lyons (28–9). His journey shows that the lands of Enguerrand de Montagny in the Andelle valley must still have been under Norman control, and so the lands given to him on 24 May were not intended to compensate for their loss; more likely they made up for the loss of his lands in the Bresle valley (see *Ctl. Sélincourt*, no. xcv).

[27] *RN*, 49. That same day at Cailly he confirmed gifts of Isabella, mother of Juhel de Mayenne and sister of Count Robert of Meulan, to Savigny (AN, L 974, no. 941; Le Prévost 1862–9, ii, 564–6).


N
Religious houses mentioned in text
Major fortresses
Other fortresses
Diocesan boundary
Le Tréport
Bresle
EU (c. 23 May)
COUNTY OF EU
GAMACHES
VIMEU
Dieppe
ARQUES (siege c. 20 July-early Aug.)
17-18 May
Arguel
Foucarmont
Brétizel
MEULERS
Eaulne
FOREST OF ALIERMONT
Breteuil
Morvillers
POIX
Scie
Varenne
LONGUEVILLE
MORTEMER (c. 4 June)
AUMALE (c. 22 May)
Roupied
Béthune
FOREST OF ÉAWY
DRINCOURT (13 Mar.)
Gourchelles
Agnières
CAUX
Auffay
9 June
BELLENCOMBRE
17 - 18 May
ST-SAËNS
BEAUSSAULT
BRAY
GAILLEFONTAINE (28 May)
FORMERIE
Campeaux
Cailly
11 June
Rouvray
FERTÉ-EN-BRAY (6 Aug.)
17 & 20 May, 11 June
Thérain
ARGUEIL (mid June)
GERBEROY
Caigni
ROUMOIS
Le Héron
19, 24-26 May, 12-13 June
Montagny
BEAUVOIR
Préaux
22 May
Ry
14-16 May
Andelle
GOURNAY (5th July)
27 May
ROUEN*
Beaulieu
23 May
Vascœuil
FOREST OF LYONS
NEUFMARCHÉ
Franqueville
26 July
LYONS (1 July)
28-29 May
Epte
RADEPONT (failed siege, late June?)
15-16 July
NOYON
Mortemer-en-Lyons
LONGCHAMPS (27 June)
Fontaine-Guérard
Douville
FRENCH
ORIVAL*
Seine
ÈTRÉPAGNY
TRIE
NEAUFLES
CHAUMONT
Bonport*
PONT-DE-L'ARCHE*
VAUDREUIL
NORMAN VEXIN
GISORS
LES ANDELYS
GAMACHES-EN-VEXIN
Troésne
Eure
CHÂTEAU-GAILLARD
Epte
0 10 km
0 5 miles
TOSNY
BOUTAVANT
CHÂTEAU-SUR-EPTE
VEXIN
(c. 23 May) Date by which the fortress was in French hands or under siege
17-18 May Place-dates of King John's letters, May–July 1202
* See commentary

Héron by 12 June,[28] perhaps in response to the approach of a French army aiming for La Ferté. In the second half of June he was deflected to Verneuil and l'Aigle (because of a threatened attack against Tillières?) and then even as far as Sées and Le Mans, suggesting that Arthur's cause was reviving in Maine by then.[29] The king of France profited from John's absence: he probably took La Ferté,[30] thereby securing the route between his gains in the Norman Vexin and those in the far north-east, and certainly scored a major success by seizing Lyons.[31]

John returned to the main war zone at the end of June, when the dates of his letters show him dashing from Sées (29 June) to Pont-de-l'Arche (29 June), Bonport (29–30 June) and Rouen (1 July).[32] Most probably he was responding to a French assault upon Radepont. If Philip believed that John was tied down in Maine, it would explain why he retreated 'in confusion' when his adversary suddenly arrived to relieve Radepont: according to the *Histoire des ducs de Normandie* Philip fled at the sound of John's horns in the nearby woods.[33] This seems a more appropriate date

[28] *Rot. Pat.*, 12; *RN*, 49.

[29] *RN*, 51–3. John was anxious about the defence of Tillières and Chennebrun in mid-June, although his men still held Tillières in early Sept. 1202 and probably as late as 30 Apr. 1203 (*Rot. Pat.*, 18; *RN*, 52, 54, 91). *Philippidos*, ii, 159 (VI, lines 204–7; cf. line 188), wrongly dates its fall to the same time as Boutavant.

[30] For its fall, see *Philippidos*, ii, 160 (VI, line 208); *Hist. des ducs*, 92. Although some soldiers were sent to La Ferté in early July, a French garrison was paid there only from 6 Aug., presumably to cover Philip's retreat from Normandy in response to Arthur's capture on 1 Aug (Lot and Fawtier 1932, CLIX, CLX).

[31] *Philippidos*, 160 (VI, line 209); *Chron. Maj.*, ii, 477. A French garrison was paid there only from 1 July (Lot and Fawtier 1932, CLXI–CLXIII).

[32] *RN*, 52–3. *Rot. Pat.*, 13, includes a letter of John at Rouen on 28 June, which seems too early.

[33] *Chron. Maj.*, ii, 477 (Philip attacks Radepont but retreats 'confusus'); *Hist. des ducs*, 96, which confuses this siege with the second siege of Radepont in Sept. 1203. *Ann. Jumièges*, 85, states

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Map IX The campaigns in eastern Normandy (1202).
Between May and July John also sent letters dated at the following places on the map: Bonport (30 June; 7–14, 16–17 July); Orival and Roche d'Orival (1, 3–4 May; 7, 14–16 June); 1 July); Pont-de-l'Arche (3–5, 13–14, 29 June; 23–24, 26–27 July); Rouen (3–4, 8–9 June (also 28?); 1, 6, 18–22, 27 July). Other letters are dated elsewhere in Normandy or Maine, at the following places: Moulineaux (2 May); Harcourt (6–8 June), Brionne (17 June), Conches (17–18 June), Verneuil (18 June), l'Aigle (19–21 June), Le Mans (23–25 June), Sées (29 June); l'Aigle (28 July), Le Neubourg (29 July). John' s next dated letter is at Chinon on 4 August, three days after his victory at Mirebeau.
The map also depicts some of the lands of participants in the conflict, including Geoffrey *de Bosco*, Hugh *de Caigni*, Enguerrand viscount of Aumale and Enguerrand de Montagny.

for the attack on Radepont than Norgate's date of 8–15 July, which is unlikely for a number of reasons (see below), although if this later date is adopted then John's sudden return could have been an abortive attempt to rescue Lyons. Wendover says that only after his failure at Radepont did Philip turn east to invest Gournay, probably the one major fortress between Eu and Gisors not yet in his control; it had fallen by 5 July, the garrison having fled.[34] There Philip took Arthur's homage, and according to Wendover he also returned to Paris with him to send him off to Poitou with two hundred French knights.[35] It is difficult to believe that Philip had time now to rejoin his army and besiege Radepont for a week (8–15 July).[36] John certainly issued letters dated at Radepont on 15 and 16 July, and ordered weapons and iron to be sent there in early July, but this does not have to be the time of the siege.[37]

Having secured Gournay, King Philip controlled all the roads necessary to turn his forces against Arques before 21 July, supported by his fleet. It was there that he and the count of Eu were shocked to learn of the Mirebeau disaster in early August.[38]

that Philip first conquered 'all the land of Hugh de Gournay called Bray', then failed to take Radepont; Gervase of Canterbury, ii, 94, confuses the retreat from Radepont in July with his retreat from Arques after receiving the news of Mirebeau in August.

34 *Chron. Maj.*, ii, 477–8; Will. Bret., 210; *Philippidos*, 160–2 (VI, lines 217–61); Robert of Auxerre, *RHF*, xviii, 265–6; all describe the breach of the walls by flooding and the flight of the defenders. For its fall, see also Rigord, 152; *Ann. Jumièges*, 85. There was a French garrison from 5 July, but the revenues of the *prévôté* were accounted from 4 July (Lot and Fawtier 1932, CLIX–CLX, CLVII). On 13 July John appointed his defeated commander at Gournay, Brandin, as seneschal of the county of La Marche (*Rot. Pat.*, 14).

35 *Layettes*, i, no. 647 (Jul. 1202); *Chron. Maj.*, ii, 478.

36 Norgate (1887, 403 n.8) deduces the dates of the siege of Radepont from Wendover's reference to an eight-day siege, and John was there on 15 July (*Chron. Maj.*, ii, 477; *RN*, 56). John's rapid move from Sées to Rouen at the end of June seems a more credible context for the relief of Radepont, however, especially as it is difficult to believe that Philip had enough time between 15 and 21 July to retreat from Radepont, take Gournay, visit Paris (possibly) and invest Arques.

37 *RN*, 56, 55 (undated writ, enrolled between writs dated 8 and 13 July).

38 *Rot. Pat.*, 15: John orders the Cinque Ports to prevent seaborne supplies from reaching the French army at Arques. For the siege of Arques and its ending, see also *HGM*, ii, lines 12,035–94, 12,117–320 (iii, 164–7); Robert of Auxerre, *RHF*, xviii, 265–6; Coggeshall, 138; *Chron. Maj.*, ii, 478–9, which states that the siege lasted fifteen days; Rigord, 152; Will. Bret., 211. It is possible that it had already been begun by the counts of Eu and Boulogne. *Hist. des ducs*, 95, wrongly places Ralph at Mirebeau; *Philippidos*, ii, 162 (VI, line 279), which makes no mention of the siege, states that the count of Eu sent forty knights (*denos quater*) to support Arthur.

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For ease of reference to particular families, personal names are given by surname or nickname first, except for members of royal and princely dynasties, and some authors. Members of a lineage with the same name are generally shown in alphabetical, not chronological order.

In Appendix 1, only the most significant names from the genealogical tables themselves are indexed since substantive points are discussed in the text.

The following abbreviations are used:

ar. = arrondissement of
archb. = archbishop
archd. = archdeacon
archdy = archdeaconry
bp = bishop
bro. = brother
cant. = canton of
cne = commune of
ct = count
ctess = ctess
cty = county
dau. = daughter
dioc. = diocese
empr = emperor
husb. = husband
k. = king
kt = knight
ld = lord
ldshp = lordship
qu. = queen
s. = son
sen. = seneschal
visc. = viscount
w. = wife

CA = Calvados
EU = Eure
EL = Eure-et-Loir
IV = Ille-et-Vilaine
MN = Manche
MY = Mayenne
OI = Oise
OR = Orne
PC = Pas-de-Calais
SA = Sarthe
SM = Seine-Maritime
SO = Somme
VO = Val d'Oise
YV = Yvelines

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